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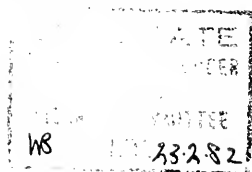
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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
The Land of Morgan : the Chief Lords. By G. T. CLARK, Esq., F.S.A.	1
On the Roman Stations, "Burrium," "Gobannium," and "Blestium," of the twelfth and thirteenth Iters of Antonine. By W. THOMPSON WATKIN, Esq.	19
Notes on Elizabethan Communion Plate, in regard, especially, to the substitution of "Decent Cups," with "Covers," for "Massing Chalices" and Patens. By the Rev. J. F. RUSSELL, B.C.L., F.S.A.	44
On the Difficulties connected with the Fourteenth Iter of Antonine. By J. FITCHETT MARSH, Esq.	54
On Britanno Roman Inscriptions, found in 1877. By W. THOMPSON WATKIN, Esq.	63
Roman Roads in the East of England. By the Rev. Dr. RAVEN	80
Antique Cameo, found at South Shields, Durham. By the Rev. C. W. KING, M.A.	103
The Cathedral of Pisa. By J. H. PARKER, Esq., C.B., F.S.A.	108
The Earthworks of Brinklow, Lilbourne, and Earl's Barton. By G. T. CLARK, Esq., F.S.A.	112
Observations upon a Model in Silver of the First Lighthouse erected on the Eddystone Rocks. By C. OCTAVIUS S. MORGAN, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.	120
Meydoun. By the Rev. W. J. LOFTIE, B.A., F.S.A.	126
Fasti Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum : the Provincials of the Friars-Preachers, or Black Friars of England. By the Rev. C. F. R. PALMER	134
The States General of France. By the LORD HENLEY	195
Rockingham. By G. T. CLARK, Esq., F.S.A.	200

	PAGE.
On the Mediæval Sepulchral Antiquities of Northamptonshire. By M. H. BLOXAM, Esq., F.S.A.	242
Address to the Antiquarian Section of the Meeting of the Institute at Northampton. By J. EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.	263
The Mural and Decorative Paintings which are now existing, or which have been in existence during the present century, at Canterbury Cathedral. By C. E. KEYSER, Esq., M.A.	275
Some Additions to Professor Hübner's List of Roman Potters' Marks discovered in Britain. By W. THOMPSON WATKIN, Esq.	289
The Land of Morgan, Part III: The Earls of Gloucester. By G. T. CLARK, Esq., F.S.A.	313
The Nene Valley a Roman Frontier, and the Origin of the Name Northampton. By the Rev. R. S. BAKER, B.A.	339
The Cathedral of Pisa (continued), and Notes upon Pisan Churches. By J. H. PARKER, Esq., C.B., F.S.A.	353
The History of Castle Ashby. By R. G. SCRIVEN, Esq.	360
Parish Churches in the year 1548. By J. T. MUCKLETHWAITE, Esq., F.S.A.	372
Notes on the Discovery of a Roman Porticus at Lincoln. By J. H. PARKER, Esq., C.B., F.S.A.	397
Notes on a Piece of Painted Glass within a Genealogical Tree of the Family of Stewart. By J. BAIN, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.	399
ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS :—	
Grant by Ingelram, Lord of Coucy, to the King of the Reversion of the lands of Johanna, who was wife of John de Coupeland, deceased. By J. BAIN, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.	166
Of the time of Edward I. Relating to Northamptonshire. By the same.	295
Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute :—November, 1877, to July, 1878	85, 169, 296, 402
Abstract of Accounts and Auditors' Report for 1877	305
Report of Annual Meeting held at Northampton, 1878	407

NOTICES OF ARCHEOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS :—

The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven, in the County of York. By THOMAS DUNHAM WHITAKER. Edited by A. W. MORANT, F.S.A., F.G.S.	91
Chapters of Parochial History—Dursley and its Neighbourhood. By J. H. BLUNT, M.A.	94
Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1586-1588. Edited by H. C. HAMILTON, F.S.A.	96
Bibliotheca Cornubiensis. By G. C. BOASE and W. P. COURTESY	97
The Romans of Britain. By H. C. COOTE, F.S.A.	98
Gleanings from the Municipal and Cathedral Records relative to the History of Exeter. By W. COTTON, F.S.A., and the VEN. H. WOOLCOMBE	<i>ib.</i>
The Abbey Church of St. Alban, Herefordshire. Illustrated by J. NEALE, F.S.A.	184
Thuner the Thunderer. By Professor G. STEPHENS, F.S.A.	187
Description of the Church Dedicated to St. Magnus, and the Bishop's Palace at Kirkwall. By Sir H. E. L. DRYDEN Bart., Hon. F.S.A. Scot. . . .	307
The First Book of Marriage, Baptismal, and Burial Registers of Ecclesfield Parish Church, Yorkshire, &c. Annotated by A. S. GATTY	308
The Bells of Northamptonshire. By T. NORTH, F.S.A.	451
Calendar of the Charters and Rolls preserved in the Bodleian Library. By WILLIAM H. TURNER, and the Rev. H. O. COXE, M.A.	453
Court, Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II. By the Rev. R. W. EYTON, M.A.	455
The Directorium Anglicanum. By the Rev. F. G. LEE, D.C.L., F.S.A. . . .	458
Archæological Intelligence	100, 159, 309, 450
Index to Volume XXXV	464

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
Usk. Plan of Land surrounding Law Courts and County Prison	To face 25
— Vessel of Pottery	27
— Section of Roadway	29
— Iron Knife	<i>ib.</i>
————— Implement	31
— Section of Artificial Bank	<i>ib.</i>
— Vessel of Pottery	37
Examples of Norwich Cups	To face 45
Elizabethan Communion Cup and Cover at Hillmorton, Warwickshire	53
The Institute is indebted to Mr. M. H. Bloxam for the loan of this Illustration	
Map of the Principal Places relative to the fourteenth Iter of Antonine	to face 54
(Presented to the Institute by Mr. J. Fitchett Marsh.)	
Well in Beverley Minister	86
Bronze Doecagons	87
Pyx of Champlévé Enamel	88
View of the river Wharfe and Netherside Glen	To face 91
Brasses of Sir Henry Clifford, 1st Earl of Cumberland, and Margaret his wife	92
Brass of Sir Henry Clifford, 2nd Earl	93
Antique Cameo found at South Shields	To face 103
Plans of Lilbourne and Brinklow	115

(Presented to the Institute by Mr. G. T. Clark)

	PAGE.
Model in Silver of the first Eddystone Lighthouse	122
Chateau Concy	167
Diagrams of Roads. Plate I.	170
————— Plate II.	<i>ib.</i>
Quarrells and Piles from Soest	178
Iron Lamp from Subterranean Chamber in Eltham Park	181
Ground Plan of Rockingham Castle To face	209
Effigy of Abbot Benedict	245
—— of Archdeacon Sponne	247
—— of Sir David de Esceby	249
—— of Sir John de Lyons To face	250
Tomb and Effigy of Elizabeth, Dame Carey	256
Painting at the Back of a Tomb in Dodford Church, To face	258
Sepulchral Slab at Cotterstock	259

(The Institute is indebted to the kindness of Mr. M. H. Bloxam for the five wood cuts illustrating his paper).

Plumbago Moulds found in Netherwasdale, Cumberland To face	299
Brass Hammer found at Rugby	301
A Painting on Glass representing a Traditional Event in the Life of Sir Alexander Stewart To face	302
Pisa Cathedral, Ground Plan of After	354
————— South Elevation	<i>ib.</i>
————— West Front	<i>ib.</i>

(For these Illustrations the Institute is indebted to the kind liberality of Mr. J. H. Parker.)

Plan of the Parish of Castle Ashby to face	370
Plan of Roman Remains at Lincoln	397
General Plan of Palace and Grounds at Holdenby	422

ERRATA.

P. 85, l. 12, *for* "Millman" *read* "Milman." P. 87, l. 23 "(fig. 2.)" should follow the words "similar object." P. 95, l. 29, the "Codex Exoniensis" is still among the treasures of the Chapter library at Exeter. P. 178, l. 48, *for* "Major-General" *read* "Lieut.-General." P. 303, l. 17, *for* "debraising" *read* "debruising;" *ib.*, *for* "rugged" *read* "ragged." P. 305, *for* "Hilton" *read* "Hilton." P. 239, l. 31, *for* "deforestation" *read* "disafforestation." P. 339, footnote, *for* "Section of Antiquities" *read* "Historical Section."

P. 119, to the notice of the earthworks at Earl's Barton may be added the following:

"Among the possessions of which, John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke died seized, occurs 'Baronis motte tenementum apud Barton-Comitis,' and it appears from Bridges that the Court for the Honour of Huntingdon in Earl's Barton was called 'Baron's Moot.' This was distinct from the regular Court for the Manor of Barton." G.T.C.

The Archaeological Journal.

MARCH, 1878.

THE LAND OF MORGAN.—THE CHIEF LORDS.

By G. T. CLARK.

ROBERT FITZ-HAMON, of whom and his conquest something has already been said, married Sybil, a daughter of Roger de Montgomery, and sister to Robert de Belesme, and by her had four daughters. At the instance of his wife he endowed the old Mercian foundation of Tewkesbury, founded in 715, and of which Brictric had been the patron, and this so liberally that he was ever regarded as the real founder. He found it subject to Cranbourn in Dorset, but reversed their relative position by the removal of the Cranbourn Priory to the new establishment, of which it was continued as a cell only. The new Tewkesbury was founded in 1102, and was confirmed by William Rufus in a charter of which Fitz-Hamon was one of the witnesses, as he was also of that king's charters to St. Peter's, Bath, and to the church of Lincoln, both preserved among the public records. Robert's charter was again confirmed by Henry I, Robert and his brother Hamon being witnesses; and the same king granted a second charter after Robert's death, in which he inserted a donation for the weal of his friend's soul. This is the charter in which is mentioned the parish church of St. Mary at Cardiff, and the chapel of the castle there. Sybil occurs in the foundation charter of Neath Abbey, and, with her husband, in his charter to Abingdon. In 1101 Fitz-Hamon witnessed the charter known as the "*Institutiones Henrici regis*;" at least his name occurs in the Worcestershire version. As early as

1064 his name appears in Normandy, in the Bayeux Charters, and again in 1074.

Robert built the tower and much of the existing church of Tewkesbury, dedicating it to St. Mary, by the hands of the Bishop of Worcester, 23 October, 1123. Gerald d'Avranches was the first abbot. Among the endowments were St. Mary's church, the castle chapel, and lands and tythes in Cardiff; a fishery, meadow, and village on the Taff; and the tythes held by Fitz-Hamon's barons in Wales. To St. Peter's at Gloucester he gave the church of St. Cadoc in Llancarvan, with Treyguff, gifts confirmed by Stephen in 1158. He gave also fifteen hides of land in Penhan or Penon. Among Fitz-Hamon's wide possessions occurs the manor of Kyme, near Boston, now conspicuous for its ancient brick tower, and which manor was held by Ralph de Kyme, and afterwards under the Earls of Gloucester by Philip, and, 11th of John, by Simon de Kyme.—(*Abb. Plac.*, 65.)

Fitz-Hamon was faithful to Henry as he had been to Rufus. His last public appearance was at the battle of Tinchbrai, 28 September, 1106, where a spear wound in his temple reduced him to imbecility, in which condition he died in the following year, March, 1107. His body was laid in the chapter house at Tewkesbury, whence it was translated to the presbytery of the church by Abbot Robert in 1240-1, and over it, in 1397, a chapel or oratory was constructed by Parker, the eighteenth abbot. His descendants, Lords of Glamorgan, were always recognised as patrons of the abbey, and exercised the usual rights on the election of each new abbot. It was also the burial place of the de Clares and le Despensers.

The inheritance was not at that time thought to be so large as to be dangerous to the peace of the kingdom, and to require to be divided. Henry, moreover, had his own views concerning it. Of the daughters, Cicely and Hawise became Abbesses of Shaftesbury and Wilton. Amice is said to have married the Earl of Bretagne, but seems to have died early and childless. Mabel, called Sybil by William of Junieges, was regarded as the sole heiress and treated accordingly. She was the great match of her day, inheriting the Honour of Gloucester and the Lordship of Glamorgan, her father's other lands,

and those of her uncle, Hamo Dapifer,¹ in England and Normandy. The latter possessions included Thorigny, on the borders of Bayeux and Coutances, two miles from the boundary stream of La Vire. Here, at a later period, her husband built a large and strong castle.

It has been stated that Henry revived his mother's claim to Brictric's ancient Honour, and it has been supposed, but on weak authority, that most of the lands were male fiefs, and as such would revert to the crown. Probably, however, Henry was content with the wardship of the lands and the "maritagium" of the heiress, and allowed them to vest in her. Certain it is that Mabel exercised rights of ownership, both during her married life and her widowhood.

The husband selected for Mabel was the eldest of Henry's natural sons, by name Robert, and distinguished, probably from his birth place, as ROBERT of Caen. The general belief has long been that his mother was Nest, a daughter of Rhys of Twdwr, who certainly lived with the king for some time, and who had from her father the Lordship of Caerau or Carew in Pembrokeshire, and by her husband, Gerald de Windsor, was ancestress of that family, who derived their surname from their office of Castellan of Windsor Castle. Lappenberg, who accepts Nest as Robert's mother, thus accounts for the number of Welsh who followed him to the battle of Lincoln, and Palgrave rests upon it a circumstantial narrative, but there is no evidence for the fact, which moreover was not accepted by Dugdale.

The dates of Robert's birth and marriage are unrecorded, and can only be inferred. He was certainly born before his father's accession in 1100, and he seems to have been the eldest of Henry's many natural children. Henry himself was born in 1068. Robert's daughter was married to the Earl of Chester shortly before the battle of Lincoln in 1141, but as women were then married early this proves little. In 1140, according to the *Gesta Stephani*, after the capture of the Devizes, Robert's son

¹ This statement, which there seems no reason to doubt, assumes that Hamo died, at the latest, soon after his niece's marriage, but a "Hamo dapifer" witnessed a precept by Henry I concerning Savigny

Abbey in 1112, and a charter by Hugh Wade in 1168, and other documents in Normandy. He is called "Dapifer" or "Pincerna," indifferently. Who was he?

was sent to share the custody of the castle. About 1142, Philip, another son, is spoken of as taking an active part on his father's side, and he was married to a niece or granddaughter of Roger de Berkeley. Supposing Philip born about 1120, and not the eldest son, it seems possible that Robert must have married as early as 1116-17 or even a few years earlier.¹ Such is the conclusion of Mr. Floyd, who has worked out the point with his usual sagacity. This would give the administration of the estates to the crown for about ten years. If the marriage took place in 1117, the lady, Fitz-Hamon's eldest daughter, could not have been less than fourteen, and was probably nearer twenty. Henry was no doubt well aware of the great abilities of his son, and thought him a safe man to wield so great and peculiar a power.

The wooing was conducted by the king in person, and, if faithfully related by Robert of Gloucester, gives a high notion of the lady's good sense :—

“The kyng of sogte hyre sayth ynon, so that atten end
Mabye hym answerde”

She told him his wooing was more for what she had than for herself, and that with such an heritage she ought not to marry a lover unless he had a to-name or surname, and that as Fitz-Hamon's daughter she could ask no less.

“So vayr, as ych abbe, yt were me gret ssame,
Vor to abbe an loverd, bote he abbe an tuo name.”

Henry admits this, and says his son shall be called “Robert le Fitz le Roy,” a surname which however he does not seem ever to have borne. Then, with an eye to the future, Mabel asks what their son is to be called.

“Robert Erle of Gloucestre by name I sal he and ys
Vor he ssal be Erle of Gloucestre, and hys eyrs ywys.”

She answers—

¹ In 1118 he witnessed a Charter by Henry I to Savigny as “Robertus filius regis.”
—*Gall: Christ: xi*, 112.

“ In this forme yeholle, that all my thyng be hys.

This was erlene hondred yer, and in the yer ryght.

And of the kynges crounement in the (nynthe) yere
The vorst Erle of Gloucestre thus was mayd then
Robert, that spoused the ryght eyr, King Henry's sone,
That vor hys gode dede worth, ych were evene in mone."

Malmesbury says of the Countess—"She was a noble and excellent woman, a lady devoted to her husband, and blest with a numerous and beautiful progeny."

The actual conferring of the title seems to have followed the marriage, and Robert certainly bore it 1119, 20th Henry I. In the chronicles of that period the northern title of Earl is often rendered by the Latin "Consul," and Earl Robert is often called Consul of Gloucester, or "Robert Consul."

During the sixteen or more years that passed between this creation and Henry's death Robert's chief attention seems to have been given to his Welsh lordship, and whatever Fitz-Hamon may have achieved in subduing the natives, the real work of organizing and administering the conquest, and providing defences for the conquered territory, seems to have been in a great measure the work of Earl Robert. Fitz-Hamon must necessarily have provoked much personal enmity, and his close attendance upon Rufus, and his large estates in Normandy probably occupied most of his time during the seventeen years in which he survived his conquest, nor is there any tradition or material trace of any, even military, work in Glamorgan which can be ascribed to him. Earl Robert, on the other hand, was not associated with any of the acts of violence connected with the conquest, and his royal connection, vast power, and the great moderation of his character, were all calculated to lead the Welsh to submit to his rule. He allowed the men in the hills to retain unmolested their "Moes-y-Devod" or local customs to which they were attached. The sons of Jestyn were confirmed in their possessions, as was Cynfrig, whose two descendants, Ievan David ap Llewelyn Vachan, and Morgan Llewelyn ap Ievan Mady, were the patriarchs of the numerous families who dwelt in Miscin. The Welsh Lord of Senghe-

nydd was allowed to retain his patrimony, and with it a power, which in the next generation became troublesome. On the whole the Welsh of Morganwg seem to have accepted the inevitable, and to have respected the lord's demesne lands and those of his dependants, and that they were, on the whole, peaceable subjects, and that there was a disposition to give them fair play, may be perhaps inferred from the constitution of the local inquests in the succeeding century, when, even in the districts bordering on the hills, the jurors were almost all Welshmen. The conquest was, however, far too recent, and the Welsh spirit far too jealous of control to allow the lord's authority to rest alone upon an equitable system of government. Earl Robert, who is known to have built Bristol Castle, is reported also to have built that of Cardiff, and the material evidence of the polygonal keep and of the outer wall is in harmony with this tradition. The castle was certainly a place of great strength, when, in 1126, Duke Robert was removed from the Devizes and placed in charge of the Earl, who lodged him first at Bristol, and very soon afterwards at Cardiff, where he died in 1134. Earl Robert seems also to have built a castle at Llantrissant, and the accounts of the Lordship in 1184 show that the castles of Newport, Kenfig, and Neath were at that time regularly established fortresses. Penllyne keep, with its herring-bone masonry, is probably a work of Earl Robert's time, although the Norrises do not appear to have held the fief until Robert Norris received it from William, the Earl's successor, whose vicecomes he was. The older remains of the castles of Sully, Fonmon, Castleton, Dunraven, and Ogmere, the seats of the families of Sully, St. John, Nerberd, Butler and De Londres, points to the same date, as do the walls and gate of the castle of Newcastle, and the oldest part of the Turberville castle of Coyty.

Earl Robert's rule also produced works of a more pacific character. In 1147 he founded the Abbey of Margam and endowed it with lands between Kenfig and the Avan. To de Granville's foundation of Neath Abbey, to which he succeeded as patron, he gave Ponte and Blackscarr, and these two foundations, though occasionally attacked by the Welsh, were, on the whole, popular with

them, and received from the native lords very large additions to their possessions.

Also, in 1126, he healed a long open sore between the lords of Glamorgan and their bishops. The Earl gave up a fishery on the Ely, 100 acres of cultivable land in the marsh between Taff and Ely, the right to take lime from the forests for the repairs of the church, the chapel of Stuntaff or Whitchurch, the parishioners of which he allowed to attend Llandaff at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, and to be buried in Llandaff, and other matters. The Bishop agreed to set aside divers complaints he had to make, and so to adjust his weir that the pipye of the river should neither be impeded by floods from above or below. The jurisdiction of the Bishop's manor court was settled, and it was agreed that ordeal by fire should be tried at Llandaff, and by water. *fossa judicialis aqua*, on the Bishop's land near Cardiff Castle. Judicial duels were to be fought out in the castle, saving the Bishop's rights. The concord was drawn up before the King with some formality, and among the witnesses are found Archdeacon Ucketred, Isaac the Bishop's chaplain, Richard Vicecomes de Kardi, Pagande Tuberville, Rodbert Fitz-Roger, Richard de St. Quintin, Mauru de Londres, Odo Sor, and Gauff: de Maisi.

Earl Robert's attention to his Welsh Lordship did not lead him to neglect the interests of his father. He served with Henry at the battle of Brenneville in 1119, (?) and was at the taking of Byton Castle in 1122, and in 1127 was among those who swore in Henry's presence an oath of allegiance to his daughter, a pledge which he amply redeemed, though supposed by some writers to have had an eye himself to the succession.

Neath Abbey was founded about 1129 by Richard de Granville, Fitz-Hamon's chief baron, and probably his near relative. The foundation charter is not dated, but it runs in the names of Richard de Granville and Constantia his wife, and provides for the weal of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, Mabel his wife, and William their son. Amongst the witnesses were Richard de St. Quintin, Robert de Umfraville, Pagan de Turberville, William Pincerna, and Robert de Granville, all Glamorgan Barons, and the Earl undertook to guard and defend the gifts.

Henry died 1 Dec., 1135, and, it is stated by Orderic, placed, on his death bed, in the hands of Robert £60,000 for the payment of his household and immediate followers. His death was followed 15 April, 1136, by a rising in South Wales, in which Richard Fitz-Gilbert, son of the conqueror of Cardigan, was slain. The Welsh inburst was severe. Whether they actually recovered Gower from Henry de Bellomont is uncertain, but they destroyed many castles, churches, and houses, and slaughtered both rich and poor. This is the rising that seems to have caused de Granville to retire from Neath to his Devon lordship, leaving his fief in the hands of his chief Lord. Giraldus says, "after crossing the Nedd we proceeded towards the River Locher, through the plain in which Howel ap Meredith of Brecknock, after the death of Henry I, gained a signal victory over the English, and Florence of Worcester mentions a severe battle fought in Gower 1 Jan., 1136, between the Normans and the Welsh, after which the main inroad occurred and Richard Fitz-Gilbert fell." The Welsh occupation of Gower must have rendered De Granville's position on the Nedd one of great danger, and it was probably under this pressure that he retired.

Earl Robert returned to England with Henry's corpse, and probably at that time regarded Matilda's cause as hopeless, for he made terms with Stephen, and gave in his allegiance, though upon conditions which gave to his adhesion a great air of equality. In 1136 his name as Robert, Earl of Gloucester, appears as a witness to Stephen's Charter *de libertatibus*, etc. In 1138 he received from Stephen a confirmation of Fitz-Hamon's gifts to St. Peter's, Gloucester, and those of St. Michael's, Ogmores, and St. Bride's, which a letter of Henry, Bishop of Winchester, Papal Legate in 1139-1148, mentions as proceeding from Maurice de Londres. The Legate's letter relates to a chapel built in Llancarvan parish contrary to the wish of the Abbot of St. Peter's, and in which the bishop is directed not to allow service to be performed. This letter is enforced by one of a similar character from Archbishop Theobald. According to the Gloucester cartulary the donations of Maurice, son of William de Londres, were made in 1141, but if the date of Stephen's charter be

correct this must have been a confirmation only. The donations were St. Michael of Ewenny, St. Bride's, with the chapel of Ogmore of Lanfey, and the church of St. Michael's of Colveston (Colwinston), of Oystermouth in Gower, and of Penbrae.

In 1138 Earl Robert built Bristol Castle, a very strong fortress, at the junction of the Frome with the Avon, in a very low marshy district. This castle has long been destroyed, save a crypt. It is said to have had a rectangular keep, which, in such a position, is probable, and of which the well has been recently discovered. The keep was faced with Caen stone. In the following year, late in the summer, the Earl brought over his sister to England, landing at Portsmouth, whence he lodged her at Arundel, the polygonal keep and gatehouse of which had recently been constructed by William d'Albini, who had married Adeliza, the second wife and widow of Henry I. On hearing of the Empress's arrival Stephen at once broke up the siege of Marlborough and appeared before Arundel. By some accounts his courtesy was such that he allowed her to retire with her brother to Wallingford, to Brian Fitz-Count, whence she went to Milo, the Constable of England, at Gloucester, and thence, as a very strong retreat, to Bristol. Early in October Earl Robert's preparations were completed, and in December, while Stephen was attacking Wallingford by means of a great wooden tower or *malvoisin*, he took Worcester, and in the following April, Nottingham. Stephen in the meantime had attacked and failed before Bristol, and had ravaged a part of the Honour of Gloucester, in Somerset. In 1141 Robert lodged some of his English hostages with the Count of Anjou, Matilda's husband, and in the same year he fought the battle of Lincoln, having led into the field a large body of Welshmen, this being probably the first time that the Norman Lord of Glamorgan had been so supported. Stephen, there taken captive, was sent to Bristol Castle, and soon afterwards at Oxford Matilda created Milo of Gloucester Earl of Hereford, Earl Robert attesting the creation.

These successes were injurious to the character and cause of the Empress, who disgusted her supporters, and in consequence had to flee to Winchester, where she held

the royal castle at one end of the city, and laid siege to the bishop in his castle of Wolvesey at the other. Here she was blockaded by Stephen's friends, and between them and the bishop was so pressed, that she escaped, it is said, in a coffin, and reached Gloucester, while Earl Robert, covering her flight, was taken and committed to the castle at Rochester, whence he was speedily exchanged for Stephen. The war was continued, the Earl frustrated Stephen's attempts upon Wallingford, then one of the strongest places in the south of England as indeed its extant earthworks still testify, and he also hovered over Stephen's march to Winchester, and much impeded his movements.

The Earl next revisited the continent and brought over Geoffrey Plantagenet, landing at Wareham, where with some difficulty and delay he took the castle. In 1143, 1 July, he attacked Stephen at Wilton and drove him out, and Count Geoffrey returned to Anjou, taking with him Henry, the future king.

In 1145, died Richard the first Abbot of Neath. In 1146, Bishop Uchtred of Llandaff relates in a charter how in this year, by the mediation and concession of Earl Robert, peace was established between the bishop and the abbot and monks of Tewkesbury, the bishop giving consent to their holding all the tythes and benefices given, or to be given, lawfully to them in his diocese, and they yielding to the bishop their tythe of the cultivated demesne in the moor between Taff and Ely, and two parts of the tythe of Merthyr-Mawr and that attached to St. John's Chapel. Further, saving to Llandaff its own claim, they consent to allow to the Bishops of Llandaff a burial at Tewkesbury, of which privilege however they did not avail themselves. Twenty years before this the Earl had settled his own differences with Urban, the bishop's predecessor, in an amicable manner, and some time afterwards Bishop Uchtred's concord was in like manner confirmed by Bishop Nicholas, who succeeded him.

Also in 1146 the Abbot and Convent of Gloucester farmed out for five years, for a fine of £80 in silver, Penon with the Church of Llancarvan, to Robert Harding, with power to determine the agreement on a rateable repay-

ment. This agreement was witnessed by the Earl with the whole "comitatus" of Cardiff. Afterwards during the episcopate of Bishop Nicholas, 1153-1183, the abbot let Treyguff and the church of Llancarvan, saving the tythe, to Archdeacon Urban, at 60s. per annum. Soon afterwards, however, the archdeacon, probably feeling a scruple of conscience about the matter, with the bishop's consent, renounced his lease.

Earl Robert, after having borne the brunt of the civil war, was denied the satisfaction of witnessing the close of it, and his nephew's accession. He died at Bristol in October, 1147, seven years before the pacification of Wallingford and the death of Stephen. Earl Robert founded Margam in 1147, the last year of his life. In 1148 Bishop Uchtred died, and was succeeded at Llandaff by Nicholas, son of Bishop Gwrgan.

Earl Robert was one of the greatest soldiers and most prudent or perhaps astute statesman of his day. Whatever, under other circumstances, he may possibly have intended, he was a loyal promoter of his sister's interests, and did much to correct or rather to check her weak but imperious character. Like his father Beaulerc, he was a great patron of literature and himself a man of letters. He was the friend of Caradoc of Llancarvan, and probably the cause of the Norman bias of that historian. To him Geoffrey of Monmouth dedicated his version of the *Brut*, and William of Malmesbury his history, attributing to him the magnanimity of his grandsire the Conqueror, the munificence of his uncle William Rufus, and the circumspection of his father. It was unfortunate for the good government of Glamorgan that English affairs occupied so much of the latter part of his life.

Besides his Welsh endowments, Earl Robert was a liberal benefactor to the church upon his English estates. He founded the Priory of St. James at Bristol, in the choir of which he was buried, and where his effigy carved in wood, though probably not quite of contemporary date, is still preserved. To St. Peter's at Gloucester he gave, 1130-39, Treygoff, and in a later charter, 1139-47, he confirmed Treygoff with Penon and the church of Llancarvan, and to Ewenny the gifts of Maurice de Londres, all for the weal of his soul and that of Mabel

his countess, who witnessed the charter. In it Robert styles himself "*Robertus regis filius Gloucestriae Consul.*" In another longer charter, probably of the same date, he confirms the gifts of Maurice de Londres and Gilbert de Turberville to Ewenny, and adds twenty-one acres of arable land outside the gates of Kenfig. He also confirms his quittance of toll to Ewenny. All this he does "*Amore beati Michaelis archiangeli.*" Earl Robert is said to have built a castle at Faringdon in Berkshire, but this was probably a slight and temporary work, it may be of timber.

Countess Mabel survived her husband ten years, during which time she seems to have acted with authority in Glamorgan. Her earliest charter as a widow, given probably in 1147, is a confirmation to St. Peter's of Gloucester, and commences "*M: Comitissa Gloucestriae, et Willelmus comes, filius ejus, Willelmo filio Stephani constabulario suo etc.*" Fitz Stephen was constable of Cardiff Castle. The lands confirmed are Treygoff, Llan-carvan and Penon. Mabel also gave to St. Augustin's, Bristol, sixty acres of land in the marsh of Rhymny, and in Earl William's charter to Neath, he adds the assent and consent of Mabel his mother. She died in 1157.

Her children were—1, William; 2, Roger, Bishop of Worcester in 1164; he was Henry's messenger to Rome after Becket's murder in 1167, and died at Tours 9 Aug., 1179. 3, Hamo, who witnessed his brother's foundation of Ardennes in 1139 as "*Hamo filius comitis Gloucestriae,*" and who died at the siege of Thoulouse in 1159. 4, Philip, who married a daughter of Roger Lord Berkeley, and latterly took part with Stephen. 5, A son mentioned by William of Jumieges, and who probably was the "Richard, son of Robert Earl of Gloucester," who, says Orderic, received in 1135 the Bishopric of Bayeux. As bishop in 1138, he witnessed a deed of commutation, between Roger, Abbot of Fecamp, and Earl Robert, concerning the priory of Gilves (?), and in the same year founded Ardennes, an abbey near Caen, in the charter for which he is styled "*Richard, Bishop of Bayeux, son of Robert Earl of Gloucester, son of the king of England.*" Of an additional donation it is stated "*Dedit autem et Robertus regis filius Gloucestriae consul.*" Bishop Richard

died 3 April, 1142.—*Gall. Ch.*, xi, 78, Inst. 6, Maud, who married Ralph Gernons, Earl of Chester.

WILLIAM, the second Earl of Gloucester, succeeded his father in 1147 and his mother in 1157, and held the Lordship from the former period thirty-six years. He is first mentioned in the foundation charter of Neath in 1129, and next as governor of Wareham Castle during his father's absence in Normandy in 1142, where he was attacked by Stephen and the castle taken. He commenced his rule, probably with an understanding with his mother, by a charter dated January 1148, addressed in regal style to his dapifer, barons, vicecomes, and to his lieges generally, French, English, or Welsh. It is specially addressed to Hamo de Valoignes, one of a family then considerable in the county, and it alludes to the foundation of the churches of St. Mary and St. Thomas at Cardiff. By another charter he confirmed certain gifts to Tewkesbury.

In 1153 his name as "William Earl of Gloucester" is attached to the convention between Stephen and Maud. Also in 1153 died William, the first Abbot of Margam, who was succeeded by Abbot Andrew, who died 31 December, 1155. In 1154, 25 October, Stephen died and Henry II succeeded to the throne. In 1156, Geoffrey, Bishop of Llandaff, died whilst engaged at mass.

A great event in Earl William's reign, according to the Welsh Chronicle, was his war with Ivor ap Meyric or Ivor bach, Lord of Senghenydd, of which the Earl threatened to deprive him, and whose stronghold seems to have been on the high ground above the later fortress of Castell coch overlooking the plain of Cardiff, and placed most conveniently for a dash at that castle. No doubt the hopes of the Welsh were at that time much excited by the ill success of Henry's expedition in North Wales in 1157, but Ivor's enterprise, as recorded by Giraldus, who however places it in 1153, was not the less a marvel of audacity. Cardiff Castle, as may yet in part be seen, was defended by a wall 40 feet high and 11 feet thick, and was at that time garrisoned by 120 men at arms and a large body of archers and a strong watch. In the contiguous town was also a stipendiary force. Ivor, however, with his Welshmen scaled the wall

at night, surprised the garrison, carried off the Earl, his countess, and their son to the hills, and dictated his own terms. The Welsh pedigrees, by way of rounding off the story, make him marry the Earl's daughter, but the more reliable English records give no support to this part of it. Ivor's descendants long continued to be the mesne Lords of Senghenydd, and still, both in the male and female line, retain considerable property within and along its border; but this raid probably gave occasion, a century later, to the construction of the tower of Whitchurch, the castellets of Castell coch and Morlais, and the grand border fortress of Caerphilly.

5th Henry II, 1158-9, Thomas, nephew to the Earl of Gloucester, owed fifty marcs to the Exchequer for his land at Chilchester, Devon; and in the sixth year this is entered "*de placitis*" of William Fitz John, who is remitted the fifty marcs by the king. Who Thomas was is not known; no doubt the same who in 1176, as the nephew to the Earl of Gloucester, with Richard his son, owed forty marcs to the Exchequer. In 1160, during the king's prolonged stay in Normandy, Earl William took part in an expedition against Rhys ap Griffith, who retaliated in the year following by burning the grange of Margam. In 1165-6, upon the aid for marrying the king's daughter to Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, the Earl was rated upon $36\frac{1}{3}$ fees in Kent, and elsewhere on 274 fees, in all $309\frac{1}{2}$ fees, of which $261\frac{1}{2}$ were in the Honour of Gloucester. This was exclusive of his Welsh lordship, which seems recently to have been augmented by the acquisition of Caerleon from Meredyth ap Howel. In 1166 Robert, Earl William's brother, died. In 1169 the Earl founded Keynsham Abbey.

In the autumn of 1171, and in March 1172, Henry passed through Cardiff on his way to and from Ireland. On the latter occasion occurred the incident related by Giraldus, and which is thought to mark the commencement of the movement for keeping holy the Lord's day, which became popular in the reign of King John. Henry being at Cardiff on Low Sunday (23 April) heard mass in St. Perian's Chapel, in Shoemaker-street, and as he came forth and was about to mount his horse, a man addressed him in English, saying—"God keep thee, O king; Christ

and his Holy Mother, John the Baptist, and Peter the Apostle greet thee, and by me order thee to forbid all fairs and markets on the Lord's day, and all not necessary labours, and take thou heed that the sacred offices be devoutly administered, so shalt thou prosper." "Ask the master," said the king in Norman French, turning to Sir Philip Marcross, "whether he directed this;" on which the man repeated his admonition, announced troubles at hand, and disappeared, while the king, having mounted, rode away over Rhymny bridge into England. It was during this Irish journey that Henry summoned Yorworth of Caerleon and his sons to meet him at Newport on Usk, addressing to them a safe conduct. While on the road one of the Earl of Gloucester's men met them, and killed Owen ap Yorworth, on which Yorworth, distrustful, returned, and laid waste the country towards Gloucester. Henry finally took possession of Caerleon, in revenge for which, in July 1174, when Henry was beyond the sea, Yorworth and Morgan ap Sissylt ap Dynval destroyed Caerleon town and castle and wasted the neighbourhood, then in English occupation. In 1171-2 the Bishop of Llandaff, the see being much impoverished by these repeated harryings, received 66s. 8d. the king's gift, and a corrody of 13s. from Hyde Abbey.

In 1173 the Pipe Roll enters from Gilbert de Umfranville £44 10s. 2d. "*pro rehabenda terra sua*," of which the Earl of Gloucester had deforced him. There was in the treasury £9 6s. 8d., and he owed £35 3s. 6d., and in the next year's account he had paid 101s. 8d. This looks as though the earl's lands were in the king's hands, which is strange, unless indeed the king had taken them in hand on account of the earl's adherence to the party of the young Henry, to which for a time he either gave his aid, or at least did not support the king, affecting neutrality. That the king was dissatisfied with him is also shewn by his having actually imprisoned him with the Earl of Lincoln, and by his including him among those whom he dispossessed of their castles, when he attached that of Bristol to the Crown. This was in 1175, in which year Henry received at Gloucester the Welsh magnate Rhys ap Griffith, and with him Morgan ap Caradoc ap Jestyn of Avan, whose mother Gwladys was

Prince Rhys's sister, and Griffith ap Ivor bach of Senghenydd, together with another nephew of Rhys, also a son of his sister; with them came Yorworth ap Owen of Caerleon. It should be observed that both Morgan and Griffith were vassal barons of the Earl of Gloucester, and had he been in a position to enforce his rights they would not have been admitted to the sovereign. In Lent, 1177, at the assembly in London in which Henry arbitrated between the Kings of Castile and Navarre, Earl William appears as one of the witnesses of the confirming document.

In 1181 Henry proclaimed an assize of arms, certainly much needed, on the Welsh borders, but which was an assumption by the Crown of the right to tax rents and in some degree personal chattels. Every holder of a knight's fee was to be provided with a cuirass, a helmet, a shield, and a lance, and so many fees as he may hold, so many of each was he to provide. Every free layman, having chattels or a rental equal to sixteen mares, was to provide a hauberk, an iron headpiece, and a lance. No man is to sell, to pledge, or to lend these arms; no lord is to seize them. They are to descend to the heir, and if he be an infant the guardian is to use them until the owner be able to bear arms. No man is to possess more arms than the above. In 1182 the Welsh slew Ranulph Poer, the king's sheriff for Gloucestershire. Nicholas, Bishop of Llandaff, died 6 Sep., 1183.

Earl William died on the night of St. Clement's, 23 Nov. 1183, the anniversary of his birth, and probably about the sixtieth of his age. Among his works was the building of the town of Kenfig, and the foundation of Keynsham abbey at the request of his dying son. To the monks of Neath he confirmed his father's gift of Blackscarr, to which he added the right of wreck upon their sea shore. To Margam he gave by charter, before 1166, tested by his countess and addressed to his sheriff and barons "*Siwardum palmiferum*," with his house and curtilage, by the hand of Robert his son. By another charter he gave to the monks of St. Peter's, Gloucester, freedom from toll in Bristol, Cardiff, and Newport, for the soul's weal of himself, his countess, and their son. To St. Augustine's, Bristol, he gave the tythes of his mills at Newport, and a tenth of his forest rent for Candelan, with lands on the

river Rhymny near Cardiff; and to the church of St. Guthlac, Hereford, freedom from toll throughout his Welsh possessions, and the same freedom to the monks of Goldcliff, in Bristol, Cardiff, Newport, Caerleon, and Chepstow. By another charter preserved in the Bradenstoke Cartulary he gave to a certain "Stemor" his burgage in Cardiff at 12d. per annum rent instead of 2s. Another charter, tested by his countess, relates to what Mr. Floyd supposes to be the parish church of St. Mary at Cardiff, which he seems to have rebuilt and dedicated to St. Mary and St. Thomas, then recently martyred. There are also other charters by Earl William relating to donations in Gloucester and Dorset.¹ He was buried at Keynsham.

Earl William married Hawise daughter of Robert Bossu, Earl of Leicester. She died 24th April, 1197, having had to stand up for her vidual rights. 1st Richard I she had £50 allowed her for her maritagium for the half year, in the accounts of the Honour of Gloucester; and 7th Richard I, just before her death, she accounted for 200 marcs, or £66 13s. 4d., in the Pipe Roll of Devon and Somerset, as her payment on her dower and maritagium.

Their children were—1, Robert, mentioned in the Pipe Roll 1155 as "Robertum filium Comitis Gloucestræ;" he was born and died at Cardiff, and was buried at Keynsham. 2, Mabel. 3, Amice. 4, Isabel. As Robert died young and childless, the three sisters became coheirs.

It was Earl William who presented King Henry with the spotted greyhound so celebrated for his fidelity to Owen ap Caradoc ap Jestyn, having received seven wounds in defence of his master, who was slain by Cadwalader ap Caradoc, his brother, who also came to an untimely end.

Upon the earl's death the lordship fell into the custody of the crown, and its accounts appear in the Pipe Rolls of the 30th Henry II, 1183-4, in which year there was paid livery for four hostages of the Earl of Gloucester, for 129 days 43s.; and in the account of the earl's lands rendered by Hugh Bardolf appear fifty measures of wheat and fifty

¹ He also granted certain lands to the house of Boley near Torigny. — (*Gall. Christ.*, xi, 456.)

bacons for Pembroke Castle, £6 9s., and the same for Caermarthen Castle. Also to Hamo de Valoiniis for enclosing, "claudendo," the vill of Kenfig, £16 ; so that it is probable that the tradition of the building of Kenfig town by Earl William is well founded, and that the enclosing it by a wall or some kind of defence was the completion of his work. William de Cogan had two marks, balance of his last year's pay. From Cornwall came 100 bacons, 500 cheeses, and 200 cranocks of wheat for Neath Castle; which looks as though the Granvilles retained some interest in it. The cost and the carriage were £30. 4s. 8d. Also Maurice de Berkeley accounted for £79. 13s. 4d. for "servientes" in the king's service, and the cost of sending them from Bristol to Cardiff was £69. 13s. 4d.

In 1184 Henry was at Worcester on South Wales' affairs. Rhys ap Griffith had a safe conduct and came to the king, and promised his sons and nephews as hostages. They, however, refused to redeem the promise. It is rather strange, after what had passed, that Howel of Caerleon should be in the king's service against his countrymen.

In 1185 the Welsh, unrestrained by any giving of hostages, invaded Glamorgan. They burnt Kenfig and the town of Cardiff, and laid siege to Neath Castle, attacking it fiercely. It was, however, relieved by the Normans, who beat off the swarm of Welshmen, and burned their machines of war. In this year William, Prior of St. Augustine's, became Bishop of Llandaff, and in 1187 consecrated the altar of the Holy Trinity in the Abbey of Margam.

On the 6th July, 1189, King Henry died, the lordship being still in the hands of the Crown.

ON THE ROMAN STATIONS "BURRIUM," "GOBANNIUM,"
AND "BLESTIUM," OF THE TWELFTH & THIRTEENTH
ITERS OF ANTONINUS,

BY W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

So little has hitherto been either known or written of the above-mentioned stations, that it seems highly desirable to put on record in a succinct form all the evidence in the shape of discoveries of Roman remains (and the comments thereon by various authors) which have taken place in the neighbourhood of their sites. The chief discoveries seem altogether unrecorded in any archæological work, although their importance in identifying the sites is great.

In Iter XII of Antoninus we find the two first named stations placed on the route from *Isca* (Caerleon) to *Magna* (Kenchester), thus—

Ab <i>Isca</i> .	Mil Pas.	
<i>Burrio</i> .	Novem.	9.
<i>Magnis</i> .	Viginti et duo.	22.
<i>Gobannio</i> .	Duodecim.	12.

In the thirteenth Iter, which runs from *Isca* to *Callera* (Silchester in Hampshire), we find *Blestium* mentioned, thus—

Ab <i>Isca</i> .	Mil Pas.	
<i>Burrio</i> .	Novem.	9.
<i>Bléstio</i> .	Undecim.	11.
<i>Ariconio</i> .	Undecim.	11.
<i>Gleco</i> .	Quindecim.	15.

The stations *Gleum* and *Ariconium* have been identified as Gloucester and Bury Hill near Weston under Penyard, respectively, so that it seems certain that *Blestium* was situated somewhere on the Gloucestershire side of the county of Monmouth, but the question of its actual site I will leave until I have treated of the stations in the twelfth Iter.

The celebrated Horsley was, I believe, the first antiquary who placed the Roman *Burrium* at the present town of Usk (*Brit. Rom.*, pp. 320 and 465). The distance from Caerleon, and the track of the Roman road, seem strong evidence in favour of his decision. He says of Usk (p. 320)—“The situation and shape of this latter town, lying in squares, together with some coins found there, favour its having been a Roman station, though at present there are no remains of it,” &c. The coins he names are the first discovery of the Roman period recorded to have been made at Usk. Seventy years afterwards Coxe in his *Monmouthshire* (pub. 1801) says of the town (p. 125)—“In digging wells and making foundations for buildings three ranges of pavement have been discovered, and in the adjacent fields pitched roads traced, which are supposed to have been streets of the town.” In a note to this paragraph he adds—“In a field called *Cae Puta*, to the south of the town, beneath the church and the turnpike road, about five years ago, a paved road was discovered under ground; it was nine feet broad, and formed of hewn stones set edgeways.” On the same page he also says—“A lane called Book lane was pointed out to me as having been a street of the (ancient) town.” Britton and Brayley, in the *Beauties of England and Wales* (vol. xi, p. 144), add to the above account that the road found in *Cae Puta* “was probably part of the old road which extended from *Burrium* to *Venta Silurum*.” In this case it would lead nearly north and south. They also add—“Many ancient houses are in ruins, and of some only the foundations remain.” These remains of houses, I think, were undoubtedly (judging from recent discoveries) of the Roman period. In the same work it is also inferred that the castle (or rather its outer bailey) had been the Roman *castrum*, for after the statement that its origin was unknown, it is added, “though from some of its architectural features it was of Roman or Roman-British origin.” Then it is remarked that the remotest notice of it found is that it belonged to Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, in the reign of Henry III. The outer bailey “is surrounded by straight walls, flanked with round and square towers destitute of windows, but having occasional narrow aper-

tures." There are no doubt instances of a Roman *castrum* serving as the "outer bailey" of a mediæval castle, as at Pevensey and Porchester; but in the present instance, as far as I can judge, there appears to be no sign of Roman work in the architecture of the castle. I will, however, leave this for others to decide.

This field, called *Cae Puta* (or *Putta*), is due south of the present town of Usk, and is bounded on its southern side by a small brook, the lane named by Coxe as "Book Lane," but which in old deeds is called "Puck Lane" (pronounced in the neighbourhood as "Pook"), until lately formed its northern boundary. In the year 1842 this field became the property of the county of Monmouth, and a gaol was built in or about its centre. During the excavations necessary for its erection numerous Roman remains were brought to light, but unfortunately no record of them has been preserved. From the verbal evidence of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, however, it appears that two roads, one running almost north and south, were come upon,¹ with the foundations of numerous buildings, which latter were immediately destroyed. A great number of coins, fibulæ, &c., were also found, but (with the few exceptions named hereafter) were dispersed and lost. The only public notice taken of them at the time was the following paragraph in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. i, p. 188:—"A discovery of a considerable quantity of Roman pottery, bricks, &c., and of some coins, has lately been made at Usk, in digging for the foundations of the new gaol." A few articles only have been preserved, and are now in the Museum at Caerleon. They consist of a *mortarium* 14 inches by 5½ inches, inscribed on each side of the spout ALBINI, a portion of a "pillar moulded" glass of greenish hue, a fragment of deep blue glass speckled with white, a most beautiful enamelled fibula or stud: a first brass coin of Domitian *Rev. VIRTVS. AVGVSTI*; and two third brass coins of Gallienus, *Rev. VBERITAS. AVG.*

Mr. Lee, in his *Isca Silurum* p. 55, describes also several very beautiful coloured glass beads, found in the

¹ It is said that these roads were found at a depth of two feet only, but this is questionable.

garden of Iltyd Nicholl, Esq., near the river. Some years later when a new wing was added to the gaol, a Roman paved street was also come upon, but nothing has been recorded as to its dimensions or exact direction.¹

But in the year 1876, it was decided to erect a new Court House, adjoining the gaol on the north side. To do this, as the remainder of the original field, *Cae Putta*, was not sufficient in size, it was necessary to include not only a portion of Book Lane, but of a field on the other side of it, called by Coxe the "Priory Orchard," but now a meadow. The course of Book Lane had accordingly to be diverted further northwards. This will be best explained by the accompanying plan. Possibly as little might have transpired concerning any antiquarian discoveries made on the occasion, as in the previous instances, had it not been for the clerk of the works, Mr. James M. Lucas, who took much interest in the matter. During the excavations necessary for the southern walls of the building, and also in digging a water tank, Mr. Lucas informed me that the workmen came upon a regular pitched road running north and south, with another crossing it from (as he thought) E.N.E. to W.S.W., but the direction of this latter has since been found somewhat different, as will be explained hereafter. The road running north and south, as marked in the plan, was traced southwards to the wall of the gaol. These roads were laid bare at the point of their intersection, and were there in a most perfect state. Like those at Pompeii they had raised *trottoirs* or footpaths at the sides. The width of the central roadway was nine feet, and it was pitched with blocks of limestone extending fifteen inches into the ground. Each stone appeared to have been hammer dressed, and measured at the surface of the roadway five inches by two inches. The *trottoirs* were three feet six inches in width, with kerbstones, and were paved with small rough stone cubes. Some of these cubes, and one of the kerbstones, are (or were) in Mr. Lucas's possession. These roads were the only portions of the discoveries which attracted much notice, but it is known that in levelling the ground in front of the Court

¹ From the position of the wing of the gaol, this road must of necessity have been east of the one running north and south found in 1876.

House, at the point marked *j* in the plan, considerable portions of walls were found, only, however, to be immediately destroyed. Amongst the miscellaneous remains found were several querns or hand mills, and a quantity of bones of animals. In connection with this it may also be stated that bones of the wild boar were met with, considerably above the Roman level. A shilling of James I was likewise discovered near the surface.

But the most interesting discovery made on this occasion was that of a fragment of an inscribed Roman tombstone. Though much shattered and worn, enough remains to identify it as commemorating the child of a soldier of the Second Legion, who lived three years and some months. The letters (some of them puzzling) are—

* . AN . III
INQVE
CVD . F. *
* II . AVG . F. C *
* M . FIL . F. M

The asterisks mark obliterated and unintelligible letters, the upper part of the stone containing the name of the deceased is lost. The commencement of what is left has been VIX. (for VIXIT, part of the X being visible) AN. III. In the second line there has been either *Menses* (or *Dies*) (*q*)*uinque*. The third line, as it stands, is puzzling. It looks as if it contained in an abbreviated form the name of the father of the child, but if so it is not in its normal position. It is followed by *Miles Leg(ionis)* II. AVG, or if not *Miles*, the title of some officer of the legion is named. The letters after this I took to be F. CVR (in the fourth line), followed by AVIT (in a ligulate form) FIL. B.M., but all who have seen the stone agree that the letters are as above. At the end of the fourth line after C there seems to be a letter like R or P, which is much larger than the others in the line. As it stands, the lettering between AVG and FIL is at present unintelligible, but for the remainder I suggest *Filio Fecit Monumentum*.

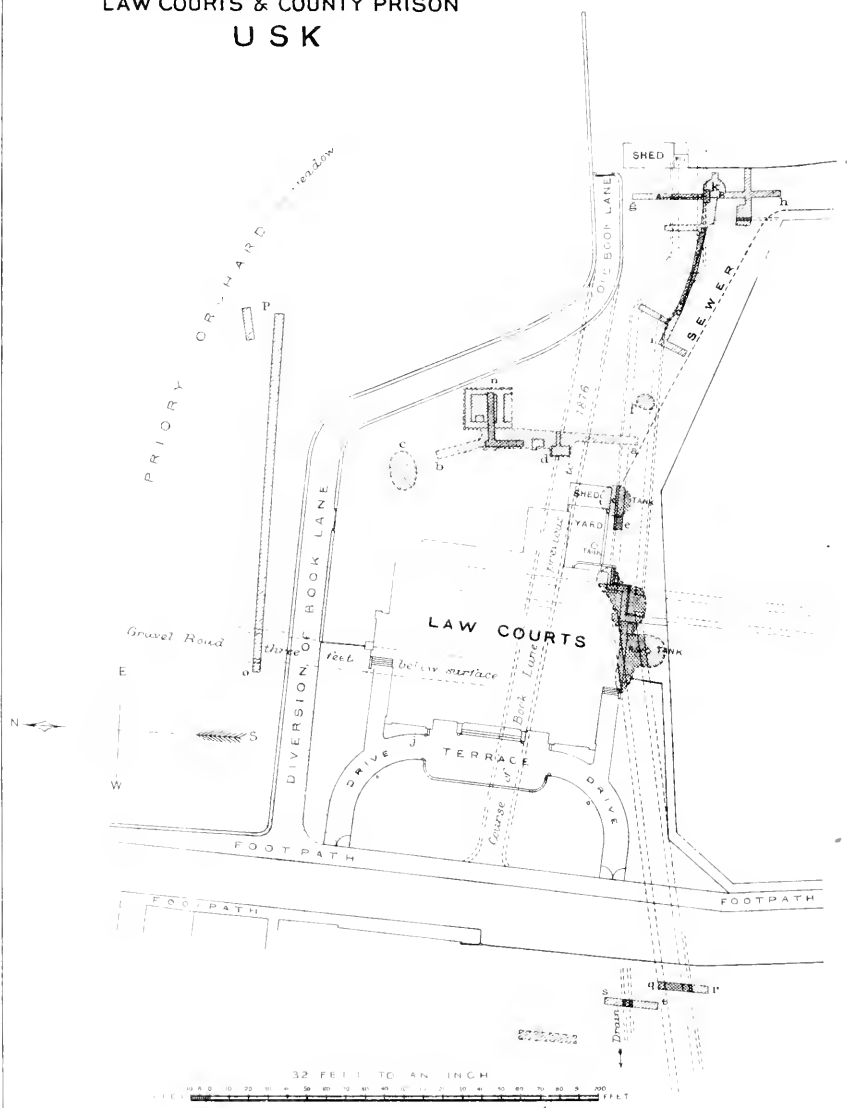
I am indebted to Lieut.-Col. Milman (governor of the gaol), in whose possession the stone now is, for a squeeze of the inscription, and to A. D. Berrington, Esq., Pant-y-Goitre, for a rubbing of the same. In its present state the stone measures thirteen inches by ten.

During these excavations some seventy to eighty Roman coins were found, but they were dispersed amongst the workmen and lost. Two were recovered by Mr. Berrington and sent to me for inspection. They were both of the first brass series of Trajan; on one the reverse was totally obliterated; the reverse of the other was ARMENIA ET MESOPOTAMIA IN POTESTATEM P.R. REDACTAE. A few more of the coins found in these excavations were recovered by Mr. O. Morgan, but I have not yet been able to see them.

Very fortunately, after hearing of these discoveries, I made enquiries of, amongst others, Mr. A. D. Berrington of Pant-y-Goitre. This gentleman, who is a most diligent antiquary, happened to be abroad at the time the Court House was erected, but upon my corresponding with him on the subject of the remains found, he at once proposed, at his own expense, to make excavations in the fields, &c. surrounding both the Gaol and Court House, and to him I am indebted for the whole of the following information. Mr. Berrington's course of action cannot be too highly praised, and were the same zeal shewn by others, who have the opportunity of excavating on the site of Roman stations in various parts of the kingdom, our knowledge of the topography and history of Roman-Britain would be vastly increased.

Having obtained the consent of the Visiting Justices, Mr. Berrington, on the 27th of December last, set four men to work in the garden behind the Court House, to the east of it. The first operation was to open a trench at the point marked *a*, which was continued northward. It was hoped by this means that the road reported by Mr. Lucas as running E.N.E. to S.S.W. would be struck upon. At the depth of six feet a layer of broken pottery, with some fragments of lead and a few animals' bones, were found. Under this was a layer of alluvial sand, under this gravel, also deposited by the river. This had brought the workmen to a depth of ten feet from the surface, including two feet of recent filling, still they had not found the anticipated roadway; but in the layer of sand which had been cut through various Roman remains had been found. The layer of pottery which was upon the top of the sand embraced some fine pieces of Samian

PLAN OF LAND SURROUNDING LAW COURTS & COUNTY PRISON USK



The excavations of the building of the Court House.
In 1876 mapped by M^r Lucas
M^r Berringtons excavations 1878.

ware, one embossed with an eagle and leaf pattern, another with a dancing goat and birds, others had a pattern composed entirely of leaves, various pieces of coarse red pottery, and the handle of an amphora bearing in relief the letters MCSR, and roughly graven above them was the mark LIII. Then in the upper part of the sand layer were more fragments of both plain and figured Samian ware, portions of black ware and amphoræ of yellow moulded ware (one with a rosette in relief), black ware with an elaborate pattern, and one piece with a fine metallic glaze. A number of the fragments bore the potters' names. Some few fragments of tile were also found, one portion of a curved tile being inscribed LEG. II., —the remainder (AVG) having been broken off. The layer of sand was about three feet thick, and between one third and one half way down in it there was a layer of burnt wood. The remains continued down to the surface of the gravel, portions of Samian and other pottery being found in the surface of the latter. About the middle of the sand layer a good flint knife was found, the handle of a bronze instrument like a small spoon, three large-headed iron nails, some pieces of thin white and thin blue glass, the bottom rim of a white glass bowl, and several lumps of some black gum or resin (this latter will be noticed hereafter). This trench, which was dug for the length of twenty-two yards, intersected the former course of Book Lane, but the above named were the only results it yielded.

Having thus failed to come upon the track of the road running E., Mr. Berrington for the time suspended operations upon the line of this trench, and sank a trial pit at *f*. Although this must have come upon the centre of the road, the latter was not found, though at eighteen inches beneath the surface there was a concrete floor, but this was no doubt of a later period. Another pit sunk at *e* had a better result, the road being found, but as the pit was formed between some of the recently made drains it could not be extended. It was, however, proved that, as had been suspected, Mr. Lucas had measured the angle of the eastern road erroneously. Instead of crossing the road running N. and S. diagonally, this eastern road falls upon it at

right angles. Mr. Lucas was, however, right in asserting that the road on the other side of that running N. and S. ran in a west-south-west direction. It appears that only this latter was uncovered in 1876 far enough to ascertain its course, whilst of the easterly road only enough was seen to ascertain that from the point of intersection there was a road on that side. (In the trench subsequently sunk at *gh* the western road was also found, but more of this anon). At the point marked *c* a pit had been sunk in 1876 during the building of the court house, but no trace of buildings had been found. It was determined to lengthen the trench commenced at *a* in the direction of this pit, and the result was the discovery of apparently two rooms of a Roman building of late age marked *n* on the plan. The northernmost of these two rooms was 14 ft. by 8 ft. 6 in.; the southern one was 14 ft. from E. to W., but was only uncovered for 6 ft. in a southern direction. The remains of these walls were built on (or nearly so) the top of the layer of sand, here five feet thick; but there was an older wall, shaded on the plan, which intersected the northern room and went down to the gravel layer. To the west of this room it turned at a right angle in a southerly direction. The later walls had been built into connection with it, and the whole appeared to have formed but one building.

This earlier wall was twenty-eight feet long on its E. and W. side, and nineteen feet in the portion running N. and S. The whole of these walls were three feet in thickness, and had apparently been all reduced to the same level, at the same time, remaining at about a uniform level of four feet above the road at *e*. The older wall was seven feet in height from its foundation, and nothing more could be traced of it than what is marked on the plan. Beyond its southern extremity there was at *d* a confused mass of foundations, great quantities of broken stones at the level of the present tops of these walls, as if the smaller ones had been rejected, and the larger taken away for building elsewhere. The older wall stood true square, with a fairly even face, and was exclusively of quarried stones, the mortar, which had contained pounded brick, was utterly reduced to sand. That this wall had been built on the gravel, before the deposit of river sand

—in which so many of the Roman remains have been found—was formed, seems certain, from the fact that the sand was silted into the joints. The later walls, where built of quarry stones, were constructed in much the same manner as the older one, but more roughly, and in most of them rounded river stones were worked in. The mortar, where recognisable, contained pounded brick and small pebbles, but very little of it was found, though in its scanty remains were brought to light two coins, one of which was a second brass of Vespasian, the reverse obliterated; the other was illegible. No traces of floors were found in these ruins, and no doorway in the northern one; possibly there may have been a doorway in the unexcavated part of the southern one. From the centre of the north wall of the northern room a large flat foundation stone projected into the interior of the room. Under it was found (in fragments) a vessel of pale red pottery (ribbed all round) of this shape.



There was also in this room a projection from the western wall, as marked in the plan, which seemed to be a hearth. Nothing likely to have been in this vessel, such as bones, ashes, &c. were found. Near it was a piece of bronze with two rivets in it, and a little above an illegible third brass coin. A pit had, at some previous time, been sunk in each of these rooms, and the earth, which had been filled in again, was mixed with the black surface earth. A good deal of Roman pottery in large fragments, better preserved than usual, had been filled in with it. A bronze hair-pin, a red cornelian pebble, rubbed flat on two opposite sides, and some fragments of glass and flint were also found in these rooms, but as they did not seem promising they were filled up, as was the whole of this trench, which towards *b* yielded nothing of the Roman period.

Mr. Berrington then ordered a trench, *o p*, to be cut in an E. and W. direction on the other side of the new course of Book Lane, in the Priory Orchard (permission to dig here having been kindly and readily given by Mr. Watkins the owner and Mr. Edmunds the tenant) with the view of intersecting the N. and S. road. It had

been noticed that in summer the grass was "burnt" in this field in a line across it, corresponding almost with that which the Roman road should have taken. The usual depth at which these paved roads had been previously found was about an average of six feet six inches; but instead of finding the road as he had anticipated, Mr. Berrington uncovered a hard gravel road, at three feet from the surface, with the foundations of a wall on each side of it. Two pieces of Samian ware were found lying on its surface, and a much corroded iron instrument. Mr. Berrington considers this road mediæval, but the question arises, is it not late Roman, raised to the height at which it was found, to escape the inundations of the river, by which its predecessor may have been destroyed. In the whole of this long trench, only one defaced brass coin, a bronze fibula, two boxes of fragments of pottery, a piece of lead and a flint splinter were found. Considering that he had got too far to the north, and away from the station, Mr. Berrington at once had this trench filled up.

A trench *g r* was then dug in a market garden, on the west side of the turnpike road, and here the Roman road running westwards (or rather w.s.w.) was come upon at the usual level, in exactly the position to which it appeared to point from the junction of the roads. The pitching from the centre and northern footpath had gone, but the southern foot-path was perfect. Another small trench, *s t*, revealed a well built Roman drain, without any covering stones, built of the same stone and in precisely the same manner, as the kerb wall of the Roman road, and at precisely the same depth. It was running westwards toward the river.

The trench, *g h*, was next dug in the extreme east of the *Cae Putta* field. Here the road running eastwards was again found. The pitching had been removed, but the layer of burnt clay, on which the stones rested, remained, and a plain bronze finger-ring was found on the surface. All of these roads had a dwarf stone wall, like a curb, at the outside from twelve to fourteen inches high, and about ten inches thick. Then came the footpath, three feet six inches wide, then the roadway, eighteen inches lower and nine feet wide. In the case of

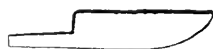
the eastern road, as found in the trench *gh*, the southern footpath was, at this point *k*, higher than the northern one, and the top of the wall at the side was eight inches higher still, the footpaths were in good condition, but not so deeply pitched as the roadway had been. It ended abruptly westwards. Mr. Berrington afterwards ascertained from an old man resident at Usk, that about forty years ago he helped to break up this road, and its non-appearance in the excavation at *f* was thus fully accounted for. The pitching stones were carted to mend the modern road some little distance from Usk, and the larger stones found were used to build a wall in Usk by the side of the road leading to the castle.

Further excavation showed that instead of this higher level at *k* being a curb, it was a detached block of masonry five feet in length (parallel to the road), and three feet in width. The annexed diagram will shew the appearance of a section of the roadway at this point.



It was at first thought that this might be a portion of the pier of a gateway, but no trace of a corresponding pier could be found on the other side of the road. It had probably supported some small erection. The masonry was very rough, and contained large fragments of concrete from older floors, the stone used not being the same as that used in the construction of the roadways, the drain, and other works. One stone built into it, evidently taken from an older building, has apparently an iron rod let into it. Mr. Berrington, seeing the workmen picking under this masonry, and thus bringing to light several small articles, had it taken down. Immediately under it was a quantity of broken pottery and glass, two or three coins, two thin pieces of bronze, and a large iron knife apparently a *culter* of this shape.

But on digging two or three feet deep under and around it, several other coins (making ten in all



from this point), the only legible one being a denarius of Augustus, a white bone stud, some decomposed bones, and a number of teeth (not human), were found, also

a small polished stone implement (evidently British). Further to the back of this wall were a number of pieces of flint, some of the ordinary thick dark blue glass, and a piece of a much brighter colour.

There was also some clear glass and pieces of what must have been a handsome dark sherry coloured bottle, with a handle, "the remains of which latter," says Mr. Berrington, "remind one of a brown slug." A small piece of clear glass with a raised blue line on it, various handles and bases of tall amphoræ, and fragments of Samian and black ware were found here.

It was here noticeable that the road was not in a line, from the point where it was found at *e*, but being found at two other points between *k* and *i*, Mr. Berrington was enabled to trace its correct course, as marked in the plan. In this neighbourhood was found a fragment of a slab of glass three and a half inches by three inches, and seven-sixteenths of an inch thick, consisting of—

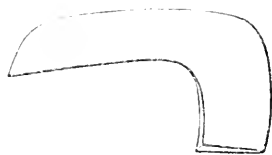
First, a layer of dark blue glass, a quarter of an inch thick.

Second, a layer of turquoise blue glass one-eighth of an inch thick.

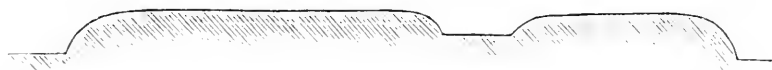
Third, a layer of olive green glass one-sixteenth of an inch thick.

All these layers were more or less opaque. The dark blue seems to be the same as that found at Caerleon, and described by Mr. O. Morgan at the Meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, May 3rd, 1877. It looks by transmitted light of a brownish green colour, but by a fresh fracture it is at once seen that, by reflected light, it is of a dark blue colour. As the turquoise layer would not be seen unless it was cut down to, Mr. Berrington pertinently asks, was the glass slab intended for the production of a species of cameos? Possibly this may be the solution of the matter. Proceeding southwards, an old pit was come upon, abounding in broken pottery, which was followed eastwards, and a handsome straight sided "Samian" jar, more than half perfect, and other fragments of pottery, many of which can be fitted together were found. Proceeding westwards in this pit more broken pottery was found, and an iron instrument shaped like a short scythe, six and a half inches long,

with a socket at right angles to the blade. It resembles one figured in Mr. Lee's *Iscæ Silurum*, pl. xxxvi, fig. 6, but is larger.



In cutting from *k* towards *i*. Mr. Berrington says, "We came upon an artificial gravel bank, which completely puzzled me." It is shaded in the plan at *l*, and the rough sketch of a section is appended. At the base of this bank was the usual large rough river gravel, on it the usual layer of two to three inches of river sand, with traces of charcoal. Immediately on this was a layer of gravel, fine enough for a carriage drive, in the form given in the section. "It looks like a double road with a footpath between, but would have been dangerous to drive upon, the outer edges being neatly formed to the fourth of a circle with a radius of two feet, the inner edges with a radius of one foot. The surface was quite hard, smooth, and even, as if cemented, though there was



no sign of this, but immediately the surface was broken through the gravel all ran out loose. It certainly could not have stood in this shape without some cement." On the top of this bank was found a *denarius* of Vespasian *Rev. COS. ITER. ET. TER. DESIG.* The upper surface of the embankment was five feet five inches below the surface, the width of that portion shewn on the right in the diagram was twelve feet, that on the left nineteen feet six inches, and the path between was three feet six inches in width. No remains were found in the gravel of the embankment. Was this a later roadway made at the same period as that found in the Priory Orchard? The depth from the surface was not the same as the latter and, I believe, the level above the river gravel bed was different. Its direction was somewhat similar to that of the older eastern road, but it was apparently parallel to it.¹ At *m* in the plan was found what was

¹ Mr. Berrington, in a recent letter, says, "This gravel road must have encroached upon the older eastern road, if the latter ran true."

apparently the kerb wall of another road, which fell rather diagonally than at right angles upon the main (old) roadway, though no traces of the latter existed at this point. It had a *gravel* footpath three feet six inches wide on one side of it. This is exactly the width of the footpaths in the older roads. Another pit was found to the east, similar to the others; in all of them pounded brick was scattered amongst the filling in, such as lies under the pitching of the roads, probably thrown in when the latter were partly destroyed. From this point to *i* the ground had been much disturbed, and very few remains were found, but amongst them were seven illegible coins, six being of third brass, and one of the class called *minimi*; an earthenware perforated bead, of a green colour, apparently produced by copper, exactly resembling one found near Dolgelly, engraved in Gibson's *Camden*, edition 1722; a piece of bronze, and a stone implement, polished, somewhat resembling in shape a spear-head, with a notch in it, apparently to attach it to a stick.

About a dozen fragments of lead, chiefly shewing that it had been run into sockets, abundance of large nails, two or three large round spikes, like the pointed end of a marling spike, between four and five inches long, a couple of circular iron discs (not nail heads), one and a quarter inch in diameter, two more white studs, a cornelian pebble partly rubbed down, a jasper pebble, many more fragments of dark blue and of white glass, &c., were found.

During the whole of the excavations flints were found, but they were chiefly down in the sand layer. It is probable that the earlier inhabitants of the place were using flint weapons on the appearance of the Romans.

At the point *i* the excavations terminated for the present, at the commencement of February last, the trenches being again closed up on the 6th of that month. In comparison with their extent the results had been small, but one or two points, I think, might be taken for granted.—

1st. That the roads joined at a point outside the *castrum*.

2nd. That the latter was more to the south, and apparently on the site of the gaol.

3rd. That the buildings upon the excavated ground were probably only of wood, as evident by the stratum of charcoal and the absence of roofing tiles.

Mr. Berrington, who, from his personal attention to the excavations, is better able to form an opinion upon them, takes much the same view. He says, "The results at which I arrive are that at the time when the Romans came and established themselves between the Usk and the Olway [Usk is at the junction of these rivers]—and the Usk is believed to have run much nearer the site in former times than it does now—the ground was simple rough gravel covered with a couple of inches of sharp sand and about six feet below the present level, our ground being somewhat higher than the surrounding country, chiefly in consequence of the filling from the foundations of the gaol and court-house, that the *castrum* lies under the gaol, and that the roads, as you suppose, crossed one another outside it. If I remember right, the road at the Brecon Gaer passes outside. [This is correct. —W. T. W.] The north road, which may probably yet be found in the Priory Field,¹ points towards Abergavenny; the east road points direct up the Olway valley, the way to Monmouth. The west road points to the river, a little above Llanbaddock, where, assuming the Usk to have changed its course, there may then have been a ford. The river now runs against a steep hill at this place, and the ford is just below Llanbaddock Church. About half a mile across the river the road would pass a place called the Helmaen, a corruption of 'Heolmaen' or 'Stone Road.' This road would be the most direct to Caerleon and would cross Pont Sadwrn, but, as Coxe says, the present road between Llantrissant and Newbridge is *remarkably* straight, which favours his view that the Romans went that way, *i.e.*, by the left bank. However, I cannot conceive that the west road led anywhere but to Caerleon." (I should have previously said that by probing with iron rods in the brook south of *Cae Putta*

¹ Mr. Berrington, in another letter, says:—"I was surprised that we did not come across the N. and S. road in the Priory Field, but was no longer so after

seeing how completely the other road has disappeared in places. We found there three or four of the pitching stones."

a hard foundation was found stretching across the brook, at the point where the southern road should have crossed the river. Mr. Berrington intends, if possible, to ascertain definitely whether this is not the south road, carried over the brook by a ford; south of this again this road has been found in a disused sawpit, which has always been known to be upon it). "The south road takes the line suggested by Coxe (p. 21) towards Llanllewell. The population where I have been digging must, as you say, have lived in wooden houses, and the site must have been subject to inundations, as the surrounding fields are at present. The floods deposited sandy loam, and this had raised the surface at least two feet before the place was burnt, the charred wood and the greater part of the nails being found about and above that level. The only undoubtedly Roman works found are the roads, footpaths, kerb walls and drain (all neatly constructed with *Castle* stone), the block of masonry at *k*, and the L shaped wall in the trench *a b*. This wall is about seven feet high. In much later, but still very ancient times, other walls were added to the last when it was still standing, and the whole were reduced to their present level at one time. . . . The ground has in very many places been dug into in small pits down to the original gravel, but these pits were as a rule dug before very much of the black soil had accumulated, and they are generally more abundant than other places in Roman pottery. The wooden houses were probably thatched. Some of the charred vegetable matter looks more like charred grass than wood, and falls to pieces at a touch.¹ No signs of roofing tiles were found except near the gaol wall, and then only a few fragments. Only a few pieces of brick were found. Pottery of some kind was probably made at *Burrium*, as I have found one or two of the little conical bits of clay, used for separating things in the kiln, unless these were used for the roofing tiles."

I am inclined to think that the lower and older roads were subject (near the river banks especially) to inunda-

¹ It is evident that the heat of the conflagration of *Burrium* must have been very great. Many pieces of stone have been so reddened by fire that the workmen kept them for pottery. Pieces of

pottery were splashed with molten lead, many of the bones found were calcined, and the upper side of a first brass coin of Trajan, found lying on the ground, was partially fused.

tions and were much destroyed in this manner. In the time of the Lower Empire the inhabitants, wearied of floods, raised the gravel roads at the higher level, probably only for a short distance until the low land was passed, and buildings which had been destroyed by the river, like apparently that at *u* (the older portion of wall) were rebuilt at a higher level, similar to the two rooms which were excavated round the last-named fragment of wall.¹ With regard to Mr. Berrington's view that the western road led to Caerleon, I think it doubtful. It might probably lead toward some of the Glamorganshire stations. There are great numbers of old pitched roads visible in the county, and until these are traced and connected it would be useless to speculate upon them. Mr. Berrington having examined a number of old deeds relating to *Cae Putta*, finds that in them it has been additionally called *Cae Pwdd*, *Cae Puddow*, and *Cae Puddon*. He thinks that the name is simply a corruption of the "Booth Field," as it is said a gipsy fair was occasionally held here.

The discovery of the incense, of which Mr. Berrington sent to me a small fragment, is peculiarly interesting. That it is Roman there can be no doubt whatever. It was found down in the Roman layer of charcoal and with undisturbed alluvial soil above it. From the analysis made by Messrs. Savory and Moore, it appears to contain myrrh and frankincense. The fragment in my possession, when burnt, emits a pleasant smell, similar to some other kinds of incense. The lumps of it had externally a charred appearance, and the analyser states that it has been altered by heat, such as the burning of the houses, although not actually ignited or deprived of its power of ignition. Unfortunately as it was confounded with the charcoal, but little was saved. This discovery is unique in the record of Britanno-Roman remains, though thuribles have occasionally been found, and it seems a matter of surprise that the scent should survive the lapse of sixteen or seventeen centuries. The fragment in my possession, after being burnt in one part, seemed to recover in some measure its odour, for after the lapse of three months it still retains it.

¹ Mr. Berrington informs me that foundations of buildings were found near the surface, which he considered

mediaeval, and has given no account of. May not these have been of the late Roman period like the gravel roads?

The name of *Burrium* appears to occur in a British form in the life of St. Cadoc, as published by the Rev. W. J. Rees' (of Cascol), "Lives of the Cambro British Saints," from the Cottonian MSS. in the Library of the British Museum (Vespasian, A xiv. p. 17, col. cum Titus, D xxii, p. 51). At page 390 of this volume a translation is given of a Latin passage at page 92 in the same volume, which runs as follows:—

"62. Of the field which Cynvelyn gave to Saint Cadoc. Be it known that Cynfelyn gave the field called Lisdin Borrior with his body, for the traffic of the heavenly kingdom, to God and Saint Cadoc, which would pay him annually six tierces of ale, with bread, and flesh and honey. And Conige is witness who under his hand wrote the corresponding deed."

To this a note is added by Mr. Wakeman "Din Birrion occurs in the *Liber Landavensis* page 465, and was given by Cynvelyn ap Cynog to Oudoceus, the same person evidently as this Cynfelin. It is possibly Usk, the *Burrium* of the Itineraries. The present church is dedicated to St. Mary, but there may have been a previous one dedicated to or built by Cadoc."

St. Oudoceus was one of the first bishops of Llandaff, and apparently contemporary with St. Cadoc. The same MS. mentions grants of other lands in this county to St. Cadoc, including one, p. 89, "Juxta civitatem Legionis" (Caerleon). The passage above referred to in the *Liber Landavensis* seems all the more probably to refer to Usk, under the name of Din Birrion, as the preceding one in the list is of a place five miles north-west of Monmouth, and the one before that of lands at Tintern Parva, and all the grants that come near are in the district, where they can be identified.

It has been thought that the "Byrthin," a brook which falls into the River Usk, on the opposite side, about a mile above the ancient *Burrium*, either derived its name from the ancient town, or itself gave the name to the latter. It seems, however, too far distant for this purpose, and its etymology may be derived from a totally different source.

The pottery found during the excavations was considerable, though mostly fragmentary. A few perfect

vessels I have mentioned previously. Forty large boxes were, however, removed to Mr. Berrington's residence containing fragments of every description of pottery, except Durobrivian, which seemed to be absent. The potter's marks were: On amphore—in addition to the one MCSR, already given—SARNINI, PROCVINI, and VIR, there being several examples of the latter, but they were all reversed. On the rim of a large cream coloured *mortarium* was the name C. ATISIVS. On the lips of other *mortaria* were DOMV., the v being ligulate with the M (this may be the same name as that given as DOMS. at Caerleon (*Isca Silurum*, Plate XXIII, fig. 14), which occurs on the handle of an amphora), IOVIN and HURS. On Samian ware the following marks occur:—OF. NGRI. (doubtless NIGRI). CINTVS. M. MARTIALIS. F., OFIC. PRIML., IVCVI—., ATTIGI. M. BELL—., CAV. PIE—., OFFI. I—., and OFFEIC—. The first four are well known, being found in various places in the kingdom. On a very large fragment of an *amphora* was scratched the following: ^{III.} ^{VIII.} There is a good deal of Samian ware, plain and figured, much more of black ware, unfigured or with only scratched lines, all seeming to be of the same shape. Some very fragile yellow ware occurred, but with the quartz sand of *mortaria* inside. There were also some vessels like huge red water bottles with one handle, and the remains of a great number of amphoræ. No carved stone of any kind was found, and no hard mortar.



Mr. Berrington intends, if possible, to make further excavations in and around the station shortly. From various *indicia* it seems probable that much may yet be discovered to the south and west of the gaol and court-house. When fresh excavations occur I shall not fail to report the result.

The distance of Abergavenny from Usk (ten and a half to eleven English miles) on the one hand, and its distance from Kenchester (*Magna*) on the other, its etymology, and its being situated at the junction of two rivers, together with the course of the Roman roads, render it certain that it is the *Gobannium* of Antoninus. The Roman road running south from Kenchester is not at present visible, though in the time of Horsley it appears

to have been so. However, we have seen that a road (this same one) pointed northwards to Abergavenny from Usk. Horsley, in his *Britannia Romana*, p. 319, was the first who wrote upon it. He says—"At Abergavenny I had information of several Roman bricks found about the old castle, some of which had LEG. II. AVG. impressed on them. The two ingenious physicians there had each of them as they told me one of these bricks, but they were lost before I came thither. Dr. Roberts obliged me with the sight of several Roman coins found probably at this place. A gold Otho was also found here. I was told likewise of a Roman *balneum* or sudatory that was not very long ago to be seen at the castle, but is now filled up, though of this I was not so entirely satisfied. This, *together with the military way yet visible*, renders it sufficiently clear, that there must have been a station here," and he thought that the course of the Twelfth Iter in the *Itinerary* the distance and affinity of name proved it. From the *Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. xi, p. 91, we learn that Mr. Ward was informed that *several* bricks bearing the inscription LEG. II. AVG. had been found about the castle.—See also *Archæologia*, vol. v, p. 35.

The castle is in a commanding position at the end of a ridge, and was probably the site of the Roman *castrum*. In the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. for 1876, p. 341, the following account is given of the castle:—

"These (the ruins) are of considerable extent, and judging from the plan given in Coxe's *Monmouthshire*, take the form of an irregular triangle. The principal entrance was between a square and a round tower at the north-west angle, and at the south-west angle, but outside the wall is the moated mound on which stood an earlier British fort. The whole occupies a slightly elevated plateau near the junction (*aber*) of the Gavenny and the Usk. The luxuriance of the ivy concealed the masonry and architectural features, but in general character and date it appeared to correspond with the neighbouring castles of Grosmont, Skenfrith and White-castle. An accurate ground plan and description of the castle are much desiderated," &c.

In vol iv. of the *Journal* of the British Archæological

Association, pp. 313-14, and in the Worcester volume of the same Society, pp. 273-4. it is stated that in trenching the nursery grounds of Mr. James Saunders at Abergavenny a workman struck his spade against a cistvaen, composed of five stones rudely put together. In it were found two vases and two *patera* of Samian ware, &c. The discovery is, however, more fully given in the above-named volume (1876) of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, p. 348 (the pottery being exhibited at the temporary museum formed by the Cambrian Archæological Society at their Abergavenny meeting) as follows:—

Romano-British pottery from a cistvaen discovered Jan. 19th, 1848, in Mr. Saunders' nursery ground on the Hereford road, Abergavenny. In the cistvaen Anderson the workman found five vases, each resting in a *patera*, and occupying the four angles, with the larger one in the centre. Inside this larger one was found a dark pasty substance, and surrounding the *patera* charred bones to the depth of about two inches. The *patera* is of Samian ware, and stamped with the letters IVLLIN, probably the name of the potter, &c." The volumes of the British Archæological Association above referred to state that some years before several cists of a similar nature were discovered in Mr. Saunders' grounds by the workmen, but it is believed that in these a large number of gold and silver coins were contained in the vases placed in the cists, and were sold by the workmen. The remains of a Roman causeway have been traced across the grounds in the vicinity of the cists.¹

At the same temporary museum there was also exhibited by George Moore, Esq., a "cinerary urn containing bones, more recently found in the grounds of George Moore, Esq., about three hundred yards from where the above were found. The thick fragments are portions of a larger urn in which this urn was placed."

These discoveries plainly indicate the site of the cemetery of the station; they will probably be found to have occurred each side of the causeway named. Was this road the north and south one from Kenchester? Systematic excavations here would probably reveal inscribed tombstones.

¹ *Vide* also vol. iii, *Archæologia Cambrensis*, p. 172.

At the same museum were exhibited :—By Mr. John Morgan—Neck of a Roman amphora dug up in 1874, six feet under the surface of the road, near the Castle gate, Abergavenny. By Mr. H. J. Edmunds—Neck and handle of a Roman amphora found in digging a sewer by the Sun Inn, Abergavenny, 1866. By Rev. Thomas Jones—A bronze *stylus* found in Castle street, Abergavenny.

So far, this seems to be the sum total of the discoveries at Abergavenny, but they are sufficient to show that much remains beneath the surface, and only wants excavation to bring it to light. There are vestiges of various Roman roads in the neighbourhood. Coxe, p. 24, mentions a very fine one leading from Abergavenny to Neath.

As I said at the opening of my paper, the station of *Blestium* must have been somewhere between Usk and Bury Hill, near Weston-under-Penyard, in Herefordshire, and so on the Gloucestershire side of the county of Monmouth. Various causes point to the town of Monmouth itself as the site. It is situated as usual on a *lingula* or tongue of land at the junction of two rivers, the Wye and the Monnow. We have seen that the road (east) from Usk pointed in this direction, but its course cannot exactly be traced. There appear to be, from various local names, such as “Pen-y-clawdd” (head of the bank), “Cold Harbour,” “Cayo Farm” (twice), with remains of pitched causeways, at least two old roads running between Usk and Monmouth, but it is uncertain which was the one followed by the Itinerary. (Into the question of the roads of this county I hope to enter at some future time.) A road called “Whitchurch Street,” passing the Roman villa at that place, appears to have run from Monmouth to Bury Hill, which was the course of the Iter after leaving *Blestium*, and, as Coxe says, the only undoubted Roman road, visible near Monmouth in his time, led from the opposite bank of the river up the Kymin (a hill) and so to Stanton (*i.e.*, Stone Town), in Gloucestershire. Part of a pitched road, according to Mr. Berrington, is still visible on the east side of the Kymin, though the traces are faint.

But to return. Hardly anything Roman has been found at Monmouth. Horsley considered it to be *Blestium*, but admitted he knew of nothing Roman having

ever been discovered there. Leland states that in his time Monmouth had four gates in its walls, but they do not appear to have been placed as Roman gates would have been. Since Horsley's time two coins of Constantine the Great were found in 1767, in the garden of the head master of the Free School (Gough's *Camden*, edit. 1789, vol. ii, p. 483). In the Caerleon Museum there is a third brass coin of the same emperor, found at Monmouth Castle—*Rec. GENIO. POP. ROM.* It was presented by the late Thomas Dyke, Esq.—Lee's *Isca Silurum*, p. 80.

I am also indebted to my friend Mr. J. P. Earwaker, F.S.A., for an account of a Samian bowl or patera found in the town. It occurs in the Ashmolean MSS, 826, f. 56. preserved in the Bodleian Library, and reads—"An urn of very fine red clay, found at Monmouth in 1649 by Mr. — Melborne, having on the bottom the word SATVRNXX." This evidently is the mark of a well-known potter, Saturninus, of whose handiwork many specimens occur in various parts of the kingdom.

These, however, are trifling discoveries; and though the distance from Usk is correct, eleven miles as the crow flies, it is strange nothing more has been found than what might be expected at any spot on the line of a Roman road. But while there is nothing at Monmouth, at Stanton before-named, only three miles off, many evidences occur. Its name, the course of the Roman road, the church font made out of a Roman altar, immense quantities of scorice about the fields, the village in fact being built upon a mass of slag, vestiges of entrenchments until lately visible near the church, and, as Mr. Berrington informs me, one of the fields is quite black, though those around it are of a red earth. Mr. Berrington also ascertained that about forty or fifty years ago a pot of coins was found "near the old castle." This, from subsequent information, must have been unearthed in or near the "black" field named. It was said to have contained "four or five quarts." Mr. Berrington, by great perseverance, succeeded in tracing one of the coins, which, I find, is of Salonina, *reverse* VESTA. FELIX. It is either a third brass, or has been a plated denarius, slight traces of silver being visible on

the obverse. But the distances here from Gloucester, from Bury Hill, and from Usk will not agree. We are therefore led to conclude that Monmouth only can be the site of *Blestium*. Its distance from Bury Hill as well as from Usk suits. There appears to have been a Roman road from it, down the west bank of the Wye towards Tintern and Chepstow, passing a Roman smelting furnace at Coed Ithel. It is very probable that a small Roman station existed at Chepstow. Coxo, pp. 365 and 369, states that there are Roman bricks in both church and castle. Mr. White (*British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. x, p. 282) was struck by the castle, it appearing quite different from any others of the Norman period which he had ever seen. He advocated excavation to endeavour to settle the origin of the castle, whether it was not Roman. A course of Roman tiles "ran round three sides" of the castle, and part of the fourth side, "and they were all exceedingly regular." In the *Proceedings* of the Somerset Archæological Society, vol. xiv, p. 25, it is stated that among the articles exhibited at the temporary museum formed at the Bristol Meeting, August 27, 1867, were "a collection of Roman British fibulæ, studs, bronze armlets, rings, &c., discovered near Chepstow in 1861—some of them enamelled. Mr. William Edkins was the exhibitor. Mr. W. O. Seys, of Tutshill House, Chepstow, informs me that about 1867 he found about 500 yards on the Gloucestershire side of Chepstow Bridge a heap of broken Roman pottery, and amongst it was a coin of Antoninus Pius, and several other illegible Roman coins. He further informs me that he has often seen the foundation of a Roman bridge across the Wye, at low water, during high spring tides. "It looks," he says, "like a landing stage, and is composed of wooden piles. It is in the line of Roman road from Gloucester to Caerwent. I have myself struck the road in three distinct places within a mile of the site of the piles on the Gloucestershire side of the Wye." Reynolds, in his *Iter Britanniarum*, p. 431, says that a beautiful Roman pavement was found at Chepstow in 1689; but I think this is an error, and that he refers to the tessellated pavement found at Caerwent (*Venta Silurum*) in the same year, this place being only a few miles distant.

With this I must draw to a close. There are very many points in this same county which abound in Roman *vestigia*, in addition to those so ably described by Mr. Lee in his *Isca Silurum* (Caerleon and Caerwent), but these must for the present remain in abeyance. I have endeavoured honestly, though imperfectly I fear, to detail all that is known relative to the three stations, *Burrium*, *Gobannium*, and *Blestium*; and when other discoveries are made, which cannot fail to be the case should Mr. Berrington renew his excavations, I shall again return to the subject.

NOTES ON ELIZABETHAN COMMUNION PLATE, IN
REGARD, ESPECIALLY, TO THE SUBSTITUTION OF
“DECENT CUPS” WITH “COVERS,” FOR “MASSING
CHALICES” AND PATENS.¹

By the Rev. J. FULLER RUSSELL, B.C.L.

The silver Communion Cup and Cover, inscribed, and dated 1568, and bearing a Norwich assay mark, which were exhibited by Professor Church at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute in last July, probably are examples of what may have been a concession to a scruple or prejudice of the more advanced ecclesiastical innovators of the Elizabethan period, which was enjoined by Archbishops Parker and Grindall, and, possibly, by other Anglican Prelates of that time. I allude to the substitution of “Decent Communion cups” with “covers” for the Pre-Reformation chalices and patens; the “covers” being intended for the purpose—for which the paten had been chiefly employed—of the distribution of the consecrated Bread to communicants.

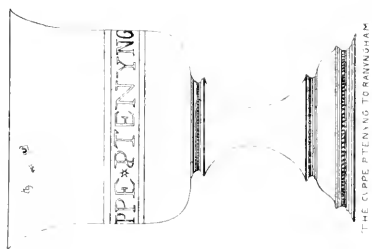
Elizabethan Communion cups and covers still remain² in many parts of the country. Their ordinary form and ornamentation have been so carefully described by a highly-esteemed member of our Society, Mr. Octavius S. Morgan, in a valuable paper in the *Archæologia*,³ that I thankfully avail myself of some

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute, March 1, 1878.

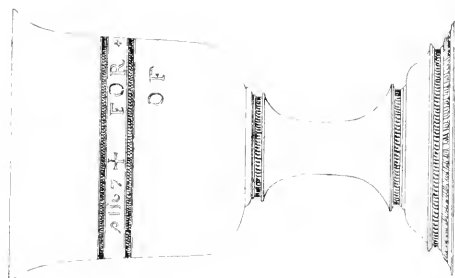
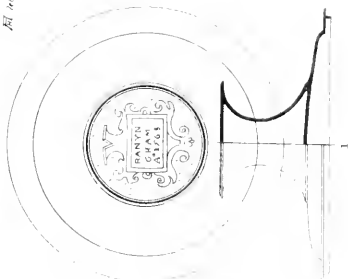
² The Rev. J. C. Jackson informs me that at the church of S. Olave, Jewry, London, are two Communion cups of silver, elaborately engraved, and gilt, dated respectively 1562 and 1567; and that they “are the finest and most beautiful specimens of Elizabethan plate which” he has “ever seen, and are pronounced by other experts to be equal if not superior to any now remaining.”

Our eminent friend and colleague, Mr. M. H. Bloxam, states that the earliest Elizabethan Communion cup which he has noticed, is one with the Hall mark of 1566.—Associated Architectural Societies’ Reports and Papers, vol. viii, pt. i, p. 370, 8vo, 1865.

³ On a Chalice and Paten belonging to the Parish Church of Nettlecombe, in the county of Somerset, with remarks on Early English Chalices.—The *Archæologia*, vol. xlii, p. 405.



Al. 147



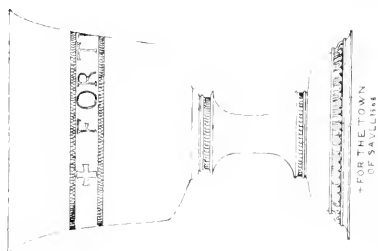
S. C. 147

- 1 IN THE POSSESSION OF PROFESSOR LUCH
- 2 IN THE CHURCH OF SALL NORFOLK
- 3 IN THE CHURCH OF CAMESTON NORFOLK

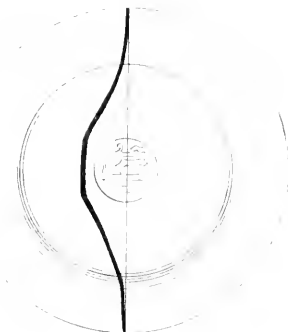
EXAMPLES OF NORWICH CUPS

SCALE OF INCHES

2



S. C. 146



3

of his remarks on the subject. Mr. Morgan states that the new Communion Cup "consisted of the same parts; bowl, stem, and foot," as the vessel which it was intended to supersede. "The stem, although altered in form and character, still swells out in the middle into a small knop,¹ or the rudiments of one, and is occasionally ornamented with small bands of a lozenge-shaped ornament, or some other such simple pattern, and the foot is invariably round, instead of being indented and angular. The form of the cup, however, is altogether changed, and, instead of being a shallow wide bowl, it is elongated into the form of an inverted truncated cone,² slightly bell-shaped." In regard to the "Cover," Mr. Morgan goes on to say that its form is "also much changed" from that of the Paten,³ its predecessor; "the sunk part of the platter is often considerably deepened, the brim narrowed, and thereon is fixed a rim or edge, by which it is made, when *inverted*, to fit on the cup as a cover, whilst a foot is added to it, which serves also as a handle to the cover." The ornament on all these Communion cups and covers, writes Mr. Morgan, "is invariably the same," consisting "simply of an engraved band round the body of the cup and on the top of the cover, formed by two narrow fillets, which interlace, or

¹ The stem of Professor Church's Communion cup has neither a knop, nor the "rudiments of one."

² The bowl of Professor Church's cup is short in form. This shape and the absence of the knop, above mentioned, are, I believe, exceptional characteristics of Elizabethan Communion cups, in the Diocese of Norwich. The accompanying lithographic representations of such, and the wood-engraving (kindly lent by Mr. Bloxam), of the Elizabethan cup and cover at Hillmorton, Warwickshire, exhibit the ordinary difference in shape between the Norfolk and other Elizabethan Communion cups.

³ "The Paten is sparingly enumerated in the Inventories of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries: in some, not at all. . . . It had a dignity altogether inferior to the Chalice, under which name it was often comprehended: but as an adjunct thereto introduced by the Church for convenience's sake only; and not as a necessary accompaniment. For although it is ap-

parent from the ancient forms of Consecration of the Paten that the bread was previously to the twelfth century partially consecrated thereon; yet the Corporal was at that time, and at all times, regarded as the proper receptacle for that purpose, and always for That which was to be consumed by the Priest, which was never consecrated on the Paten, that being mainly used for distribution to the people." (Divine Worship in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries contrasted with and adapted to that of the Nineteenth, by John David Chambers, M.A., Recorder of Salisbury, p. 254, 4to, 1877). The Paten was made to fit the top of the bowl of its chalice, whence it has been sometimes called a "cover." Thus Lyndwood, in 1422, in reference to the word "paten" in a Constitution of St. Edmund of Canterbury, nearly two centuries before his time, states that the Paten is the "Cover of the chalice." It differed, however, materially from the Elizabethan "Cover," described by Mr. Morgan in the text.

cross each other with a particular curvature, in every instance the same, the space between them being occupied by a scroll of foliage, and this ornament is marked by a total absence of letters, monograms, emblems, or figures of any kind."

Having said thus much about the fashion of Elizabethan Communion Plate (limiting that term to the hallowed appliances of precious metal used for the "*ministration*" of the Holy Eucharist), I will now offer a few Notes or Memoranda illustrative of its taking the place, authoritatively or otherwise, of so called "Massing chalices,"¹ and patens—a circumstance with which this paper is chiefly concerned.

An example of the evil estimation in which the extreme reformers of Elizabeth's time held the Pre-Reformation Communion Plate, causing them to entertain a scruple about, and a prejudice against its Eucharistic use, is afforded by a statement in "A Comparison betwene the Lordes Supper and the Popes Masse," by Thomas Becon—a profane and scurrilous polemic—who played his part as a theological writer, and a preacher in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth. It is marginally entitled "The Massemongers trinkets," and is as follows:—"Christ simply and playnly, and without deckyng or gorgious furniture, prepared and ministered that heauenly banket. The Massemonger with a maruelous great pompe and a wonderfull gaye shewe setteth forth hys marchandyse. For he hath an altare sumptuously builte, yea and that is couered wyth most fyne and whyghte lynnyn clothes, so lykewyse rychely garnished,

¹ In some notes upon my paper with which I have been favoured, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, remarks:—"The term 'Massing chalice' is particularly appropriate to the vessels used at the beginning of the sixteenth century, between which time and the end of the thirteenth they had been gradually modified from the simple cup-shape in order to adapt them exactly to the ritual in which they were used, and especially to the cleansing at the end of the Service. After the rinsing of the chalice it was laid on its side with the lip on the paten, so that any remaining liquid in it might drain away. A round footed vessel, such as the earlier chalices are, is liable to roll

when so placed, so the foot was changed to a hexagon, which is the figure nearest the circle, and giving a sufficiently large base for security. At the same time, the bowl, originally hemispherical, became conical, so that when laid down the liquid would drain quite out." Mr. Micklethwaite believes that "this peculiar propriety of the Chalice to its purpose" had more to do with the substitution of the Communion cup for it than the necessity of a larger vessel; "anything" which suggested the sacrificial aspect of the Mass "being offensive to the doctrinal innovators who got into power in Elizabeth's reign."

decked, and trymmed with diuerse gorgeous pictures and costly ymages. He hath also crewettes for water and for wyne, towels, coffers, pyxes,¹ philacteries,² banners, candelstyckes, waxe candels, organes, synging belles,³ sacry [sacring] bells,⁴ *chalice of syluer and of golde, patenes, sensers, shyppe,*⁵ *franckinsence, altare clothes, curtines, paxes,*⁶ *basyns, ewers,*⁷ *crosses, Chrismatory,*⁸ *reliques, jewelles, owches,*⁹ *precyous stones, myters, crosse staues, and many other such lyke ornamentes more mete for the Priesthode of Aharon, then for the ministry of the newe testamente.*"¹⁰

In 1562, Archbishop Parker, as Strype relates, "propounded diuers matters for the better regulation of the Church, to which he with his own hand wrote this title,

¹ The Pyx was ordinarily an oblong box with a cone-shaped cover, made of wood, silver, gold, ivory, or onyx, often jewelled and chased, for holding the Eucharistic breads before consecration. "Pyxides, shaped like cups, were afterwards called Ciboria, and the same name was given to the Cups which were used for the Reservation of the Sacrament, suspended over the Altar or conserved elsewhere."—*Divine Worship in England*, &c., p. 259, 4to., 1877.

² Reliquaries.

³ I have not met with this term elsewhere. May not "singing bell" be analogous to "singing bread" or "cakes" ("which," say the Elizabethan Injunctions of 1559, "serued for the use of the private Mass"), and have been the bell which was carried before the Blessed Sacrament at the Visitation of the sick?

⁴ Becon says:—"Pope Honorius the third commaunded y^t that the Missal bread shoulde be heaued and lifted up aboue the Priests heade at the sacryng tyme, as they call it. . . . Pope Gregory the ninth ordayned, y^t the sacryng bel should be rong whē the priest lifteth up the Missal bread and Challice aboue hys head."—*Reliques of Rome*, f. 131, small 3vo., 1563.

⁵ A vessel, in the form of a boat, for holding frankincense. "Two ships of mother-of-pearl," and "a ship or ark garnished with stones," are mentioned among the furniture of the Holy Table in the Royal Chapel, Westminster, on the occasion of a Christening there, on Sep. 30, 1565.—*Leland's Collectanea*, vol. ii, pp. 691, 692, 8vo, 1770.

⁶ The Pax or Peace was a tablet usually of metal, which was kissed by the celebrant, clerks in choir, and the congregation (in lieu of the Primitive "Kiss of peace,") at Mass, to show the unity and amity of all there assembled. The Pax is now generally disused in the Roman Communion.

⁷ A basin and ewer were employed for the ritual washing of the hands of the celebrant, as prescribed by rubrics in the Ordinary and Canon of the Sarum Missal. This symbolical ceremony, Ps. xxvi, 6, was practised by Bishop Andrewes and other Anglican Prelates of the seventeenth century. Thus, for example, "The Form and Order of the Consecration and Dedication of the Parish Church of Abbey Dore," drawn up by Bishop Wren, and used by his substitute, Bishop Field, on Palm Sunday, 1634, contains the following Rubric:—"Then the Bishop standeth up, and setteth ready to his hand the Bread and Wine, with the paten and challice; but first *washeth his fingers with the end of the napkin besprinkled with water*. Then layeth he the Bread on the paten, and poureth of the Wine into the challice, and a little water into it, and standing with his face to the Table, about the midst of it, he saith the Collect of Consecration."—p. 30, 8vo, 1874. See the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxiv, p. 491.

⁸ A vase for holding chrism.

⁹ Precious brooches used as clasps for copes.

¹⁰ Becon's Works, Book III, f. ci, fol. 1563. Becon elsewhere calls the Challice, "Popcholy." The Displaying of the popishe Masse. *Ibid.* f. xlvi.

‘Articles drawn out by some certain, and were exhibited to be admitted by authority ; but not so allowed ;’” and the 28th of those Articles orders, “chalices to be altered to decent cups.”¹

In 1567, Parker sent “Articles to be enquired of” in Canterbury Cathedral, containing the following interrogation and command :—“Item, whether your divine service be used, and your sacraments ministered in maner and forme prescribed by the Queen’s Majesty’s Injunctions ; and none other way ? . . . Item, Finally, You shal present what you think necessary or profitable for the church to be reformed, or of new to be appointed or ordained in the same.” In relation to which George Gardiner, one of the Prebendaries, replied, “This respondent saith that their divine service is duely songe in maner and forme, according to the Queen’s Injunctions: saving that the Communion, as he saith, is *ministered in a chalice*, contrary, as he saith, to the Advertisements.² . . . He wold have service songe more deliberately with Psalms at the beginning and ending of service, as is appointed by the Injunctions ; and *their chalice turned into a decent communion cuppe*.”³

Master Gardiner may have had some inkling of the Archbishop’s inclination in favour of the alteration of “chalices to decent cups,” and sagaciously opined that his recommendation of it might advance him in the good graces of his Metropolitan, who, notwithstanding his failure to obtain the allowance of authority for such a change in 1562, did not scruple to enjoin it in 1575, if not before,⁴ as appears from the 17th of his Visitation Articles concerning the Diocese of Winchester in that year, in which he demands, “Whether they [‘your Parsons and Vicars’] minister the holy Communion . . . in profane [secular] Cuppes, dishes, bowles, old

¹ Strype’s Annals of the Reformation, &c., Vol. i, Part i, p. 507, 8vo. 1824 ; *ibid.* Vol. i, Part ii, p. 564.

² Neither chalices nor cups are even mentioned in Archbishop Parker’s Advertisements of 1566.

³ Strype’s Life and Acts of Matthew Parker, vol. iii. Appendix. Book iii. pp. 159, 161. 8vo. 1821.

⁴ Wilkins’s Concilia contains Visitation Articles by Parker, dated 1569, in which

he inquires, “Whether they do minister in any profane cups, bowls, dishes, or chalices heretofore used at Masse or els in a decent communion cuppe provided and kept for the same purpose only ?” Vol. iv. p. 258, fol. 1737. The Communion cup at the church of All Saints, Shepreth, Cambridgeshire, is of the above date. It is inscribed :—“FOR * THE * TOWNE * OF * SHEPERETH * 1569.”

massing challices, or in a decent communion cuppe provided and kept for the same only purpose ?”¹

In 1571, about four years earlier than the date of the above Article, Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of York, requires his clergy to “minister the Holy communion in no chalice, nor any profane cup or glasse, but in a Communion cup of Siluer, and with a couer of Siluer, appointed also for the ministration of the Communion bread.”² This Prelate, when Archbishop of Canterbury, inquires in 1580, “Whether your Parson, Vicar, Curat, or Minister do . . . minister the holy Communion in any Chalice heretofore used at Masse ?”³

How many Elizabethan Bishops, in common with Parker and Grindall, interdicted the sacred use of Pre-Reformation Communion Plate, cannot perhaps be ascertained. John Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, in his Articles of 1569 (a year later than the date of Professor Church’s Communion Cup), inquires, “Whether you haue in your Church . . . a comly communion cup with a couer ?”⁴ John Aylmer, Bishop of London, inquires in 1577, “Whether you haue . . . a fayre and comly Communion cup of Siluer and a couer of siluer for the same, which may serue also for the ministration of the communion bread ?”⁵ Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York, inquires in 1578, “Whether you haue . . . a fayre and comely Communion Cup of Silver and cover of Siluer, for the same, which may serue for the administration of the LORDE’S BREAD ?”⁶ William Chaderton, Bishop of Chester, about three years later, asks, “Whether you haue . . . a fayre and comely Com-

¹ Articles to be enquired of within the Diocese of Winchester, &c. Appendix to the second Report of the Ritual Commission, p. 416, fol. 1868.

² Injunctions given by the most reuerende father in Christ, Edmonde, &c. Ibid. p. 411. In his visitation Articles of 1571, the Archbishop asks the churchwardens of his Province, whether they have in their parish churches and chapels “a fayre and comely Communion cup of silver and a couer of siluer for the same, which may serue also for the ministration of the communion bread ?” Ibid., p. 407.

³ Articles to be enquired of within the

Province of Canterbury, &c. Imprinted at London by Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queene’s Maiestie. 4to, 1580.

⁴ Injunctions with certaine Articles, &c. Appendix to the second Report of the Ritual Commission, p. 405. That Bishop Parkhurst strenuously required the provision of Communion cups, appears from the fact that in a single Deanery of his Diocese—that of Ingworth, Norfolk, still exist eight examples dated 1567. Norfolk Archaeology, vol. v. p. 226, 8vo. 1859.

⁵ Articles, &c. Appendix to the second Report of the Ritual Commission, p. 418.

⁶ Articles, &c. Ibid. p. 422.

munion cuppe of syluer and a couer of siluer for the same?"¹

None of these Prelates, however, in their Visitation Articles, *forbid* their Clergy to "minister the Holy Communion" in chalices and patens upon the score of their having been "the Massemonger's trinkets," as Becon calls them, or for any other reason. Unaware, apparently, of the detestation in which the Chalice, both name and thing, was held by the party of which Becon was a prominent member, Mr. Morgan writes that "a new form of chalice was introduced for the communicants of the Church of England, who, receiving the Sacrament in both kinds, required a larger cup."² At first, in 1548, the difficulty consequent upon the contents of the chalice failing to suffice for the communicants according to the new ritual, was met by an authoritative direction respecting its replenishment.³ No order on the subject occurs in the Elizabethan Communion Service; yet, in 1573, one Robert Johnson, Chaplain to Lord Keeper Bacon, was tried before the Queen's Commissioners and others, and condemned to a year's imprisonment for not reciting the words of Consecration in a case in which more wine was required.⁴ Probably a "larger cup" than a chalice of the usual size,⁵ was *in certain cases* provided on account of the communicating of the Laity "in both kinds." I will mention a few facts which support this conclusion. A rubric in the First Prayer-book of Edward VI, directs "the minister" to put "the wine into the Chalice, *or else in some fair and convenient cup* prepared for that use (if the chalice will not serve)."⁶ About 1550, the Churchwardens of S. Saviour's, Southwark, employed "Mr.

¹ Articles, &c. Imprinted at London by Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queene's Maiestie, 4to. No date.

² The Archaeologia, vol. xlii, p. 414.

³ "Note, that if it doth so chance, that the wine hallowed and consecrate doth not suffice or be enough for them that do take the Communion, the Priest after the first Cup or Chalice be emptied, may go again to the Altar, and reverently and devoutly, prepare and consecrate another, and so a third, or more."—The Order of the Communion. Liturgies of

Edward VI. Parker Society, p. 8, 8vo, 1844.

⁴ A parte of a Register, &c., pp. 105—111., 4to. cir. 1590.

⁵ Some "Massing chalices" were larger than some Communion cups. Some, on the other hand, were considerably smaller. Thus in the Edwardian Inventories of one county, Surrey, are the following items:—"j lyttill challice parcell gilt; a lytle chadlice of sylver; a lyttyll chadys which wayd vij ounces; ij littell chalices of silver;" and "a veray littell chalice."

⁶ Liturgies of Edward VI, p. 85.

Calton at the sign of the Purse in Chepe," to make four "chalyses into two communyon cuppis."¹ The Inventory of 1552, of the goods of S. Mary's, Beddington, Surrey, contains this item, "Imprimis a communion cup of silver made of ij chalices."² Similarly "made" Communion cups belonged at that period to the churches of Mitcham,³ Putney,⁴ and Caterham,⁵ in the same county. Among the goods of S. Margaret's, Westminster, in 1562, were "two great Communion cuppes all gilt," as well as "one challis with the patent."⁶ The above examples of the conversion of two chalices into one Communion cup, although affording no proof, would seem to warrant the inference that convenience was the motive of such change.

Communion cups could hardly have been necessary on account of the paucity of chalices. The Commission issued on the 16th of January, 1553, less than six months before the decease of Edward VI, for the seizure of all goods not absolutely needed for parish churches, "distinctly states that in every church one, and in large churches, two chalices are to be left for the administration of the Holy Communion;"⁷ and as it is very unlikely that they were parted with during the reign of Mary,⁸ doubtless they still belonged to the churches at the time of the accession of Elizabeth. In some parishes,

¹ Surrey Archaeological Collections, vol. iv, p. 87, 8vo, 1869.

² Ibid. p. 75.

³ Ibid. p. 148.

⁴ Ibid. p. 157.

⁵ Ibid. p. 189.

⁶ See the History of S. Margaret, Westminster, by my learned and accomplished friend, Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, B.D., Precentor and Prebendary of Chichester, p. 60, 8vo, 1847.

⁷ *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. viii, p. 32; 8vo 1872. The Commission does not mention patens,—a fact which has been attributed to the circumstance of the Paten having been regarded rather as the lid or cover of its Chalice, "than as a distinct vessel having an independent use." (*Notitia Eucharistica*, by W. E. Scudamore, M.A., p. 556, 8vo, 1877.) I apprehend, however, that this attribution is more charitable than correct, since the Edwardian Inventories constantly specify "patens" and "covers" in addition to chalices, as thus:—"ij chalices with patens; one challesse parcel gylte with a

patten; ij chalyses with their patentes; one chalice and a cover of silver, all gilt," &c. In 1554-5, the churchwardens of S. Martin, Leicester, "p^d to Robert Goldsmythe for a pattyn of a chalysse xj^s vi^d;" and to "Nichis Lawson," for a similar instrument, "xvj^d." A Chronicle of the church of S. Martin, Leicester, &c., by Thomas North, pp. 130, 137, 4to, 1866.

⁸ A chalice in every church was required in the first year of her reign. Mandate of the Bishop of London to all the churches in the Province of Canterbury.—(*Cardwell's Documentary Annals*, &c., vol. i, p. 126, 8vo, 1814.) About 1556, the churchwardens of Ludlow, Shropshire, received donations amounting to 2*l*, "for the amendinge of the grett chalice, and the gildinge of the same, with the workmanship of the goldsmythe." *Churchwardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow, &c.* Edited by Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A. Camden Society, vol. cii, p. 81, 4to, 1869.

Communion cups were exchanged for chalices long prior to any known Episcopal prohibition of the Eucharistic use of the latter. For example, in the Inventory of church goods of Farnborough, Kent, made in 1552, we find this entry, "on [one] cupp of silver for to recyue the Communion *exchanged for the chalice* waying by estimacon, viij ounces."¹ Again, at the end of an Inventory of the same year, of ornaments, &c., "perteyning" to the church of All Saints, Sanderstead, Surrey, the following memorandum occurs, "That ther hath bynne nothing altred nor solde except a chalys wych was *changel for a coppe*, sence the fyrst yere of our soveraine Lorde the Kynges most honorable reigne."²

Recorded instances of the substitution of Communion cups for chalices during the Elizabethan period are not uncommon; and they seem to have been sometimes due (not to Prelatical interference, nor Puritanical prejudice, nor the stress of inconvenience, but) to the sordid reason that they were pecuniarily profitable. Thus, in 1568, the churchwardens of S. Margaret, Leicester, "rec^d. for the chales" 4*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*, and "paid for the Com'union coppe" 4*l.* 8*s.*;³ and in 1562, the churchwardens of Smarden, Kent, "receaved of John Sadler of Madstone for the chalice over and above the price of the Communion Cupp," 7*s.* 4*d.*⁴

Fearing lest the foregoing Memoranda may have been more tedious than interesting, I will only add in conclusion, that the terms "chalice" and "paten" are in the Church of England's First Book of Common Prayer, of 1549; were excluded from her Second, in 1553; and, after an interval of about a century, were inserted in her present Prayer-book at its last revision, in 1662; but it was not until about forty years ago⁵ that the skill of the gold and

¹ *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. viii, p. 99.

² *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, vol. viii, p. 65.

³ *History and Antiquities of Leicester*, by John Nichols, vol. i, part ii, pp. 560, 561, fol. 1815.

⁴ *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. ix, p. 234.

⁵ Mr. Micklethwaite, in the notes which I have before cited, observes:—"In the

reign of James I, the chalice-shape was again adopted, and it continued, more or less debased according to the taste of the times, until the recent revival of the mediæval form. The Elizabethan Cover, with its button-handle on the top, which prevented its being used like the old Paten, held its ground till that revival, and is, I believe, even still to be found in the stock of some manufacturers."

silversmith began again to be exercised in the production of English Communion Plate by the ancient method of working metals, and of exquisite mediæval design.¹

¹ One of the most remarkable specimens of Communion Plate, in an artistic point of view, which has been produced since the revival, is a chalice belonging to the church of S. Andrew, Wells Street, London. It was designed by our distinguished colleague, Mr. Burges, and admirably executed by Mr. Barkentin. On the base of the chalice are six large medallions, representing respectively, the Crucifixion, the Blessed Virgin, S. John Evangelist, S. Andrew, the Annunciation, and (on the sixth) a beautiful and precious fragment of that gilded glass of early Christian date, of which some rare specimens have from time to time been found

in the catacombs. The knop has six enameled, representing the Four rivers of Paradise, the Tree of Life, and the Tree of Knowledge. The bowl is encircled round its base with eight enamelled medallions, all being types of Our Lord from the animal creation, viz. : the Agnus Dei, emblem of His innocence; the Pelican, emblem of His meritorious Death; the Lion, emblem of His Resurrection; the Eagle, emblem of His Ascension; the Antelope, emblem of His loftiness of soul; the Phoenix, emblem of His new Life; the Ox, emblem of His sacrifice; and the Swan, emblem (by its dying song) of the voluntariness of His Death.



Elizabethan Communion Cup and Cover at Hillmorton, Warwickshire.

ON THE DIFFICULTIES CONNECTED WITH THE FOURTEENTH ITER OF ANTONINE.

By JOHN FITCHETT MARSH.

It requires some little assurance to ask for a hearing for one more theory on the long vexed subject of the 14th Iter of Antonine. My best apology for doing so is that what I have to say is new, and I think not unimportant, and I will endeavour to make it short. At all events if there are already twenty different theories, at which number they are estimated by the late Mr. Ormerod, in a paper on the subject, in the Bristol volume of the Transactions of the Archæological Institute, reprinted in his *Strigulensia*, I must have nineteen of them to keep me in countenance if I am wrong.

I do not intend to discuss—scarcely even to touch upon—the many questions which are involved in the controversy, such as the point at which the route of Antonine crosses the Estuary of the Severn, the route by which the ferry is reached from Aquæ Solis, or Bath, and the identification of the various places named in the Itinerary, though I hope the suggestion I am about to make will be found to throw light on all these points. Neither is it my intention to discuss the authority of Richard of Cirencester, nor have I any controversy with those who seek to identify the places named in his Itinerary. If they think they can find their way with him from Bath, by way of Sea-Mills, to a point below the mouth of the Wye, I have only to wish them a pleasant journey, regretting that my engagement on another route, under the guidance of Antonine, will prevent me from accompanying them. I would not be understood to hint a doubt of the existence of an important Roman station at Sea-Mills, or to deny that there was available, and was actually used under favourable circumstances of wind and tide, a passage thence by water to Sudbrook, on the

opposite side of the Estuary of the Severn, so as to join the Via Julia, on the westward route to Venta Silurum (Caerwent). If we are not to read a doubtful passage of *Tacitus* (xii, 31) as indicating that the Proprætor Ostorius Scapula established camps on the Avon and Severn,¹ we do not need that or any other express authority for the fact that at some period, before the subjugation of the Silures added Britannia Secunda to the Roman Empire, there must have been a chain of military stations, forming the defence of Roman Britain against the yet unconquered tribes beyond the Severn, and that these posts must have been connected by a road in the direction from near Sea-Mills towards Gloucester, a road which the geological features of the country would have been sufficient to identify with the lines marked on the Ordnance map as Cribbs Causeway and the Ridgeway, and which other evidence shews to have been marked by the stations of Henbury, Almondsbury, Alveston, &c. These posts must also have been connected with *Aque Solis*; but the line of communication, when first established, had no reference to any route to the country of the Silures, and we should not, *a priori*, expect it to have any connexion with the Iter of Antonine now under discussion. The question is, how his Iter is to be interpreted—not how it is to be identified with the routes described by other writers, ancient or modern.

The well known difficulty, or rather element of uncertainty, in this part of his Itinerary (for it may be regarded

¹ See a Paper by the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, on the date of the foundation of Uriconium, &c., in the 21st volume of the *Archæological Journal*, advocating the theory that Antona is to be there read Aufona, meaning the Nen. There is another position in that paper, to which I am unable to assent, namely that the Second Legion was stationed at Caerleon-on-Usk as early as the commencement of the war with the Silures, A.D. 50. It would require strong evidence to establish this fact, and, in the absence of any that I can detect, I should rather be inclined to say, with great deference to the author of the paper, that the existence of a permanent camp at Caerleon at any given period (for it is not a question of dates, but of the

sequence of events) would in itself be evidence that the country of the Silures was already in the military occupation of the Romans. The fact of Ostorius marching against Caractacus from the north shews that a base of operations by land was preferred to one across the British Channel, while the strategy of Caractacus in transferring the seat of war to the country of the Ord vices shews that he could not have had the enemy in his rear at Caerleon. The question is only so far material to the object of this paper as it bears upon my argument that the original establishment of a communication between *Aque Solis* and the posts on the bank of the Severn had no reference to the means of access to the country of the Silures.

either as a difficulty or as the means of removing difficulties) is that while he makes the entire distance from Isca to Calleva, by Venta Silurum, Abone, Trajectus, Aquæ Solis, Verlucio, Cunetio, and Spinæ, 103 miles, the total of the numbers assigned to the several stages is only 98. As there is absolute certainty as to the identity of Isca with Caerleon, Venta Silurum (the next stage) with Caerwent, and Aquæ Solis with Bath, we have no concern with the stages east of that city, except for the purpose of estimating the probability of the self-evident error of five miles having occurred in one or other portion of the route. Within these reduced limits, the Iter, in the form in which it has reached us, consists of the following stages:—

AB ISCA—VENTA SILURUM	.	M.P. IX.
ABONE	.	IX.
TRAJECTUS	.	IX.
AQUÆ SOLIS	.	VI.

As the aggregate of the distances assigned to the stages between Venta Silurum and Aquæ Solis is little enough for any of the theories which have been propounded, nearly all who have considered the subject have been glad to make room for the additional length of five miles within that part of the Iter which is the subject of our enquiry. In fact, the distance from Caerwent to Bath, in a straight but impracticable line on the ordnance map, is 23 English, equal to 25 Roman miles, while the aggregate of the three stages given in the uncorrected Iter is only 24. Some writers have met the difficulty by conjecturing that a station has been altogether omitted¹—others by changing the Roman numeral V into an X, or by still more arbi-

¹ In estimating the probability of the various sources of error, the following analysis may be useful. Of the fifteen British Itinera, there are six in which the totals may be considered as exactly agreeing with the added numbers of the stages. I say "may be considered" because in one of them there is a difference of 100, which so obviously arises from the omission of a C, as to prove nothing except the carelessness of the copyist. These cases shew that the discrepancy cannot have arisen from fractions of a mile, omitted in the stages, having in their aggregate increased the entire distance. In four other cases (of which three are excesses in the stages, and one in the

total) the difference is either one or two miles, which, being too short for a stage, can only have arisen from miscounting the single strokes of Roman numerals. There remain five cases of serious discrepancy, four of which, namely differences of 8 miles in 83, 19 in 109, 9 in 136, and the present case of 5 in 103, being excesses in the stated totals over the aggregate of the stages, admit of the possible explanation of an omitted stage, and the remaining case, where the aggregate of the stages exceeds the stated total by 23 in 481, not admitting of that explanation, shews the existence of some other source of error.

trary lengthening of a stage—and others by assuming that the sailing distance across the Estuary has been excluded from the mileage (which, if the object of the Itinerary has been to regulate the marches of soldiers, is possible enough, but ought to affect the total length of the Iter as well as the particular stages), while the names of stations have been made to fit with any theory, by transposing ad libitum the names occurring in Antonine's Iter, as if they had been so many chess-men. Another point of controversy has been the interpretation of the word "Trajectus," some holding it to mean necessarily a ferry crossed as part of the route, or, in the words of Archdeacon Rudge, "an estuary or river broad enough to require the aid of navigation for transport to the other side," in which case it can be no other than the Severn; and others regarding it merely as a local name, indicating the site or neighbourhood of a ferry, either on the route or diverging from it.

The theory I have to propose is that the name "Trajectus" has occurred twice in this portion of the Iter, in a sense wide enough to admit of either construction. We may then either assign to the omitted stage the missing length of five miles (the omission of a single line, "Trajectus V," being a mistake which it is only too easy to commit or to account for), or may read the text thus—

AB ISCA—VENTA SILURUM	.	.	M.P. IX.
TRAJECTUS	.	.	IX.
ABONE	.	.	V.
TRAJECTUS	.	.	IX.
AQUÆ ¹ SOLIS	.	.	VI

Even if the text has originally stood as last above suggested, the mental process leading to the mistake is not difficult to imagine; and a mistake is never so satisfactorily corrected as when it can be shown how it has arisen. The copyist, having written the first line correctly, "Ab Isca—Venta Silurum—M.P. IX," and being on the point of writing "Trajectus" in the second line, takes the precaution, as a nervous writer is apt to do, of a second

¹ I write the name in the nominative, instead of the "*Aquis Solis*" of the original, not by way of emendation, but for uniformity. In fact the ablative of that and other names, in company with

the nominative of Trajectus, raises another question, not necessary for me to discuss, whether Abone is a nominative or the ablative of some such word as Abo or Abon.

glance at the original, and his eye falls on the second "Trajectus" instead of the first. Not noticing that the name occurs twice, and seeing "Abone" above it, he imagines that he has been just in time to save himself from a mistake, and writes "Abone" in the second line. For the number he looks only at the column of figures, and seeing "IX" as the second number, he writes it opposite to "Abone," and the mistake is complete. The first "Trajectus" being thus quietly consigned to oblivion, the unconscious scribe proceeds with the second "Trajectus" for his third line, in the form in which it has come down to the present day.

If the text be thus restored, Trajectus (1) is of course a station at or near the head of the ferry over the Severn, while Trajectus (2), so far as this theory is concerned, may be placed at Bitton, Keynsham, or Hanham, each of which has had its advocates. On this and the other questions involved in fixing the precise route, and assigning the position of the stations, I have not sufficient local knowledge of the country east of the Severn to speak authoritatively, and my object is not to advocate any route of my own selection, but to shew how my suggestion removes some of the principal difficulties attending the theories of previous enquirers. Among the earlier ones Oldbury was long the favourite site for Trajectus, being also the point to which they brought roads from Corinium, or Durocornovium (Cirencester), and Glevum, crossing the Severn on the way to Venta Silurum. Mr. Ormerod, whose remarks are entitled to the more weight as they were printed before the discovery of Roman remains on his estate at Sedbury, supported the theory of there having been in this direction at least a British road of Roman adoption, by adducing the modern use of a passage, "described by Seyer as being of the remotest antiquity," from Oldbury Pill to Sedbury, on the promontory between the Severn and the Wye, and thence to a passage over the latter river,¹ beneath the camp on Hardwick Cliffs, a little below Chepstow, which he connected

¹ A road across the promontory in this direction having much the appearance of a British trackway is marked in the Ordnance map as a Roman road; but its character has been too much altered by

earthworks thrown up during the Civil War (to say nothing of Mr. Ormerod's identification of a portion of it as Offa's Dyke) to furnish satisfactory evidence.

with traces of the Roman road in the direction of Caerwent (*Strigulensia*, pp. 6, 7, 21). From Oldbury the five mile stage which our new reading gives us will take us to Almondsbury, on the Ridgeway, or to Knowle Camp, in its immediate neighbourhood, as the site of Abone. Horsley objects that Oldbury is too far to the north; and Mr. Ormerod, notwithstanding the passage above noticed, appears to concur in the objection (*Strig.* p. 33). If Oldbury be rejected on this ground, Aust Cliff, the Trajectus Augusti of Lysons, though nearer in a straight line to Almondsbury or Knowle, is in fact about the same distance allowing for the detour by Elberton, rendered necessary by the nature of the ground, the entire tract between the Severn and the line of places shewn on the map being, in Roman times, an impracticable marsh. The derivation of the name of the Aust Passage from the Legio Secunda Augusta, so long stationed at Isca Silurum, has been too summarily dismissed by Mr. Ormerod (*Strig.*, p. 22) on the ground that "the designation of this place as Austreclive in Domesday seems only to point to its position with respect to the Severn;" and he discusses in a note the question what point of the compass is indicated by "Austre." The orthography of local names was not the strong point of the compilers of Domesday. At all events they were not archæologists; and not professing to carry their researches further back than the "tempus Regis Edwardi," they might well be excused for writing the name, after an interval of more than six hundred years from the departure of the Romans from Britain, in a form which conveyed some meaning to their own ears, without enquiring into its origin; and the probable derivation of the name is entitled to its due weight in connecting the Aust Passage with the Roman Iter. The reading of Trajectus (1) as meaning Aust Cliff is consistent either with the route of Antonine being by what until a very few years ago was in use as the "Old Passage" to the Beachley promontory, or with Horsley's view of a passage direct to Aust from Sudbrook, subject only to the objections which shall be presently noticed. Our five mile stage will then take us to Almondsbury, or Aunsbury, which Horsley makes the site of Abone, without

the difficulty incident to his making it a nine mile stage from Venta Silurum, which is less than the actual distance "as the crow flies;" and we have a reason for the short stage in the fact that it formed a junction with a previously existing route from south-west to north-east along the Ridgeway.¹ From Almondsbury or Knowle Camp, Mr. Ormerod's improvement on Seyer's route (*Strig.* p. 32) presents no difficulty. He would take it direct to St. George's, from which point to Bitton and Bath the road can be traced by existing remains. But whether Bitton, Keynsham, or Hanham be preferred as the site of Trajectus (2), it is satisfactory to be able to adopt it without being exposed to the weighty objection that it is impossible to suppose the ferry over the Severn to have been unnoticed while mention was made of that over the Avon or the Boyd; and, on the other hand, to be able to bring Trajectus to the Severn without having recourse to Roger Gale's bold expedient of "castling," which, in spite of the approval of it by subsequent antiquaries in despair of a better solution, is at best only the assumption of one error in the Itinerary without correcting another.

The objection to the routes by Sudbrook or Beachley to Aust is that by neither line of communication can the distance from Venta Silurum to Aust Cliff be made more than about seven miles, whereas the *Iter* requires nine. If the route by Sudbrook be preferred, an observation of Horsley (*Brit. Rom.*, p. 470) suggests a way out of the difficulty. He says "It is by no means necessary to suppose that the station next to the passage should be near or close to the river, for this does not hold true in any one instance either on the Severn or Humber, where, the water being too broad for a bridge, a ferry has been made use of." If this be so we may still adopt the Aust Passage, and place Trajectus (1) further inland, at Ellerton, the site of an undisputed Roman camp (*Strig.* p. 22.) The five mile stage would then form a junction with the more ancient road at or north of Almondsbury, and thence by Cribbs Causeway, to Henbury, the Abone

¹ There is no other instance in the Itinera of so short a stage as five miles. There are two cases of six, including

that in the present *Iter*, three of seven, and two of eight. Stages of nine miles are of frequent occurrence.

of Stukeley; and the next stage of nine miles, diverging at that point from the road to Sea-Mills, would reach Bitton by St. George's.

The route by Beachley is subject to the further difficulty that it makes no provision for the crossing of the Wye, which, at the point of the traditional passage under Hardwick Cliffs, is a deep and rapid river, the fording of which is out of the question. Mr. Ormerod, however, has pointed out, in a paper in the *Archæologia* (vol. xxix), reprinted in his *Strigulensia* (see pp. 8, 39), that a vicinal road from Glevum to Venta Silurum crossed the Wye under Piercefield woods, about half a mile above the present Chepstow bridge, at a point where there is a tradition of an ancient bridge, where remains of stakes and of a pier are still visible at very low tides, and where the road, ascending the face of Piercefield Cliffs by an incline of evidently artificial formation, is very apparent. Now if this was the best crossing of the Wye, it would account for a little detour, and would bring the distance from Caerwent, by Beachley, to Aust to about the nine miles of the Itinerary, and enable us, as before suggested, to place Abone at Almondsbury. It is possible indeed (I abstain from saying probable, but offer it as a new theory to the choice of future enquirers) that this very crossing above Chepstow may be the Trajectus of which we are in search, indicating the commencement of the passage over both the Wye and the Severn, instead of a point beyond both rivers, and that the mistake in the Iter has been the omission of "Trajectus V" between Venta Silurum and Abone, without any alteration of the figures attached to those places. The next stage of nine miles would then take us, by Beachley and Aust, to Almondsbury, and the Iter would read thus:—

AB ISCA—VENTA SILURUM	.	M.P. IX.
TRAJECTUS	.	V.
ABONE	.	IX.
TRAJECTUS	.	IX.
AQUÆ SOLIS	.	VI.

The actual distances I have mentioned, and the scale attached to the map are in English miles. I must leave those who expect from the Iter measured Roman miles, and not estimated distances, to adjust the discrepancy; but it is not of serious amount, as the Itinerary in no case

purports to give fractions of a mile, and the difference would not amount to an entire mile in the longest stage we have had to deal with. As the map is intended only to make my observations intelligible, I have not thought fit to assert or seem to assert an opinion by giving any Roman names, except those which are beyond dispute, or by marking connecting lines between any of the places, my aim and intention being, as I beg to repeat, to suggest such new reading of the text as, independent of its bearing on any favourite theory, may furnish a light by which the extensive literature on the subject may be read afresh, and the better information of others may enable them to identify the various stations with more authority than I can pretend to exercise.

ON BRITANNO ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS FOUND IN 1877.

By W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

In laying before the Institute, this, my second annual list, I would observe that the number of Britanno Roman inscriptions found in 1877 represents a fair average of the yearly discoveries. There has been no “find” of any great historical interest, but one or two of the inscriptions have added to our local knowledge of the place of their origin.

On the wall of Hadrian the first discovery recorded is that of a tombstone, about a mile and a half westward of Newcastle, and near the station of Benwell *Condercum*. It was described by Dr. Bruce at a meeting of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries on the 7th of February, 1877, as being found 50 yards south of the Wall (the foundation of which is here the modern road), and probably on the site of the *Vallum*. The inscription is—

D. M.
P. SERMVL
LIO . MARTI
ALI

“To the Gods, the Manes—To Publius Sermullius Martialis.” Dr. Bruce says the letters are large, well formed, and clearly but not deeply cut. The stone is now in the Newcastle Museum.

At the meeting of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries on the 7th of March, Mr. Clayton described a centurial stone, found a short time before on the line of the Wall, near Tower Taye (or Tye.) It bore the inscription—

D. HELLENI

It reads simply, “the century of Hellenus.”

Near to the same spot was found a second stone of the same character, but the letters were hardly distinguishable. As far as could be made out the inscription was—

*HO . X
 >IVLI . CON * * *
 VM * * * ALI

And its meaning is evidently “the century of Julius Con . . . of the tenth cohort,” for the letter before H in the first line should no doubt be C.

In my list for 1876 (vol. xxxiv, p. 131) I named two fragments of sepulchral inscriptions found at *Procolitia*, but which were said to be “too faint to be legible.” I find, however, that Dr. Hübner (*Ephemeris Epigraphica*, vol. iii, p. 317), from drawings sent to him by Dr. Bruce, has read them as parts of one inscription, thus—

*VLO . VIXIT
 *ATE * * * OIII
 ANISXXXIII²
 VMVIXITD . . .
 SIIIOEORVM
 .VIDIIXVANIHI
 M T ALAHL¹ E
 A A IN

From this as it stands no sense can be gathered. I much doubt whether the two fragments are part of the same stone. In the first line, from the traces of the last part of the letter M preceding the v, I am inclined to think some such word as (ROM) VLO has preceded VIXIT. In the second, from traces of the same letter at the commencement, I think (M)ATE(R) has been inserted. The close of this line, had the letters been elsewhere, I should have taken for (C)OH . I., but it would seem impossible for these letters to occur here. The third line is plainly AN(N)IS. XXXIII; the reversed s at the end is, I think, a mistake for another letter. In the fourth line, if D is correct at the end, a child who only lived a few days is commemorated—VIXIT D(IES), which seems confirmed by the fifth line, which, I think, should read FILIO EORVM. The sixth line seems the most difficult of all, but at least the age of one child is given it (*i.e.*, two years); the second v is ligulate with the preceding x. The seventh line is, I think, plainly MIL. ALA(E)H, while the last is merely represented by a letter or two, from which nothing can be gathered. The most interesting point is the name of the *ala*. If H is correct as its commence-

ment, it is probably the *Ala Herculeæ* mentioned in the *Notitia* as being stationed at *Olenacum*.

At the station at Risingham my friend, Mr. Robert Blair, discovered during the past summer, in the possession of one of the villagers, a fragment of a stone inscribed—

N S . DVL
TIBVS SVIS
ETVDINEM SIT
ORD . FILIO
SVSTITVS

Although on the whole too fragmentary for any correct reading to be given, there can be no doubt that the DVL in the first line is part of the word *Dulcissimo* or *Dulcissima*. The second has evidently been *(Paren)tibus suis*. In the third line we probably have *(Val)etudine amisit*, the A and the first I being ligulate with the M. In the fourth line we have possibly *ord(inem) filio*, whilst in the fifth SVSTITVS is meant, *substitus* standing for it, as we have *Restitus* for *Restitutus*, the meaning being that the tablet was put up by *heres substitutus filio*, i.e., by the heir who was named to act as substitute for the son (in case of the death of the latter). We have another example of this in a tombstone found at Maryport (vide *Lap. Sept.*, No. 882.)

Through the courtesy of Mr. Foljambe, M.P., I recently inspected at Osberton Hall, near Worksop, a Roman altar found at Littleborough, Nottinghamshire, the ancient *Segelocum*. The altar, which is of an elegant form, is 3 ft. 2 in. high, 22 inches broad in the capital, and 16½ inches broad at the centre. It has borne an inscription, which is all but obliterated, and the only letters now visible are—

I . O . M .
.....
.....
.....
IRAT . . .
.....

The letters I.O.M. standing as usual for *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* are on the capital of the altar, the remainder of the inscription is within a sunk panel upon the face of the shaft. The altar has a focus.

At Colchester Mr. Joslin informs me that he found during the past year, at a place called "Lord's Land,"

and close to the Decuman gate of the Roman *castrum*, a stone bearing a fragment of an inscription as follows :—

* M *
* HANIE *

There are portions of letters remaining at the commencement and end of the second line, and only the lower parts of three letters (including the M) are visible in the first. The letters are three-fourths of an inch in height and finely cut. The fragment is only six and a half inches in length.

A portion of a Roman tile of the 20th Legion found recently at Chester, and now in the possession of Mr. G. W. Shrubsole of that city, bears a somewhat peculiar inscription. I recently inspected it, and the lettering appears to be—

<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> > <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;"> LEG. XX * * * * SVBLO * * * * </div> </div>
--

The first line has evidently borne the usual formula LEG. XX. V. V, but a second line is very unusual upon these legionary tiles. In this case the commencement of it appears to be SVB. LO, the s being reversed, but to what it refers is a question not easily answered. It should be stated that a wide border was round the whole of the inscription, whilst a thin line divides the upper and lower halves of it.

Another tile of this legion also found in Chester, and not noticed by Dr. Hübner, bears the inscription—

LEG. XX. V. V. DE

These letters, which appear to be DE, are ligulate, the bow of the D (reversed) being attached to the upright stroke of the E. The expansion would probably be *Devensis*.

During the great excavations made in the autumn at the large Roman station at Templeborough near Rotherham in Yorkshire, where the remains of a large colonnaded building have been laid bare, a number of tiles were found, bearing the inscription—

C IIII G.

The obvious reading of this is *C(ohortis) IIII G(allorum)*,

i.e. of the fourth cohort of the Gauls. We find traces of this cohort at Risingham, at Castle Hill, on the Antonine wall, at *Vindolana* (Little Chesters) on the wall of Hadrian, and also near the station at Walton House, on the same wall. This is the first time that any of its tiles have been discovered.¹

In my last paper on Roman inscriptions I noticed briefly a ring found at Rugby bearing an inscription. I am now enabled to give a correct copy of the latter, which is—

ΕΣΥΝΕΡΑ ΕΥΝΑΙΚΕ.

This Greek inscription is on the inner or flat side of the ring, which is a plain hoop finger ring of bronze, and was found, about fifty or sixty years since, in an orchard, which now forms part of the site of the house of Mr. M. H. Bloxam, in whose possession it now is.² No other Roman remains were found near it.

At York there was found, on the 17th March, near the new railway station, and close to the river, a stone sarcophagus, bearing the following inscription:—

IVL. FORTVNATE DOMO
SARDINIA VEREC. DIO
GENI FIDA CONIVNCTA
MARITO

This is extremely interesting. It commemorates Julia Fortunata, the faithful partner of her husband, Verecundus Diogenes. Going as far back as A.D. 1579, we find that in February that year the sarcophagus of the husband was discovered in the same neighbourhood, but being afterwards removed to Hull, was there either lost or destroyed. Verecundus Diogenes was by the inscription upon it a *sevir* of the colony of *Eboracum*, and a native of the province of Berri in France, his birthplace being near Bordeaux. The sarcophagus of Julia Fortunata is now in the York Museum, to which the Rev. Canon Raine informs me have been added during the year the following inscriptions:—

¹ The word VIA cut upon the edge of a piece of black ware and the letters C. P. upon another similar fragment were likewise found during these excavations.

² Since writing this Mr. Bloxam has exhibited the ring before the Institute.

(1)	(2)	(3)
.... CVR	DEO	TOT.
D. S. P.	SVCELO	

The first is on the lower portion of a stone tablet, probably sepulchral, found in York. Dr. Hübner (*Ephemeris Epigraphica*, vol. iii, p. 313) adopts apparently a conjecture that CVR is part of *De(cur)ione*, and adds PR before D in the last line, thinking the preposition PRO is meant. From this reading I must entirely dissent. On the stone the letter given as o by Dr. Hübner is imperfect—it looks like part of the letter o, but I take it to be part of the letter D, and the fragment I would read, supplying a word, as *fac(iendum) cur(arit) d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia)*. The abbreviations F.C. and FAC. CVR. often occur on tombstones, and the phrase *de sua pecunia* is frequently used also.

Nos. 2 and 3 occur on two rings of silver. The first was found on Barker Hill, York, and the latter in making the new railway station in that city. The god Sucelus named in the first is new to the Britanno Roman Pantheon. The meaning of the inscription on the second has not yet been unravelled.

In the “Wanderings of an Antiquary,” by the late Mr. Thomas Wright, there is mention made at p. 33 of a Roman altar found under one of the streets of Hereford, and preserved in the museum there, which was supposed to have come from Kenchester. The Rev. H. M. Scarth, who has several times inspected it, informs me that all he could make out of the nearly totally obliterated inscription on its front was—

.....
 . . N I I V .

From which he thought it was possible that the dedication had been to Minerva.

At Usk the ancient *Burrium*, in Monmouthshire, during some excavations for a new Courthouse adjoining the Gaol, in 1876, when the Roman streets and many foundations of buildings were laid bare, the workmen discovered a portion of a Roman tombstone, of which the inscription appears to be—

* . A N . III
 I N Q V E
 C V D . F . * * *
 . II . A V G . F . C *
 . M . F I L . F . M

It is uncertain whether we have the commencement of the last three lines, certainly the commencement of the two existing first lines is lost, and also the first part of the inscription above them. What remains in the first line is plainly *an(nos) iii*. In the second, part of the word *quinque* occurs, the third as it stands is unintelligible, but it is followed by (*mil[es ?] Leg(ionis) I I. Aug[ustæ]*). I at one time thought that the following letters were F. C V R., the last three being ligulate, and succeeded in the next line by A V I T in a ligulate form, before F I L, which was followed again by B . M, the whole being *f(aciendum) curavit fil(io) b(ene) m(erenti)*; but from those who have seen the stone, and from rubbings sent me, the letter following c at the end of the fourth line is either P or R, in either case being much larger than the c itself; and the first letter in the next line is M, the last but one being F. These last three words may be *Fil(io) f(ecit) m(onu-mentum)*. The asterisks mark partly or wholly obliterated letters. The stone, which is 13 inches long by 10 inches high, is now in the possession of Lieut.-Colonel Milman, Governor of the Gaol.

During some subsequent excavations made by Mr. A. D. Berrington on the site of *Burrium*, there was found on the last day of 1877, a portion of a tile of the Second Legion. The remaining letters were—

LEG . II * * *

There are two inscribed stones now preserved in the Museum at Gloucester, but the inscriptions are much weatherworn, and hardly to be made out. They appear to be—

(1)
 . . V I X I
 O V D S X X
 I N G E N N I N
 . . O N

(2)
 D V B
 I V C

No 1 as it exists is about 19 inches square, but both upper corners and the lower left hand one have been broken off. The first line (or perhaps more than one) is gone. It is evidently sepulchral. *Vixi(t)* in the first

remaining line seems plain; in the second I think we have D(IE)s . XX, the number of years and months having been obliterated. The letters ov or ox are ligulate. In the third, the *nomen Ingenuius*, of which we have several instances in Britanno Roman epigraphy, seems to occur.¹

Of the second inscription nothing can be said. A letter like v seems to be placed between d and b in the first line, but the stone is only a fragment, and is very much worn. It is the upper left hand corner of a slab.

In a Roman villa excavated at Titsey, Surrey, a few years ago by Mr. G. Granville Leveson Gower, the following portion of a *graffiti* inscription remained upon a fragment of grey pottery—

—B V S P

Amongst the pottery found in excavating some Roman potters' kilns at Colchester, in 1877, were the fragments of a large shallow red vessel, which, when entire, would have been 8 ft. in diameter. It had borne an inscription in letters 2 inches high, which were formed of light clay, placed upon the red. One fragment bore the letter E . , another the letter N.

On a fragment of coarse Roman pottery found in 1868 at Papcastle was scratched—

P I R V .

In 1868 also, during some excavations in a walled Roman burial place at Luton, near Chatham, several bronze vessels were discovered. On one bronze bowl was stamped AFRICAN, evidently the abbreviation of the maker's name *Africanus*. These are omitted by Dr. Hübner.

At South Shields several leaden seals have been found, similar to those discovered at Brough under Stanemoor, and are now in the possession of Mr. Robert Blair. One of these bore on the obverse—

A S A

¹ This stone, having been much covered with lichen, a stonemason was employed to remove the latter, and apparently here and there to recut the letters. He commenced operations by trying his hand at the base of the stone, under the 4th line, where he has cut in slight characters NINI. These stones were found in Gloucester-

shire, and I opine near the Roman villa in Stancombe Park. In any case, they were long lying in that Park, the seat of the late P. B. Purnell, Esq., until presented by his daughter to the Gloucester Museum. Is the ligulate form of part of the word QVINQV(E)?

On the reverse—

V B A.

The first has been generally thought to be an abbreviation of *A(lae) Sa(biniana)*; the second is doubtful. Dr. Hübner suggests *V(alerii) Ba(thylli)*.

A second seal had for its obverse the letters—

O V A or V A O.

Its reverse was simply—

C V I or L V I

The inscription on the obverse seems to want the horizontal stroke of the letter A, and it may therefore be read in either way by inverting it. The inscription on the reverse would seem to be *C(ohortis) sectae*, or *L(egionis) sectae*.

A third seal refers to the garrison of the station. It simply bears the inscription—

C. V. G

i.e. *C(ohortis) V G(allorum)*. On the reverse is M, probably for *M(iles)*.

Another of these seals bore the representation of three human heads, which Mr. Blair conjectures to be those of Severus and his sons Caracalla and Geta. Above the heads are the letters A V G G. It may however be worth noticing with regard to this that on a similar seal found at Brough there is also the same representation of three heads. (*Proc. Soc. of Antiq.*, vol. iii, 1st series, p. 222).

A fifth seal, found here, is inscribed on one side—

FL.
.V

on the other—

C V * *

At Brough itself, in addition to the leaden seal bearing the name of the *Ala Sabiniana* or the *Ala Sebosiana* mentioned in my last paper, there have to be added two new types published by Mr. Coote, at the same time. One of these bears the letters—

R C I

with nothing visible in the way of an inscription on the reverse. The other bears on the obverse—

M. F

On the reverse—

ⁱ
V C T

Mr. Coote's theory that these seals were the *signacula* worn round the neck by recruits, seems now to be almost universally adopted. Dr. Hübner is the latest convert. At the time Mr. Coote brought it forward, in answer to his question, put to me on the subject of these seals being found in such large numbers at Brough, I replied that from the nature of the garrison at *Verterae*, which was a *Numerus* of *Directores*, we might find a solution of the fact. The place was probably a depot for recruits, and from here they were sent to join their various regiments in the mural neighbourhood.

During the excavations made at *Etocetum* (Wall near Lichfield) in 1872, among the Roman tiles found one bore the letters—

P. S

(*Journal* of British Archæological Association, vol. xxix, p. 56). It is not named by Dr. Hübner.

In excavating a Roman villa at Dry Hill, near Cheltenham in 1849, a tile was found, stamped—

P R C

(Norman's *History of Cheltenham*, p. 21) which is also not given by Dr. Hübner.

Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., has recently communicated to me, the name SORAVSI cut on the outside of a vessel of Samian ware found at Shorne in Kent. It is no doubt the name of the owner of the vessel (*Sorausius*).

In addition to the three *graffiti* inscriptions upon "Samian" fragments found at South Shields and noticed in my last paper (vol. xxxiii, p. 352), a fourth has to be added. It is—

P I I M

The inscriptions on the fragment of the *Tabula honestae missionis* found at Bath, which I recovered during the year, and which is noticed in the *Journal*, vol. xxxiv, p. 318, must also be added to the list. They are as follows :—

Front.
IIA
. THIA
.... ANNSVB. C
RIEVSVE STIPE
EST MISSION
TIPSISLI

Reverse.
VMVXO
.... CIVITAS. II
VM IIS QVAS POST
VLI SINGVLAS
XVII. K. OCTOBR
III ARTIDIO CELE
PROCVLEIAN CVIP
PINQVOS
IE

The readings of these I have previously given (*Journal*, vol. xxxiii, p. 251, and vol. xxxiv, p. 319).

During the same period also I recovered, through the courtesy of the officers of Heralds' College, the drawing of the sarcophagus found at Eastness, Yorkshire, in 1616. This is Dr. Hübner's No. 266. It is engraved in vol. xxxiv, p. 196 of the *Journal*.

There are two stones found at Chester, now preserved in the Museum of the Archæological Society of that city, the inscriptions on which have not been published. They are—

⁽¹⁾ V S * L V L S E G N F F	⁽²⁾ V C I N I
---	-----------------------------

The first is on a stone, 14 inches by 14 inches on its face and $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. Being of the red sandstone of the neighbourhood it is much worn, but as far as I could make it out the above letters were visible.

The second is well cut, and on a much harder stone. At one time I thought it might be a portion of the inscription O. ABVCIN (Dr. Hübner's No. 173), but from the engraving of the latter in vol. v, p. 224, of the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, it appears that the last letter comes close to the edge of the stone, which is one with a moulding, whereas in the one I saw in the Museum there is room for two or three words after the last letter, and the stone bears no trace of a moulding having ever been round it, being broken off immediately preceding the v.

In the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxiii, p. 257, I referred to an altar at Netherby (*Lap. Sept.*, No. 768), which I said was "for all practical purposes perfectly illegible," though from the first line of the inscription I conjectured it to bear a dedication to Diana. Dr. Hübner in his *Additamenta* (*Ephemeris Epigraphica*, vol. iii, p. 137, gives the following as the lettering visible on it:—

D I A I N M V
V S I V N V I N V
O I M I I X
I I N S S V I I I
V I S A I N
I N I M I

but he thinks the reading hopeless. Another large slab

which I omitted, also on account of its being almost obliterated (*Lap. Sept.*, No. 816) is thought by Professor Hübner to have the following letters visible :—

```

. . . . .
. . . VIX L TO
      V
COLIM POS
MIVLEG SVD
      II          VCOS

```

The inscription, which has been an important one, probably came from the Roman station at Brougham, and is now built into the back of Clifton Hall in the same neighbourhood. It is flanked with winged figures of Victory holding wreaths. It is 6 ft. 2 in. long by 2 ft. 3 in. high.

Dr. Hübner omits from his work a stone shaped like an altar, engraved by Gough in his (1789) edition of Camden's *Britannia*, vol. iii, pl. 5, fig. 7. Gough says it was found in 1778 by Marmaduke Tunstall, Esq., on the side of the road, among other stones, halfway between Greta Bridge and Wycheffe. He communicated it to the Society of Antiquaries. The letters appear to be—

BAELA
* * * * T *
A E F . F E
P . B E R E
I V I N I
B E L V N
S E P T E R P

Little or nothing can be made out of this. In the first line we seem to have the word *Aelia*, and in the third part of the word (Pr)*ae*f(ectus).

In the catalogue of the Temporary Museum formed at the meeting of the Institute at Gloucester, p. 27, it is said there was exhibited by Miss Ffarington of Worden Hall, Preston, Lancashire, "A ring of base metal in form resembling Roman rings, but of uncertain date. It bears the letters s p q r chased in very low relief. Found near Leyland, Lancashire." Professor Hübner takes no notice of this even in his doubtful inscriptions. It is more than probable that it is a genuine relic of the Roman period.

During the past year also I have gained some information as to the whereabouts of several inscriptions which were supposed to be lost. Thus Dr. Hübner's No. 217, which is the arm of a silver statue of Victory, bearing an

inscribed silver plate, I find is in the possession of the daughter of the late Dr. Whitaker (Mrs. Guthrie). This lady resided chiefly in Paris, but had to leave that city in haste on the approach of the German army in 1870, and it was only two days before the Germans surrounded the city that the relic, with other articles, was rescued. No. 226, which was until lately preserved at the vicarage at Ribchester, has now been removed by the Marquis de Rothwell to Marples Hall. Canon Raine informs me that Dr. Hübner's 265 has recently been deposited in the York Museum, whilst I find his No. 298 is preserved at Lowther Castle. The milestone, No. 1157, is now in the Worcester Museum, and the medicine stamp, No. 1316, in the British Museum. The portions of Roman tiles found at Whittlebury (which I described in vol. xxxi, p. 356 of the *Journal*), stamped LEG . and XX . VV, came into the possession of Sir H. Dryden, Bart., who informs me that he has temporarily deposited them in the Northampton Museum. They fit each other, and, so far as I can judge from a sketch sent to me by Sir Henry, are evidently portions of one tile. They are now cemented together. The pig of lead found at Charterhouse on Mendip, bearing the name of Vespasian, which I described in vol. xxxiv. of the *Journal*, p. 130, is now in the Bristol Museum. Dr. Hübner's No. 1292 is now in the Sheffield Museum.

I also notice the following passage in Coxe's *Monmouthshire*, vol. i (p. 19 of the Introduction), regarding some *sepulchral* stones at Caerleon:—"One of these sepulchral stones which is now in Mr. Butler's cellar at Caerleon, is inscribed D . M . VIBIO PROCVLO, the other DCATENI AMABILI. The inscription on the third is scarcely legible, except the words CHOR . VI . * . HAST . PRI." This was communicated to Coxe by Mr. Evans. The first of these is evidently, I think (as it was in the same place), the same as my No. 2—vol. xxxi, p. 347 of the *Journal*, which is not a sepulchral but a centurial stone, and the third is Dr. Hübner's No. 112, also not sepulchral. If Coxe's second is my No. 3, in vol. xxxi, there is a vast difference between his account of it and Mr. Manby's engraving. In neither case, however, is it a sepulchral stone.

With regard to Dr. Hübner's No. 98, his restorations

seem erroneous. In the Ashmolean MSS. (in the Bodleian Library, 826, f. 35,) the following account of the inscription is given¹:—"At Caerleon an altar stone of 4 foote long and somewhat more, 3 foote broad and somewhat more. Taken up 5 March, 1653."

IOVI . M . DOLICH * V * *
FRONI * O AEMILIANVS
CALPV RNIVS
RVFILI ANVS * FC * *
AVGVSTORVM
MONITV .

Dr. Hübner's ET. at the end of the first line, his IVNONI at the commencement of the second, and his introduction of VC after RVFILI ANVS in the fourth, all seem incorrect.

I have no doubt that in the fourth line we should read EG with L before it, this last letter having been obliterated, thus obtaining *Leg(atus) Augustorum*, as Dr. Mc. Caul some years ago, and Dr. Hübner more recently pointed out, but there is no room for more than the L after RVFILI ANVS, so that the V . C must be abandoned. It will also be noticed that at the commencement of the second line the letters TF are ligulate.

At p. 264, vol. xxxiii, of the *Journal*, I gave an inscription (No. 2) on a milliary found at Bittern. I have since observed that preceding the T in the first line the letter P occurs in the engraving, thus making it evident, that the abbreviation (TRIB) PT. XVIII is meant. Again in the same volume, p. 342, I have, by a clerical error, translated the titles of the sixth legion (VI . P . F) as those of the twentieth legion, "Valiant and Victorious." For these last words read "Victorious, Pious (and) Faithful." With regard to the Roman glass found at Leicester, and described at p. 358 of the same volume, I notice that PRVDES and TETRAITES occur in a wall painting at Pompeii as belonging to two (apparently celebrated) combatants of the class called "Mirmillones" (Gell's *Pompeii*, vol. i, p. 36).

In vol. xxxiv, p. 132, Dr. Hübner reads the second line of inscription No. 2 as VET . AVR . CR (or GR), and thus makes the altar to be dedicated to *Covetina* by Aurelius Grotus, the same person named in No. 1 inscrip-

¹ I am indebted to Mr. J. P. Earwaker, for this information.

tion on the same page. I have not seen the original but from the engraving of the stone I agree with him. The letters AV are ligulate, whilst the letter first read as E appears to be R. It is the more necessary to state this, as Mr. Clayton, contrary to the opinion of other antiquarians, persists in ignoring the meaning of the letters following GROTVS, which plainly read *Votum libens solvit*, &c., and adheres to the monstrosity *Grotus Utibes*, thus taking the *cognomen* of a member of the Aurelian *gens* using it as a *nomen* (whilst he calls it a *praenomen*) and inventing the extraordinary *cognomen*, *Utibes*. In No. 13 of the same series of inscriptions, until we are certain of the true reading of the third line of the second compartment, I must still maintain my objection against *Manibus suis*, and to the words *Saturninus fecit Gabinius*, at the close of the inscription, being read as *Saturninus Gabinius fecit*. The occurrence of the *cognomen* *Saturninus* before the *nomen* *Gabinius*, leads me to infer that *Saturninus* was the maker of the vase (*fecit*), and *Gabinius* the donor, the letter D either standing after *Gabinius* (and being obliterated) for *donavit*, or else that word being understood. Dr. Mc Caul, in recently writing to me on this point, says, "Your objection is valid."

To the list of inscriptions found in Britain, and subsequently lost or destroyed, the following additions have to be made.

In vol. v of the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, p. 214, it is said in an article on Chester, its Roman Remains and the Julian Tower in the Castle: "During some repairs in the side wall contiguous to the Roman arch (adjoining the Julian tower) a fragment of a Roman sepulchral monument was taken out of the masonry, in which it had been worked up. It was exhibited in the temporary museum, but the few remaining letters revealed no more than the fact that the heirs of some person had executed the monument to his memory." Nothing can now be learnt as to the present ownership of this stone; it is believed to be lost.

In vol. iii of the *Transactions* of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Archæological Society, p. 340, Mr. J. Dixon speaks of "a Roman inscribed stone formerly in a fence near Hale." It is now apparently lost.

In Gibson's *Camden* (edit. 1722), p. 1002, it is said : "From hence the shore wheeling to the north comes to *Ravenglas*, a harbour for ships and commodiously surrounded with two rivers, where (as I am told) there have been found Roman inscriptions."

In Gough's *Camden* (1789), vol. iii, p. 169, it is said ; "Ravenglass is a station where I was told were once two Roman inscriptions." No Roman inscriptions are now known to exist at Ravenglass, though in its neighbourhood many miscellaneous Roman remains occur.

Dr. Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum*, p. 11, speaking of Fleet in Lincolnshire says that there was dug up about 1698, "a large urn with letters round it (not in the stamp form as the maker's names are) full of Roman coyn."

Lewis, in his *Topographical Dictionary of Wales* (2nd edit., 1838), article "Churchstoke" (Montgomeryshire), says a tumulus "was opened within the last few years ; the bottom, which was sunk about a foot below the level of the surrounding land, was paved, and the sides were formed with flag stones, on one of which was an inscription very much obliterated, within was only some black dust, among which was discovered a small coin with a legend quite unintelligible. . . . On Churchstoke Hill are vestiges of a Roman camp." This seems clearly to have been a Roman interment.

In vol. i of a work called *Excursions in Essex*, published in 1818 (Longmans), at p. 77 it is said, "In a recess in the walls of Colchester, near the northern door, are two rude sculptures in basso relievo, apparently Roman, and near them an inscription certainly so." These seem all to have since disappeared.

Thoresby, in his *Ducatus Leodiensis*, p. 159, says, when speaking of the Roman station at Adel, "Some few years ago there was dug up a statue, to the full proportion of a Roman officer, with a large inscription, both of which perished by the worse than brutish ignorance and covetousness of the labourers, who, in a superstitious conceit, bound withys or wreaths of straw about the poor knight, and burnt him, in hopes of finding (by I know not what magical apparition in the smoke) some hid treasure, and after, in anger at their disappointment, broke him to pieces, of which only the head is now remaining."

During the past summer also, in unroofing an old house at Bubbenhall, near Leanington, a quantity of large flat tiles were removed, on seven of which was an exact copy of an inscription discovered on an altar at Risingham, Northumberland, in the 16th century—(Dr. Hübner's No. 986). One of them has been removed to Trinity College, Cambridge (where the altar is preserved), but I believe them to be modern copies of the original inscription.

In the *Proceedings of the Cotteswold Naturalists' Field Club* for 1874-75, at p. 171, Mr. John Bellows, in a paper on the "Ancient Wall of Gloucester," says that in "the cellar of a watchmaker named Neiminger, close to the Eastgate of the city, the Roman wall is visible, and several of the large facing stones taken out of it have been placed on the opposite side of the cellar.

"One of these large stones is recessed for an inscription either legionary or centurial; but I fear the letters are injured beyond the possibility of deciphering." In a recent communication to me, Mr. Bellows says, "There is a faint trace of what I take for LE" upon the stone. It is much to be regretted that this stone is decayed; it would probably have informed us whether the second legion or the fourteenth built the Roman wall of Gloucester.

This closes the list of additions to Dr. Hübner's work, of which at the present time I am cognisant. No doubt further information as to missing inscriptions will from time to time come to hand, whilst new discoveries cannot fail to be made, but until the end of the present year I shall be unable to compile any further list.

Note.—I am indebted to Mr. A. D. Berrington for a correct copy of Dr. Hübner's No. 75, which, as given in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, is very erroneous. The correct reading is—

D M
IVL . I N G E N V I L
I A . V X . A N . X X . M . V
D . X X L I I I

It commemorates Julia Ingenuilla, who lived twenty years five months and twenty-four days.

ROMAN ROADS IN THE EAST OF ENGLAND.

BY THE REV. DR. RAVEN.

As the Itinerary of Antoninus is the principal basis of calculation and speculation with reference to the direction of Roman roads and the position of Roman stations, it may not be amiss to say a few prefatory words about that book. The name which it bears is that assumed by Bassianus, son of Severus, better known as Caracalla or Caracallus.

A stone¹ preserved at Vienna records the fact that Severus and Caracallus restored the dilapidated milestones along the Roman roads. With this work would probably be associated that of correcting and improving previous *Itineraria*, the new book bearing the name of the Emperor in its title. The text as it has come down to us is not free from traces of a later date, such as the name *Diocletianopolis*, but on the whole there is a presumption in favour of a date early in the third century for the bulk of the work. Those who are interested in the history of the text will find much to gratify them in the edition published by Nicolaus at Berlin in 1848. The editors, Parthey and Pinder, have left nothing to be desired in the execution of their task.

The British portion of the Itinerary contains fifteen routes, of which two relate to the eastern counties of England. These are the Fifth, from *Londinium* to *Luqecalium ad Vallum*, i.e. from London to some place on Adrian's wall, probably Carlisle; and the Ninth, from *Ventu Icenorum*, Caister near Norwich, to London.

Before treating of the Fifth route we must dismiss from our minds the idea of its being that in ordinary use for communication with Carlisle. This was more expeditiously carried on by the Second route, coinciding with the Fifth only from Carlisle by Catterick, *Cataracto* and Aldborough, *Isurium s. Isubrigantum* to York, and then working westward by Manchester, *Mancunium*, Chester, *Dera*, Wroxeter, *Urioconium*, and Mancetter, *Manduesedum*, to St. Alban's and London. The Second route is 395 Roman miles (481 between *Blatium Bulgium*, 12 miles past *Luqecalium*, and *Portus Ritupis*, or Richborough, 74 miles past London) between London and Carlisle, while the Fifth is 443 miles. The absence of a more direct road between the great centre on the Thames and the western termination of the wall may be due to the difficulties presented by the Pennine Range on one side and on the other by the marshes through which the sluggish Welland, Nene and Great Ouse trickled to the Wash.

In the Fifth route the first station is *Cesariomagus*. With this arises our first difficulty. To begin with, the two routes do not agree as to the

¹ Scipio Maffei, Mus. Veron. p. 241.

distance between *Londinium* and *Cesaromagus*. The Fifth route gives 28 miles, the Ninth 31.

Perhaps the solution to this apparent discrepancy may lie in the mention of an intermediate station, *Darolitan*, in the Ninth route. It may be that this last station lay a mile or more off the main road, and that the increased distance is due to this cause. The distance from *Londinium* to *Darolitan* is 15 Roman miles, which appears to confirm the theory of Reynolds¹ and Mannert,² that the true position of the latter is Romford. Jenkins's³ Barking and Bishop Gibson's⁴ Leytonstone are too near London. Each left-bank tributary of the Thames near London seems to have had its own camp: the Lea at Old Ford, the Roding at Barking; and the Rom (if that be really the name of the little stream) may well be supposed to have been defended at Romford. If this theory commend itself to the reader, we must take the true distance from *Londinium* to *Cesaromagus* to be 28 Roman miles, or about 25 $\frac{3}{4}$ English miles. Chelmsford, the choice of Reynolds and Mannert, is distant 29 miles from London, and it appears to have first become a main thoroughfare in the reign of Henry I. Billericay, Jenkins's choice, has plenty of Roman remains, but it is only about 10 miles in a straight line from this place to Romford, which requires a very large divergence to account for the 16 miles given in Antonine's Itinerary, and in that of Richard of Cirencester. There are no manifest natural difficulties to suggest such a divergence. I regret that my ignorance of the locality prevents my offering any but general consideration as to this route. Butsbury does not suit badly for the distance of *Cesaromagus* from *Darolitan*, and the name is auspicious. On this hypothesis the road would cross the Chelmer just above Little Badlow, where the valley is narrow. Here would be a likely position for *Canonium*, the camp on the Can, so far as etymology is concerned. But the distance from any point on the Chelmer to Butsbury does not correspond with our authorities, and all that I can do is to hope that some one with more leisure than falls to my lot will carry out a careful measurement of the proposed route, which occupies an intermediate position between Jenkins's and that usually received.

It is with a feeling of relief that we recognise in Colchester the undoubted *Colonia* of Tacitus, but even in this certainty a difficulty presents itself.

From *Cesaromagus* to *Colonia* by the Fifth Route is 24 miles, without an intervening station. But in the Ninth Route it is 21 miles from *Camulodanum* to *Cesaromagus*, with one intervening station, *Canonium*. Our Romford theory is no help to us here. But though we read in Tacitus words that at first sight lead us to suppose that *Camulodanum* and *Colonia* are the same place, yet the placing of the former three miles nearer to London than the latter in the Itinerary tends to the abandonment of a rigidly literal interpretation of the historian's words, and the adoption of Prebendary Searth's view, who places *Camulodanum* at Lexden, a British camp in Mr. Errington's grounds.

I will now confine myself to the Ninth Route in Antonine's Itinerary, leaving the enormous difficulties of the Fifth for the present.

¹ *Iter Britanniarum*, Cambridge, 1799.

² *Geogr. der Griechen und Römer*, Leipzig, 1788-1829.

³ *Journal of Brit. Archaeol. Association*, Dec. 1863.

⁴ Additions to Camden.

The next station to *Camulodunum* is *Ad Ansum*, distant 6 Roman miles. Jenkins's speculations in Celtic as to the origin of this name seem very wild. It is not at all likely that the Romans would have inflected a British word and governed it by one of their own prepositions, and the position of the place, gathering up a number of Essex and Suffolk tracks at a convenient crossing of the Stour, affords a rational interpretation of the name in Latin, *Ad Ansum*, at "the handle or clamp."

The formation of this camp may be due to Aulus Didius Gallus, in whose time some rather feeble attempts were made to extend the range of country commanded by the fortresses of his predecessor, Ostorius Scapula.¹ The distance is confirmed and the position indicated by Richard of Cirencester: "*Ad Sturiam amnem nupm. vi et linibus Trinobantum Cenimannos advenis.*" The road would seem to have passed to the north of Colchester through Mile End to Dedham, where Mannert places the station. The name of Stratford [S. Mary] is of itself full of meaning, and in this parish early in 1877 a man who was digging a hole for a post came upon a ridge of hard gravel presenting all the appearance of a road. Near this spot were found several cinerary urns, of which all except the smallest were broken in getting them out. They are now in the Colchester Museum. My attention has been directed to the fact that in the meadows between Stratford S. Mary and East Bergholt stands a stone much resembling a *milliarium*, which is thought to indicate the position of a disused road.

On the hypothesis that this is the sought Roman road the ford over the Stour would be below Stratford bridge, and the route would fall in with the Colchester and Ipswich road at Latinford bridge (another well-sounding name) coinciding with it as far as Washbrook Lower Street and Copdock Street, then crossing the river Gipping at Bramford and reaching Whitton Street. At Whitton the pavement of a Roman villa has been discovered. It is now in the museum at Ipswich. Hence the course seems to go to Burgh-near-Woodbridge, named from the extensive earth-work hard by. This I would identify with *Combretonium*. Reynolds and Lapie, in defiance of figures, place *Combretonium*, the one at Stratford S. Mary, the other at Ipswich. Mannert's choice is Woodbridge. The distance from Dedham to Burgh-near-Woodbridge corresponds very nearly with that from *Ad Ansum* to *Combretonium*, 15 Roman miles. There is now but one station between us and *Venta Icenorum*, Caister-near-Norwich, but the distance to be traversed is 54 Roman miles. The intervening station is the much-disputed *Silomagus*, for the locality of which I would suggest Dunwich, which harmonises well with Antonine's Itinerary, 22 Roman miles from Burgh-near-Woodbridge, and 32 from Caister-near-Norwich, being to all appearance the actual distance. The road passes from Burgh through Wickham Market, Stratford S. Andrew's (the third Stratford we have lighted upon), Kersale, where Roman coins (1st brass), pottery, cinerary and domestic, &c. have been found, and Westleton, whence there is a straight course across the heath to Dunwich. The enclosure of the Gray Friars at Dunwich abounds in fragments of Roman tile and other debris. Many Roman coins have been found here.

¹ "Mox Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuat, pauci admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quæ fama aucti officii quæreretur."—*Tac. Agricola*, cxiv.

Jenkins, following Camden, places *Silomagus* at Thetford, a place little known for Roman remains, though of great note at a later period. He fixes the site of *Combeltonium* at Brettenham, a theory favoured alike by etymology and discovery; but this district appears to have been traversed by the Fifth Iter, and this influences me in preferring the "Oriental" party to the "Occidental," in determining the course of the Ninth.

From Dunwich the course in the main coincided with the road to Halesworth. The angle at Hinton Lodge may not have been so large as now, but it is impossible to determine the extent of salt marsh at this place fourteen or fifteen centuries ago. We then cross the Blyth at Blythburgh, pass the well-known field of Bulecamp, where the Union now stands, and skirt the river as far as Blythford. Hence I suggest that the road ran through Holton and Wisset to Runburch, an auspicious name, where the ruins of a small Benedictine priory stand within what appears to have been a considerable earthwork. About six miles further on we come to the very large earthwork at Bungay, partially utilised by Roger Bigod for his castle, and as yet very imperfectly investigated. Here the road would cross the Waveney and pass into the parish of Ditchingham, where in September 1862, some labourers in making a roadway from Belsey Bridge to the Orphanage, came upon some dozen cinerary urns, of which they saved three, which were preserved at the House of Mercy. They are described in a paper by the late Mr. Graystone B. Baker, in the proceedings of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society.

At this point my information ends, but I am influenced by the position of this place of burial, to assign to the rest of the road a course through Thwaite and Mundham, before bearing to the left for *Venta Icenorum*.

The circuitous nature of this journey was undoubtedly amended after the compilation of Antonine's Itinerary. Nearly two centuries of Roman occupation elapsed since the days of Caracalla, and parties of explorers in this later period, no doubt succeeded in making a nearly straight road to Caister through the dense forest of Mid-Suffolk and South Norfolk, which had presented an insurmountable obstacle to their predecessors. To their efforts, as it would seem, we owe what is called the "Great Road," which now runs to Norwich by Stoke Ash and Long Stratton.

This later road appears to have diverged from the Ninth Iter at Bramford, passed through Great Blakenham, and crossed the Gipping three or four furlongs below Bayleham Mill. The circumstances for crossing are here most favourable. An elbow is formed by the river which would not cause to the road the slightest deflection from a straight line, though the general directions of road and river are nearly parallel, the valley is narrow and firm, and the river-bed lies deep in the meadows. The breadth of the Gipping is insignificant, and the crossing would be made more probably by a wooden bridge than by a paved ford. As soon as we are over the Gipping, in the parish of Coddesham, the road may be clearly traced in a field to the north-east of Bayleham Mill by the colour of the growing wheat, and hard by the road Mr. Watling of Earl Stonham found the ruins of an apparently burnt dwelling. "The tiles," he writes to me, "were as if they had not suffered from the fall, and were as regular as if on the roof before the fall. I found part of the lid of a sarcophagus, a knife and fragments of pottery." Proceeding northwards from this spot we soon find ourselves on the "Great Road," and pass a likely spot for a beacon just above the lodge at Sir George Broke Middleton's park

at Shrubland. Now relics come thickly on us, each side of the road. At Crowfield is a spot where the tenant has made some discoveries (*inter alia*, a fine Constantine the Great) which Mr. Watling hopes to follow up. Mickfield is sprinkled over with fictile debris. On the west, the valley between Needham Market and Stowmarket seems to have had quite a Roman settlement, and Stonham must have been a town. Coins ranging from Augustus to Constantine have been found on Earl Stonham glebe, a spindle whorl, pieces of querns, earthenware in great abundance and variety, much of it Samian, one piece marked SEVERI, and most likely made in one of the Colchester kilns discovered by Mr. George Joslin in March, 1877. There is every prospect of extensive discoveries being made here, if sufficient local interest be shown. About six miles further on, still following the "Great Road," Stoke Ash is reached, where coins and other Roman remains have been found. Conspicuous amongst these is a fine fragment of Samian ware, representing a hunting scene, as it seems, and marked with the name of a not unknown potter, Albucius, ALBVCI. Between Stoke Ash and Caister lie Long Stratton and Tasburgh, the former a suggestive name, the latter known by an earth-work.

It would have been much to the purpose to have added a detailed list of the coins found in these several localities, but this may yet be done. Enough has been brought forward, I hope, to show the probability of the Ninth Iter taking a westward course, and the general direction of a later road connecting Colchester with Caister-next-Norwich, and to encourage us in following up the traces of the difficult Fifth Iter, the *Via Devana*, and the coast-road from *Gariannonum*, now Burgh Castle, southwards

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

November 2, 1877.

THE REV. J. FULLER RUSSELL in the Chair.

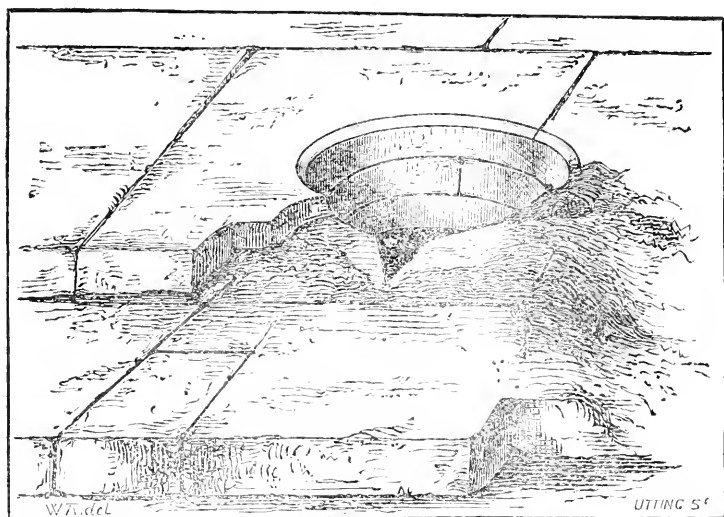
In opening the new Session the CHAIRMAN referred to the cordiality of the reception of the Institute at Hereford, the great interest of the Meeting, the excellence of the papers read there, and the successful accomplishment of a visit so long contemplated. The recovery of Mr. Parker from his dangerous illness was a matter for congratulation.

MR. J. FITCHETT MARSH read a paper "On the Difficulties Connected with the 14th Iter of Antonine," which is printed at page 54.

MR. H. S. MILLMAN said that being well acquainted with the district of this Iter north of the Severn he could bear witness to the value of the paper just read. In discussing the course of the Iter it was necessary to keep in mind that in Roman times much of the Severn brink on both sides was a tidal marsh, quite unfit for traffic, and consequently the Iter must throughout have taken ground above this level, and that not only for its course generally, but also for its points of embarkation. These conditions are fulfilled by the suggestion of this paper. As from Isca Silurum to Venta Silurum the Roman engineer preferred a direct line over the intervening hill on which Christchurch stands to a circuitous line along the Usk and Severn banks. As from Venta Silurum to Trajectus he preferred a circuitous line, using a known ford or bridge to a direct line through marshes and by untried river-crossings. The Itinerary of Antoninus should be read under ideas of this kind. That of Richard of Cirencester should not be read at all, being certainly spurious. (Pref. to Ricardi de Cirencestria Speculum Historiæ, vol. ii, 1869). Unfortunately it is the basis of the received map of Roman Britain, which therefore should be avoided and a new map constructed. (Skene's Celtic Scotland, 1876, p. 22).

The thanks of the Meeting having been returned to Mr. MARSH the following notes on the "Discovery of an Ancient Well in Beverley Minster," by Mr. W. Andrews, were read by Mr. HARTSHORNE.

"Considerable interest has been awakened amongst local antiquaries by the discovery of an ancient well in Beverley Minster. It is not now known for the first time, for it is mentioned by Camden, who relates that *he saw it*, and also by a more recent writer, who, however, merely speaks of it from report. The well is of piraform structure. It is built of dressed



stones, which at the top project some inches, making the aperture much less than the shaft of the well. The depth is about thirteen feet, breadth at top twenty inches, in shaft twenty-eight and half inches. When discovered it was choked with the *débris* of a carved stone screen which formerly ornamented the church. Some of the fragments are in excellent preservation, the illuminated work (even to the gilding) being still discernable. Besides these were found several ancient pins of gold, a number of bones of small animals, etc., etc.

"The situation of the well is peculiar, it being in the choir within the altar rails, and close beside the south end of the altar, just behind the former position of the Frith stool. Unearthed at the same time are two stone steps, one of which is much worn as though by persons constantly kneeling. Much difference of opinion prevails as to the origin and use of this singular well. Some contend that it was used in the service of the Roman Church for the deposit of water that had been sanctified by the priests, and its proximity to the altar lends some colour to the supposition. It has been suggested that it has been a Holy-well, and that the step we have mentioned has been worn by the kneeling of pilgrims, I think it may have been the well for the use of persons taking Sanctuary at Beverley."

MR. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE said that this well must originally have been outside the church. It is so placed with respect to the present high altar that, if it were open, it would be impossible to celebrate High Mass without risk of some one falling into it. It should be remembered that the choir was lengthened and new ground taken into the building in the thirteenth century, so if the well were originally outside the east end it would then be included. There is a well outside the east end of Lincoln Cathedral so placed that any extension of the church in that direction would bring it inside; and the well at York, which being in the crypt it was not found necessary to cover over, is outside the original lines of the building. Both these correspond very closely in position

with the Beverley example. A well seems to have been a usual appendage to a large church. Water was often wanted for ecclesiastical purposes, not only in the fountains and holy water stocks where it was renewed from time to time, but in the lavatories and at every Mass. There is evidence that at Ripon, the sister church to Beverley, there was a well in the churchyard, but its site is, Mr. Micklethwaite thought, now unknown.

The CHAIRMAN mentioned the well at the west end of Marden Church, near Hereford, which was lately inspected at the Hereford Meeting.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By MR. J. F. MARSH.—Diagrams and plans illustrating his paper.

By MR. W. ANDREWS.—Sketch of the well at Beverley Minster.

By MR. T. GOODMAN.—A pedigree and a set of measured drawings of the fine tombs and effigies of the De la Beche family, in Aldworth Church, Berkshire. These monuments are nine in number, and illustrate in a remarkable degree the military costume of the fourteenth century; many of them exhibiting details of equipment of a very unusual kind. It was stated that the drawings are about to be published by subscription.

By SIR JOHN MACLEAN.—A hollow bronze dodecahedron, of the Roman period, in perfect condition (fig. 1). $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch high and $\frac{1}{8}$ inch thick. This curious object had been lately found on the Coppin Hill, near Goodrich Castle. Each facet is pierced with a circular opening $\frac{3}{16}$ inch in diameter, and each angle furnished with a $\frac{3}{16}$ inch round knob. The workmanship (fig. 2) is rude. Mr. Franks exhibited a similar object $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch high, of

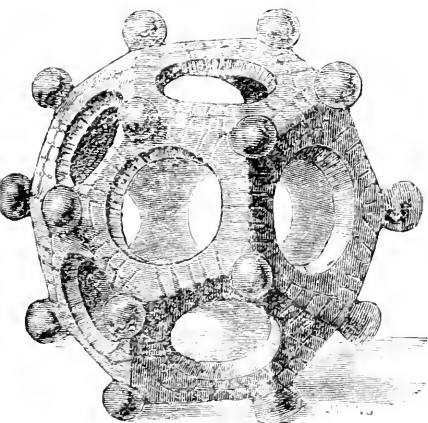


Fig. 1.

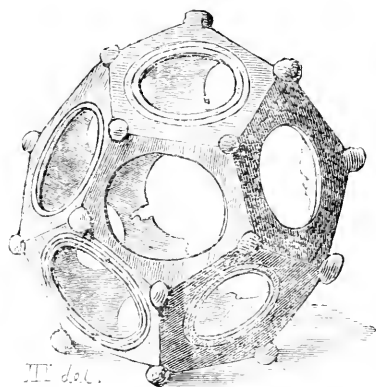


Fig. 2.

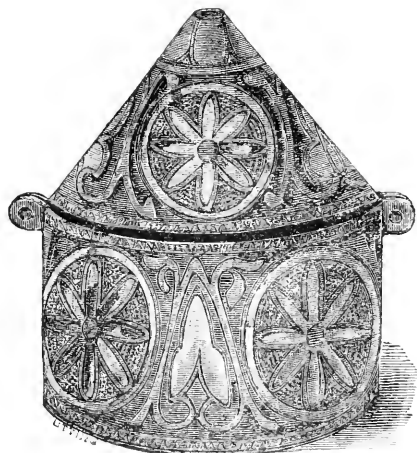
much finer workmanship the thickness of the metal being only $\frac{1}{16}$ inch, and the knob $\frac{3}{16}$ inch. One entire facet and three halves are destroyed; the circular holes, which are surrounded by concentric circles, vary in size from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{7}{8}$ inch in diameter, no two being exactly alike. For what purpose these objects were used it is not clear. If they were merely for ornaments to be suspended, the shape was awkward, and the difference in the size of the holes, as in fig. 2, would not be necessary. If they were used to be thrown like dice in games of chance, the knobs would have

been of no practical use, and the similarity of the holes, as in fig. 1, would not have answered such a purpose, unless, indeed, the facets were filled with figures upon ivory discs; but neither example shows any means of setting such plates. It was suggested that the hollow may have been filled with wax, and then inscribed with figures. In this case the knobs would certainly have answered the purpose of protecting the surface of the wax.

By Mrs. HAYWARD.—A red glazed terra-cotta die, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch cube, incised with geometrical and other patterns, probably a mediæval potter's stamp.

By Mr. J. CORDEAUX.—A brass swivel stirrup, *temp.* William III, found near Great Coates, Lincolnshire.

By the Rev. W. B. OAKELEY.—A pyx of *champlevé* enamel, lately purchased in Gloucestershire.



By Mr. HARTSHORNE.—A twelfth century *champlevé* enamelled plate, representing the Deity, with Angels above and people in purgatory below. The Rev. J. Fuller Russell sent for illustration an enamelled plate of the same period, representing the Presentation (described in the *Journal*, xviii, 282).

By Mr. MATTHEW BIGGE.—A Roman potter's wheel and stands of unbaked clay, for supporting pottery in kilns, found near Wellingborough. Mr. Bigge gave an account of other Roman discoveries made at the same time, among them some bronze vessels, supposed to be standard wine measures, a leaden coffin, and other things.

December 7, 1877.

R. H. SODEN SMITH, Esq., V.P., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN spoke of the arrival of Dr. Schliemann's gold "treasury," and pottery from Troy, shortly to be exhibited at the South Kensington Museum. Of this extraordinary collection the great gold cup was specially remarked upon.

Mr. J. PARK HARRISON read some notes and gave a general description of the recent explorations at Cissbury. These galleries in the chalk were evidently originally made for the purpose of getting flint, that material,

when obtained at a certain depth, being easily chipped into weapons. The galleries appear to have been also used as shelter places from the weather, or from an enemy, and Tacitus mentions a similar use of such retreats by the people of Germania. Among the objects exhibited by Mr. Harrison were a large urn, and fragments of several different kinds of pottery, deer-horn tips, bones of animals, a bone carding comb, an iron hook, a terra cotta bead, and pieces of chalk with markings on them, pronounced by Professors Rice and Burgess to be "rune-like." No human remains were found. Major-General Lane Fox thought all the evidence tended to show that the galleries were filled in at once after the flints were extracted, it was not easy otherwise to account for the disposal of the *débris*. He doubted the genuineness of the "rune-like marks," and thought that the pits where the pottery and other objects were found were probably refuse pits, as at Mount Caburn.

The CHAIRMAN thought the comb was of later date than the other objects. The meeting was indebted to Mr. Harrison for the patient care with which he had conducted a difficult and elaborate exploration. A vote of thanks having been passed to Mr. Harrison, Mr. J. BAIN read a paper on "The Siege of Antwerp," by Alexander of Parma, entering at some length into the history of this celebrated event (the paper will be printed in a future number of the *Journal*.)

MR. HARTSHORNE read the following notes, contributed by Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith, upon the details of the casket exhibited by Professor Westwood at the meeting in June, 1876 (*Journal*, vol. xxxiii, p. 399):—

"The shield bearing a lion rampant within a double tressure, floy counter floy, seems to me indubitably that of Scotland; as to the forked tail of the lion, I take it to be only a fancy of the artist, having often seen lions with such an appendage engraved on sword blades. The spatular form of the blades of two of the swords carried by figures on this curious casket is very remarkable, being of the classical, rather than of the mediæval type.

"With respect to the animal whose cub is being stolen by the peasant, I have no doubt that she is intended for a tigress, and the disk on the tree for a mirror. Guillim, *Display of Heraldry*, 1660, says—'He beareth, argent, a tiger passant, regardant, gazing in a mirrour or looking-glass, all proper. This coat armour standeth in the chancell of the Church of Thame in Oxfordshire, in a glasse window of the same chancell, impaled on the sinister side with the coate-armour properly belonging to the family of de Bardis. . . . Some report that those who rob the tiger of her young, use a policy to detain their dam from following them, by casting sundry looking-glasses in the way, whereat she useth long to gaze, whether it be to behold her own beauty, or because when she seeth her shape in the glass she thinketh she seeth one of her young ones, and so they escape the swiftness of her pursuit. And thus are many deceived of the substance, whilst they are much busied about the shadows.'"

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

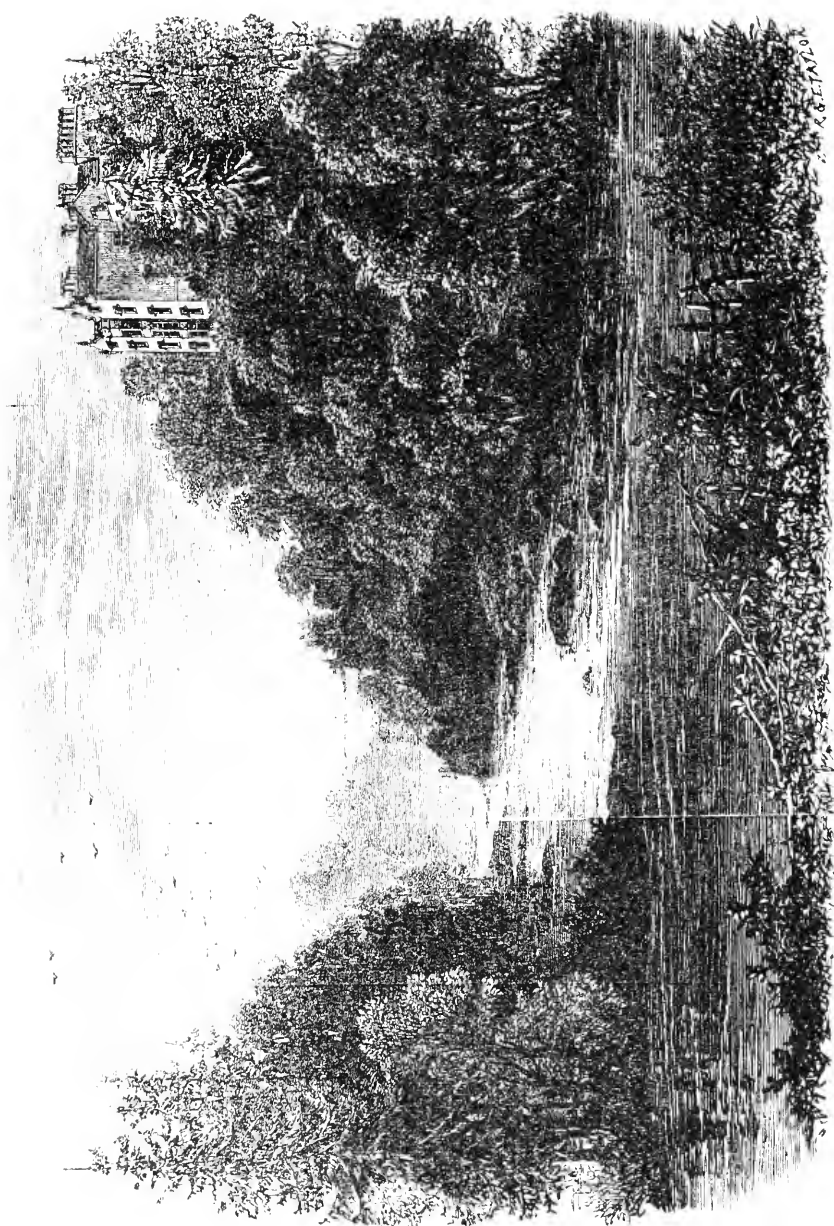
By the Lord BROUGHAM and VAUX.—An altar cross, a crucifix, a chasse, and a pyx discovered in 1819 (together with a gold chalice and paten and a sanctus bell), in the north wall of the Chapel at Brougham. These were considered by the Chairman to be works of the School of

Cologne, and the thirteenth century. A monstrance of a later period, found at the same time, was also shown.

Mr. C. S. GREAVES.—Rubbing of cross-flory of an unusual form from a monumental slab at St. Clement's Church, Hastings, and seven rubbings of emblems of the Passion from a font at the same church.

By the Rev. B. B. OAKELEY.—Rubbing of the incised figure of a Verderer of the Forest of Dean carrying a bow, *temp.* James I, on a monumental slab in Newland Churchyard. Mr. Hartshorne called attention to the extreme rarity of effigies in hunting costume and mentioned an example of the fourteenth century in Glinton Church near Peterborough. In Newland Churchyard is also the monumental effigy of Junkin Wyrall "Forester of Fee," died 1457, which is engraved in "L'Art de Venerie par Guyllame Twici," by Sir Henry Dryden, Bt., p. 64.

By Mr. J. NIGHTINGALE.—Personal objects in delicately carved ivory, said to have belonged to the great King of Poland, Stephen Bathon (1575-1586). These consisted of an ink pot, pounce box, seal box, baton with medals inlaid, and an iron ring inlaid with sixteenth century camei.



VIEW ON THE RIVER WHARF AND NETHERSIDE GLEN

R. STEIN

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE DEANERY OF CRAVEN IN THE COUNTY OF YORK. By THOMAS DUNHAM WHITAKER, LL.D., F.S.A., Vicar of Whalley in Lancashire. Third Edition, with many additions and corrections. Edited by A. W. Morant, F.S.A., F.G.S., &c. Leeds: Dodgson. London: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.

The first edition of Dr. Whitaker's *History of the Deanery of Craven*, was published in 1805, and as early as 1812 another edition was demanded, a very unusual circumstance in a topographical book, and a certain evidence that the work was of great interest and value. No further edition had been printed for sixty-five years, and the former editions had become very scarce and costly. This being the case, Mr. J. Dodgson of Leeds, with great public spirit, determined upon publishing a new edition, and, having purchased the original copper-plates and secured the services of Mr. A. W. Morant, as Editor, the third edition of the *History of Craven* is now before the public.

In the execution of this work the text of the second edition has been scrupulously re-produced, but considerable additions have been made thereto. Besides extending, as far as practicable, the pedigrees printed in the second edition, engravings of the arms, in a bold and spirited style, have been added, and many new pedigrees introduced. The lists of Institutions to Benefices have been brought down to the present time from the Records of the Bishops' Registers of York and Ripon. Churches have been more particularly described, and a large number of Monumental Inscriptions printed. This class of records Dr. Whitaker very much slighted, saying, "Modern Epitaphs offend alike against piety, simplicity, and truth." This is true enough, nevertheless they are of great value for genealogical purposes. Carefully prepared ground-plans of Castles and Abbeys have also been introduced. That the new matter, however, may be readily distinguished from the original text the former has been included within brackets.

The Deanery of Craven lies between the Ribble and the Wharfe, embracing, generally, the water-shed of those rivers and extending nearly as far south as Bradford. The deanery contains twenty-five parishes. It lies upon mountain lime-stone, milstone grit, and a kind of shale known locally as the Yoredale rocks, and the scenery is very broken, diversified, and picturesque. At the time of the Domesday Survey about one-fourth of the lands of this district were held by the King in demesne, and the greater portion of the remainder was held by William de Percy and Roger de Poitou, but not long afterwards out of the royal demesne the Honour of Skipton was formed and granted by the Conqueror, or by his son William Rufus, to Robert de Romillé, a Norman adventurer of good family. Roger de Poitou soon afterwards alienated the greater part of

his Craven possessions, which became annexed to the Percy and Skipton Fees. The Romillies were the munificent founders of Embsay Priory and Bolton Abbey, as well as the builders of Skipton Castle, of which a good account, with a newly-made ground-plan and illustrations, are given in the work before us. The Percy and Skipton fees, with the exception of the lands granted by their lords to the great religious houses, continued to be held by two superior lords from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, the manors being held by mesue lords under them, which gave rise to many families of gentry, some of them of equestrian rank, of which some, *e.g.* Tempest, Middleton, Hammerton, Lister, &c., still continue in the district. The Romilly fee descended through the family of Fortibus, Earls of Albemarle, to Edmund Plantagenet (Crouchback) and upon his death *s.p.* 1269, rightly or wrongly, became vested in the Crown, and remained so vested until 1310, when the king granted it to Robert de Clifford. His descendant Sir Henry Clifford, *k.c.*, 1st Earl of Cumberland and 11th Lord of Skipton by his marriage with Margaret sister and heir of Henry Percy 6th Earl of Northumberland, acquired also the Percy fee, so that the Cliffords possessed both these great fees in Craven. To this latter family our authors have very naturally devoted much attention, and have given of it a most interesting and valuable history.

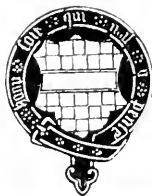
Dr. Whitaker gives the history of each parish separately, shewing very briefly the devolution of the several manors, and considering the increased facilities of access to the Public Records now afforded, this portion of the work might, we think, have been somewhat extended and made more definite by the present Editor.

We have mentioned above the marriage of Sir Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, and Margaret Percy. This alliance is commemorated by an altar tomb in the Church of Skipton, richly panelled and ornamented with brass shields of arms each within the garter, as detailed below. Upon the tomb is a slab of black marble with the following inscription around the edge.

Of your charite pray for the soule of Sir Henry Clifford Knyght of the most noble order of the Garter, Earle of Cumberland sumtyme Governor of the town and castle of Carlisle and President of the King's Council in the North also of Margaret his wyfe daughter of Sir Henry Percy Knyght Earle of Northumberland whyche Sir Henry departed thys lyfe the xxii day of April in the yere of our Lorde Gode mcccccxlii on whose soules Iesu have mercy Amen.

Upon the slab are the effigies in brass of the Earl and his wife. He is clad in armour, namely, in a cuirass, skirt of mail and tuiles, pauldrons, vambraces and rerebraces, his hands are bare, his legs are encased in plate armour and he wears broad-toed sabatons. Round his left leg is the Garter; his head is bare and rests upon a tilting helme, having his crest, a wyvern sejant. He is armed with a sword and dagger, his feet rest upon a greyhound, and round his neck is a chain from which a cross is suspended.

The Countess reposes with her head upon an embroidered pillow. She wears a gown, and over it a mantle charged with the arms of Clifford, Percy and Lucy, quarterly, Bromflete, Old Percy, Vesci and Poynings. The mantle is fastened at the neck by a long cord passed through a knot at the waist, and terminating in two tassels near the feet which rest upon



On tomb of Sir Henry Clifford, 1st Earl of Cumberland.

a dog. She wears a pedimental head-dress and a coronet. Over the head of Henry is a shield with the arms of Clifford; over his wife's head the arms of Old-Percy: Az. 3 fusils in fess or. Beneath his feet Clifford impaling Old-Percy, and beneath her feet Clifford only. The shields are within the Garter. In the panels round the sides of the tomb are the following shields beginning at the north-east corner:—Quarterly of eight four and four. 1, Clifford; 2, Augmentation; 3, Bromflete; 4, Vesci; 5, Az. three roses; 6, Vipont; 7, Atton; and 8, St. John of Bletsoe. Next follows a roundle with **FCR**. 2, Clifford impaling Old-Percy; then a roundle with **MCP**: 3, same as 1; 4, at west end, Clifford quartering Augmentation, &c., as shield 1; and impaling Percy quartering Lucy, Old-Percy, Poynings, Strange and Bryan. On south side 5 same as 1. 6, Clifford impaling Old-Percy; and 7 same as 1. The two roundles as above described also occur on either side of number 6.

The author states that, "upon a stone standing vertically upon the slab, and at the head of it, are brasses of 3 sons kneeling in tabards, two of them charged with the arms of Clifford differenced with an annulet, and the third having the arms of Clifford impaling Daere" . . . "to the right are four daughters, also kneeling; two are in mantles, the first charged with Clifford impaling Daere, the second Clifford only, and the other two in plain gowns." The details of the monument are then further described, for which, however, we will refer to the engraving below, observing that the author is under a misapprehension in the above description. This originally formed no part of the monument of the first Earl, but commemorates Henry the 2nd Earl and Anne Daeres his second wife and their issue. The Earl kneels in front with the arms of Clifford on his tabard impaling Daere, and behind him his two sons by this marriage, George and Francis, successively Earls of Cumberland, their arms being differenced with their respective marks of cadency—the



Monument of Sir Henry Clifford, 2nd Earl of Cumberland.

label and the annulet—and it should be here noticed that the cadency mark used by the second son is the annulet and not the crescent, which is usually assigned as the cadency mark for the second son. On the right kneels the Lady Clifford, her mantle being charged with the arms of her family impaling Clifford. The eldest daughter Frances, who, subsequently to the erection of the monument, became the wife of Philip, 3rd Lord Wharton, has her mantle charged with the arms of Clifford only; whilst the two younger daughters, who died young, probably before the monument was erected, appear in simple white dresses.

In the Church of Kildwick is an effigy of Sir Robert de Stiverton (*temp* Edw. I) with his arms, which are somewhat remarkable as shewing the “tricking.”

In the Church of Ilkley is a somewhat similar cross-legged effigy in memory of Sir Adam de Midelton—Arms: ar. fetty sa. a canton of the last—but the engraving, as taken from Whitaker's original edition, is stated in this new edition not to be accurate, the figure being shewn with greaves on the legs, which is not the case in the effigy itself. There is not now any base, the effigy lies directly on the floor, and is much concealed by the new seating.

The work is further enriched by a supplementary chapter on the Natural History and Pre-historic Remains of the District, by Mr. L. C. Miall.

The work is exceedingly well got up, and reflects great credit upon the printers, Messrs. Cassell, Petter, and Galpin of London, as well as upon the Editor. There is, however, one serious drawback in the large folding pedigrees which, in many cases, it is not possible to open without damage, and the whole without difficulty might have been arranged upon pages. We are glad to see a goodly list of subscribers, and trust that the spirited publisher will receive that support which he merits.

CHAPTERS OF PAROCHIAL HISTORY—DURSLEY AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD, &c. By JOHN HENRY BLUNT, M.A., Rector of Beverston. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. Dursley: Whitmore, 1877.

The opening sentence of the preface to this little work, in which the author writes: “There are few parishes of which there is not something interesting to be recorded, and few of which the records are satisfactorily dealt with in county histories,” would be an indication in an unknown author that he appreciated his subject, and was qualified to do it justice. In the case, however, of an author so well known to fame as Mr. Blunt, his name upon the title page would be an assurance that the reader would find an able, pleasant, and agreeable volume, and in this case, at least, he would not be disappointed.

As the volume before us is entitled *Chapters of Parochial History*, it would appear to be the first of a series, and we venture to hope that after the completion of the great work upon which Mr. Blunt is now engaged, *An Annotated Bible*, he will resume his parochial studies.

The present volume contains historical memorials of the parishes of Dursley, Beverston, Cam, and Uley, in Gloucestershire, all, in former days, more or less famous for the manufacture of cloth, encouraged by the superior quality of the wool produced by the Cotswold flocks, and the

facility of using water-power in the Cotswold valleys ; but now, in consequence of the introduction of steam-machinery, greatly decayed.

We have always urged that the person best qualified to write the history of any parish, if he would give his attention to the subject, would be the clergyman, and the work before us is a justification of that opinion. Though tracing in detail the history of the Berkeleys and other eminent families, and the rise of others from the wool-trade, the author does not attempt to enter very deeply into the devolution of Manors, or to go far-a-field for his materials, but aims chiefly at giving sketches from local records of old customs, men and manners.

His account, however, of the great historical family of Berkeley is of considerable interest, especially that of the true stock of that name, the Berkeleys of Dursley, who, he tells us, were of the Old English blood-royal, Roger Berkeley, Lord of Dursley, being a cousin of King Edward the Confessor, and who seems not only to have escaped spoliation at the Conquest, but in addition to his ancient inheritance to have obtained other lands in fee farm from the Conqueror, including the whole Hundred of Berkeley. After nine descents the line of Dursley expired in an heiress, who married Robert de Cantelupe, and from her, after some few generations, Dursley Castle and lands descended to a representative of the old Berkeleys, and then passed by marriage to Thomas Wyke, who was living in 1474, whose heir-male, Robert Wyke, after five descents, sold them in 1567. The decadence of this great house forms an episode in the vicissitudes of families. The Wykes, their lineal representatives, seem to have fallen into great poverty. Mr. Blunt, quoting from Smyth's MS. Lives of the Berkeleys, printed in Fosbrook's *Gloucester*, i, 428, writes : "I have divers times within twenty-six years past (writing about 1620) beheld Mr. Wikes (the heire of this ancient lyne) then not more old than poore, in Chancery Lane and in Fleet Streete, London, picking up shreds of rags, cast into the streets from the sweeping of taylers' and seamster's shoppes, to get thereby a farthing token for his sustenance : somewhat harsh to be written by me, when myself and others then in my company, knowing his honourable descent, and seeing his present condition, have given him sixpence or twelvecence from amongst us, concealing ourselves and eke our knowledge of him : howbeit, conscious of his ancestors and discent (and of the mount from whence hee was tumbled down) he would never begg of any, for ought I could ever see or learne."

There are few ordinary old Parish Registers which, in addition to records of baptisms, marriages and burials, do not give us some interesting glimpses of past times, but the Churchwardens of Dursley in 1566 established another book called the Churchwardens' Register, "as well ffor the yearlie Accompts . . . as for the safe keeping in memorie of all those things that of right belongeth to the said pish, wherein also anye mann y^t will may haue his testament or last will registerid." This curious book was continued down to the year 1758, and though it is to be regretted that it was not commenced thirty years earlier, and continued to the present time, it contains much interesting matter, of which Mr. Blunt has availed himself. We might make many curious extracts, but must refrain from doing so, as space will not allow of it, and merely mention the occurrence of the term "Hogging Money," under which term the Churchwardens received a small sum yearly towards the expenses of

the Church. The entry occurs in eighteen years out of forty-seven years following and including 1579. In 1621 the entry is "when wee went a hoggling," £1 3s. 7d.; in 1622 "in going a hoglen" 16s. 3d.; and in 1626, for hogling, 19s. This may be possibly the same thing as is mentioned in the Churchwardens' account of the parish of Cranbrook in 1556 as "Hognell money for the use of the beam" (*N. and Q.*, 2nd series, iv, 367, 441). At the latter reference it is suggested that Hognell money would seem to be connected with hock-money, of which Brand gives numerous illustrations (vol. i, 108-114). This, however, does not seem to be very satisfactory, and we draw attention to the subject in the hope that it may receive further elucidation.

Under the Parish of Uley Mr. Blunt, referring to the valuable memoir by Dr. Thurnam, printed in the *Journal* of this Society, vol. xi, p. 315, gives a short account of the chambered tumulus in that parish, and of the Roman hill fortress of Uleybury extracted from the *Archæologia*, vol. xix, 161.

We must not close this notice without commending Mr. Whitmore for the manner in which the work has been printed and got up, and for the enterprise shewn by that gentleman in taking upon himself the responsibility of its publication.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS RELATING TO IRELAND, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, 1586-1588, Edited by HANS CLAUDE HAMILTON, ESQ., F.S.A., Assistant Keeper of H. M. Public Records, 1877.

A good history of Ireland has yet to be written and is much to be desired, to the accomplishment of which the Irish State Papers of the reign of Elizabeth are indispensable. The third volume of the series now before us, edited by Mr. Hans Claude Hamilton, extends from January 1586 to the end of July 1588 upon the recall of Sir John Perrot from the office of Lord Deputy. Lord Grey of Wilton had been removed from that office in August 1582, and the administration of affairs committed to Archbishop Loftus, Lord Chancellor, and Sir Henry Wallop as Lords Justices.

In the following year by the slaughter of the aged Earl of Desmond in cold blood, the rebellion in Munster was suppressed. This rebellion was caused by an attempt on the part of the English Government to abolish, with a high hand, the system of feudalism and certain Irish institutions which obtained before the Irish had been prepared for the change. The evil was aggravated by the introduction from abroad of religious rancour, the excommunication of the Queen, and the setting up of a Papal authority, which has ever since formed one of the greatest difficulties in Irish politics. It was now, generally, felt that the time for pacification had arrived and that conciliatory measures should be adopted, and Sir John Perrot commenced his government in that spirit; but he was met with the hostility of the English settlers and the discontent of the officers of the army at his pacific policy. Among his chief opponents were the late Lords Justices, and continual complaints were transmitted to England charging him with oppressive and overbearing conduct towards the Council.

Meanwhile difficulties again arose with the Irish, commencing in Comraught through the severity of Sir Richard Bingham, then Lord President of the Province, and his subordinate officers. In January 1586, about the time of the commencement of the paper calendared in the volume under notice, no fewer than seventy persons, men and women, some of them persons of distinction, were condemned and executed at Galway. Sir John Perrot was greatly incensed by these and other oppressions, and being of an irascible and violent temperament, very unseemly contentions arose between him and some members of the Council.

The volume before us opens with the preparation for new troubles in Ulster. The great potentate of that district, Furlough Lynagh O'neil, was becoming old, and his differences with O'Donnell and the Baron of Dungannon, afterwards so famous as Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, caused Perrot considerable anxiety. Hugh O'Neil was steadily working his way up, and preparing his forces for the Great Rebellion, which lasted until the end of Elizabeth's reign. Upon the character of this remarkable man and his astute proceedings, and also upon the measures adopted by the Lord Deputy for *settling* the forfeited lands of the Irish Chieftains, who had been subdued, and upon the strife, discord, and mutual recriminations between the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, very much light is thrown by the papers in this volume. It is needless to add that the Council prevailed. Sir John Perrot was recalled, and charges of treason were trumped up against him, aggravated by some contemptuous words, which it was alleged he had spoken against the Queen. He was convicted and attainted, and possibly only escaped execution by dying suddenly in the Tower.

BIBLIOTHECA CORNUBIENSIS. By GEORGE CLEMENT BOASE and WILLIAM PRIDEAUX COURTNEY. Longmans, 1878.

This work, of which the second volume has been recently issued, is one of the best of the class which we have seen. It purports to be a catalogue of the writings, both MS. and printed, of Cornishmen, and of works relating to the county of Cornwall, with biographical memoranda and copious literary references. The authors seem, from their bibliographical knowledge and skill, to be well qualified for the task they have undertaken, and they have evidently spared no labour to render their work as complete as possible. The amount of research, of which this is the result, must have been very great, for few works, even tracts, sermons and leaflets, would appear to have escaped the authors' observation, whilst the biographical notes are very full.

This volume completes the alphabet, but we are glad to see that a third volume is in course of preparation. This latter will contain an alphabetical arrangement of miscellaneous matter, which does not admit of classification under the names of Authors, Private Acts of Parliament, Civil War Tracts, &c. relating to Cornwall, and works published during the years in which the "Bibliotheca" has been passing through the press; to which will be added a copious index to the contents of the whole work.

Though the publication must have been undertaken as a labour of love, we hope the book will command such a sale as in some measure to compensate the authors for the time, the labour, and the expense involved in its production.

THE ROMANS OF BRITAIN. By HENRY CHARLES COOTE, F.S.A. London: Frederic Northgate, 1873.

This is a very remarkable book and an important contribution to the early history of this country. In the short space at our disposal it is impossible to do it that justice it deserves, for although we are not, at once, prepared to agree in all the Author's theories, it must be frankly admitted that his arguments are lucid and supported by a vast amount of varied learning. His contention is that the Roman colonists and Romano-Britons were not exterminated by the Barbarian Conquest, but, though reduced to a state of thralldom, preserved their nationality and continued in the free enjoyment of their religion and laws; and he establishes his point by many curious isolated facts, collected from a very wide range of reading and study. The book treats of the most dark period of the history of the country, and unquestionably, it removes a considerable amount of the obscurity in which that epoch is enveloped. It deserves an attentive study, and should find a place in every historical library.

CLEANINGS FROM THE MUNICIPAL AND CATHEDRAL RECORDS RELATIVE TO THE HISTORY OF EXETER. By W. COTTON, F.S.A., and the VENERABLE HENRY WOOLLCOMBE, Archdeacon of Barnstaple. Exeter: James Townsend, 1877.

It would be difficult to over value the Municipal and Cathedral Records of this Country. Unfortunately little is known of them. For many years they received very scant attention. Even the Dean and Chapter of Exeter in 1602 transferred 132 of their MSS., and among them the priceless "Codex Exoniensis," to the Bodleian Library. It is gratifying therefore to know that of late years the value of these treasures are becoming recognised. The Municipal and Cathedral Corporate bodies of Exeter have had their Records classified and calendared by the able hands of Mr. Stuart Moore. The Rev. Canon Wickinden is doing the same for the Archives of the Cathedral of Lincoln, and a most interesting volume of letters has recently been published by the Camden Society, under the editorship of Mr. J. B. Sheppard, from the Archives of Christ Church, Canterbury.

The little volume recently issued by Mr. Cotton and Archdeacon Woolcombe would seem to be the first fruits of Mr. Stuart Moore's labours at Exeter. It may be said to consist of two portions, the first, which is the largest, gathered from the municipal records, is divided into seven sections; and the second, contains two lectures of considerable interest on the muniments in the Chapter House, delivered at Exeter by Archdeacon Woolcombe.

The most valuable portions of the first part seem to us to consist of the sections which relate to the "Siege of Exeter in 1549," and "Exeter

during the Great Rebellion." In the former is given a very vivid account of the judgment and courage of the Mayor and citizens in the defence of the city, and the privations endured by the inhabitants during a close siege which lasted thirty-five days. The notices of the proceedings in the ever loyal city during the time of the great rebellion are of still greater interest, justifying the ancient city's proud motto *Semper Fidelis*, in her devoted loyalty to the king, and affording many curious insights into the condition of the city and its inhabitants during the rule of the Sectaries. We hope to see a second series with an Index to the whole.

Archæological Intelligence.

Some excavations have recently been made at Bath into the Ancient Roman *cloacæ* or drains, which had been previously uncovered in 1867. They are still partially used, and extend over a considerable area. A portion of them has lately been repaired. The drains are of very massive work, some of the stones of which they are composed being 8 ft. 6 in. in length. In one portion of them a curious mask of block tin was found, but the roof of the drain having here fallen in, it is doubtful whether this relic was of the Roman period. In another place a fragment of a Roman inscription was found.

It is believed from the size of the stone, the size of the letters, and the peculiar triangular shaped stop, to be a portion of the fragmentary inscription found in 1790, belonging to the smaller building near the Great Temple. It was found in the same neighbourhood as the latter. The remaining letters are only $\frac{T}{ET}$ and form the commencement of two lines. A small amphora of what is believed to be pewter has since been found in the drains. Though rather crushed, it is of a classic shape, and is perfect with the exception of the lip. The handle is ribbed.

At South Shields was found a few weeks ago, near the site of the Roman station, a small hoard of Roman coins consisting of ten *aurei*, and from 130 to 140 *denarii*. The latter were agglutinated by the oxide of copper from one or two copper coins which were discovered with the mass. Mr. Robert Blair, who has become possessed of four of the *aurei*, and about seventy-five of the *denarii*, informs us that the earliest he has seen, is an *aureus* of Nero, and the latest a *denarius* of Commodus. An *aureus* of Claudius "restored" by Trajan, is amongst them. Of the *denarii* in his possession, Mr. Blair has only separated and cleaned about twenty, leaving the remainder *en masse* as found.

At Lincoln, an extensive colonnaded building, of which the large fragment of Roman masonry known as the "Mint Wall" seems to have formed a part, is being excavated. Its dimensions appear to be about 300 feet by 70 feet. The fragments of columns found stand about 4 ft. 9 in. high, the drums of the pillars being 2 ft. 7 in. in diameter, giving about 20 ft. as the height of the columns when entire. A most extraordinary architectural feature has been developed, in the shape of a double column, or rather two distinct columns united at the N. E. angle of the building, forming part of both the front and the flanking colonnade. Great quantities of pottery, glass, tiles, mortar, and coins have been discovered, and a large number of bones of animals, especially the jaw

bones, were found in a heap near the double columns. Mr. W. T. Watkin thinks they were those of sacrificed animals. From the reddened hue of the stone, lumps of molten lead, and pieces of charred wood found, it is evident that the building was destroyed by fire. A public subscription is being made for the excavation of the whole area, and for the preservation of the remains.

At Templeborough, the excavations have been resumed within a small area, but until the crops are off the ground nothing of any magnitude can be attempted. Several roughly bouldered surfaces have been found here and there within the S. E. angle, which may have been either portions of roads or floors, but no foundations of buildings have been come upon at this point. It has been ascertained that the large building supposed to be the *prætorium* extended considerably further northwards. The pillar of a hypocaust and some flue tiles have been found bearing strong marks of fire, and a coin of Claudius Gothicus has been found.

The discovery of some umbos of Saxon shields from the surface soil of a tumulus on the western boundary of Icklingham in Suffolk has apparently given rise to the statement that some Roman legionary shields have been recently dug up. We shall hope before long to obtain more definite information upon this subject.

Mrs. Brash announces the forthcoming publication of "The Ogam Inscribed Monuments of the Gaedhill," from the complete MS. of the late Mr. R. R. Brash, under the editorship of Mr. G. M. Atkinson. The object of the above work may best be gathered from the following extracts intended by the Author to have formed part of his Prospectus:—

"There is no country in Europe which presents so rich a field for the investigations of the antiquary as Ireland. Placed in the remote West of Europe, preserved for ages from those influences, both of war and civilization, which altered the entire social relations of the Continent, she became the last retreat of those pre-historic races who in long past ages inhabited it. We have abundant evidence that successive tribes, driven towards the Atlantic by more recent migrations from the East, found a refuge in this remote isle; in attestation of which we find that every district teems with the military, religious, and sepulchral monuments of pre-historic peoples, most of which are the subjects of weird traditions still preserved by the peasantry, being even yet regarded with that jealous veneration inherent in the Celtic race. Foremost in interest amongst these megalithic remains stands her *Ogam inscribed pillar-stones*, bearing the sepulchral legends of a race of her early colonists, in such archaic characters as at once to place them amongst the most ancient written records known.

"Having spent many years in examining these mysterious monuments, and in investigating the inscriptions engraven thereon, I have considered it my duty to place the result of my labours before the public, having a strong faith in the value of these venerable memorials in throwing light upon an obscure era in the early history of these Islands."

The work will be illustrated by 50 plates, photolithographs from original drawings, and will contain a large number of Ogam inscriptions. Subscriptions, £1 ls., will be received by Mrs. Brash, Sunday's Well, Cork.

Mr. G. Esdaile has just completed, and proposes to publish very shortly by subscription, in two volumes roy. 8vo., price £2 10s, "The Domesday Book of Somerset." In the body of the work will be found—

1. The Exon', translated into English."
2. The reduced copy known as the Great Domesday, also in English.
[A comparison of these will shew the omissions of the Norman scribes.]
3. Notes on the tenants *in capite*, and, where possible, their pedigrees.
4. Notes on the under-tenants, and, where possible, their pedigrees.
5. A full digest of both the Exon' and the Exchequer copy.
6. The three Indices by Sir Henry Ellis, supplemented by five exhaustive Indices, which will be found of immense use to either the student, antiquarian, archaeologist, or landholder.

Subscribers' names will be received by the Author, 5, Queen's Terrace, Chester Road, Manchester.

At the end of June this year, whilst a labourer was ploughing at Baconsthorpe on the estate of J. T. Mott, Esq., of Barningham Hall near Holt, Norfolk, his plough struck the top of a large urn, and turned out a few coins, further examination resulted in the discovery that the urn held over a hundredweight of Roman coins, nearly all as perfect as when struck. They are said to be mostly of Postumus, and chiefly of brass. They are many thousands in number and have not yet been fully examined.



Antique Cameo, found at South Shields.

The Archaeological Journal.

JUNE, 1878.

ANTIQUE CAMEO, FOUND AT SOUTH SHIELDS, DURHAM.

By C. W. KING, M.A.

The discovery of an antique cameo in this island is so uncommon an event that every well-authenticated instance of the kind deserves to be brought under the notice of the Institute, and therefore I have much pleasure in communicating the following particulars respecting the most important one that has ever come to my knowledge.

In March last, a poor man, whilst engaged in "prospecting" upon the site of the Roman amphitheatre at South Shields, picked up a large gem. which shortly afterwards came into the possession of Robert Blair, Esq., of that town, who kindly forwarded it to me for examination.

It is an elliptical Indian sardonyx, 2 by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in its greatest and least diameters, of two layers; the upper, opaque white; the lower, a rich translucent brown.

In the white stratum is cut, in rather high relief, the figure of a Bear, advancing to the right, with head somewhat lifted as in the act of growling. At his fore paw lies the skull of some animal, his recent prey; whether calf or goat cannot now be distinguished, the relief being slightly damaged in that part. Although the execution is somewhat rough, in the usual style of the early part of the third century (to which date there is good reason to assign the work), yet the drawing is full of movement and of that fidelity to nature which is one of the surest tests for discriminating the antique from the modern in sculpture. The head of the animal preyed upon is added to give more character to the *tableau*; for the same reason

that the figure of the Lion in gems is often accompanied with the skull of an ox in the same position.

Our bear would at first sight be taken for the polar kind, but this is mere accident, due to the *colour* of the material; for which the artist, had it been at his choice, would have used the opposite hue. For it cannot be supposed that the Romans had ever ventured far enough northwards to make acquaintance with the great *white* bear, which is limited to the Arctic circle; whereas his *black* brother was well known to them from his frequent appearance in the arena. This last circumstance throws light upon the species of the Bear that then inhabited North Britain, for the *black* is carnivorous and savage; and this character explains why the Romans took the trouble to carry him all the way from Caledonia to Rome to make sport in the amphitheatre, when they had such plenty of the *brown* kind (a vegetarian and timid) close at hand in the Alps. For it must be borne in mind that all the transit hence to Italy was by land, across Gaul, from Gessoriacum to Massilia; no ships of burden daring to brave the terrors of the Bay of Biscay.

This export of bears to Rome commenced as soon as the Romans gained a footing in the north of this island. Under Domitian, Martial alludes to their employment in the execution of some particularly atrocious criminal:

“Nuda Caledonio sic pectora prebuit urso,
Non falsa pendens in cruce Laureolus.”

This unusually ferocious beast was probably one of the trophies of Agricola's northern campaign. The species must have been very abundant here, for two centuries later Claudian alludes to its fur as distinguishing the national costume: “Caledonio velata Britannia monstro.” The Emperor Valentinian, who, though claimed by ecclesiastical writers as a confessor of the faith during Julian's gentle persecution, was yet of a “rather cruel disposition” (as his friend Ammian is forced to allow), used to feed his pet bears “*Innocentia*” and “*Mica aurea*” with human flesh—let us hope with that of contumacious Pagans only.

Animals were never represented on gems, but for some mystic reason—usually having reference to the worship

of some deity of whom each was the attribute, hence the frequency of the Lion, Bull, Goat, Pig, Wolf, &c. Of the *bear* no other engraving has previously fallen under my notice: there must consequently have been some weighty motive that led to the brute's being honoured with so costly a portrait as the one before us. But the Romans were as fond of the rebus on proper names, and of "armes parlantes," as were our own mediæval forefathers. Cicero puts a *vetch* in place of his own cognomen. on the silver bowl he dedicates at a Sicilian temple; Voconius Vitulus takes for the type of his coins a *calf*; Thorius a *bull*; and Vibius Pans a *Pan's* head. As soon as the Germans began to enlist in the Roman army, names derived from the *bear* (the Teutonic equivalent to the *lion* of southern fauna and poetry) grow common in Latin. As early as Domitian's times we meet with an "Ursus" in high station and a patron of the poet Statius; under Constantius II we have "Ursulus" treasurer of the forces, who so greatly befriended the Caesar Julian when governor of Gaul; and again, "Ursicinus," commander of the army in the East. Hence it is not too great a stretch of probabilities, to suppose that some Gothic or Frankish tribune, serving under Commodus or Severus, and rejoicing in some such bearish appellation as those just quoted, had caused this cameo to be engraved to the glory of his name.

The destination of these large camei is made certain by allusions in ancient authors, as well as by sculptured remains. They were mounted in gold or silver, and served for fastening the great military cloak upon the shoulder, in the manner of the modern *solitaire*. Thus the romance-writer Heliodorus makes his hero Theagenes fasten his *chlamys* with a bust of Pallas carved out of amber; Sidonius Apollinaris depicts Dea Roma as using a great gem for the same purpose; in imperial statues, like the Spada Pompey, this same gem is seen carved into the Gorgon's head; and lastly in the magnificent cameo of the Family of Severus (Paris), the ægis on the breast of Caracalla is secured by a large oval gem, exactly coinciding in relative proportions with the cameo itself, and indicating beyond all doubt the

purpose for which *that* was intended. Our cameo, therefore, of "Ursus," was a decoration of the same nature as the larger one in blue paste with the bust of Antonia Augusta, found some years ago at Stanwix, and fully described in this *Journal* (vol. xxix, p. 26).

Although its subject is so analogous to the site where it was discovered, the fact must not be taken for more than it is worth, for it does not in reality prove any original connection between the two. The Pict, Scot, or Saxon, who despoiled the slaughtered proprietor of cloak and fibula, after breaking it out of the precious metal of the setting, tossed away the really more precious carving as a thing utterly valueless, upon the scene of plunder.

We cannot, I fear, claim for British talent the authorship of this cameo; the work though wanting finish is fully equal to that of the portraits of the period suggested, which are unquestionably of strictly Roman origin. But there can be no doubt that many of the intagli in jasper and cornelian found in similar localities (of which Mr. Blair has acquired some very instructive specimens) agree so closely in the strange peculiarities of their workmanship with the human and animal figures on the reverses of coins, of which the dies (as in the case of Carausius) must necessarily have been cut by Roman-British engravers, that no one experienced in such matters can doubt that both proceeded from the same hand. It is an acknowledged fact that die-sinking and gem-engraving formed the same profession in antiquity; and the minute examination of the types on the reverses of the barbarous pieces of the Gallic tyrants, Victorinus and Tetricus, has convinced me from their singular scratchiness that they were incised upon the iron by means of the same instrument as was used for the gem. They reverse Pistrucci's procedure, who cut the steel puncheons for his coins upon a lapidary's wheel, as though cameos in hard stone. In those gloomy days of the Decline, the arts appear to have found an asylum in Britain, less exposed to the ravages of the barbarians than her sister Gaul. Eumenius, at least, in congratulating Constantius upon the recovery of the wealthy island, speaks of the "artisans of all kinds with whom the country abounded," and of

whom the conqueror had brought back with him a very large number to be employed in rebuilding and embellishing the ruined cities under his dominion. As the author of *Ecclesiasticus* reckons amongst the trades, without which a city cannot be inhabited, "those who cut and engrave seals," it may safely be assumed that degenerate practitioners of that once elegant art had also established themselves, and found patronage in Roman Britain.

THE CATHEDRAL OF PISA.

By J. H. PARKER, C.B.

Few Cathedral Churches are more celebrated or better known than that of PISA, and not without reason, for it is in many respects a remarkable building, and plays an important part in the history of art. Nor are there many of which the history can be so well ascertained by the numerous inscriptions upon different parts of it, and yet unfortunately, there are few of which the real architectural history is so much misunderstood by the public in general: even persons generally supposed to be well informed on such subjects follow each other blindly in a palpable and important error, as to the real date of the beautiful west front with its series of light arcades, and what the French call *colonnettes*, one of the most beautiful examples of the Italian Gothic: but what is that period? This is the point which I wish to point out. This very beautiful example of the lightest and most elegant style is constantly quoted as belonging to the *twelfth* century, and therefore as a proof that Italy was in advance of any other country in architecture at that period: and as architecture is one of the best marks of civilization, therefore the Italians were the most highly civilized nation in Europe in the twelfth century.

This is altogether a popular delusion arising from the fact that no one well acquainted with architectural history has ever published a history of this building in an accessible form. No doubt many well informed architects have made it out for themselves, but they have kept their knowledge to themselves, or have only slightly alluded to it, and have been afraid of being thought ignorant if they ventured to differ from the received opinion.

The number of persons really acquainted with architectural history is still but a small minority of the educated classes. We must remember that it is only thirty years ago since the very able works of Professor Willis first brought the system into such thorough order, that it became quite undeniable to any educated person who

takes the trouble to follow his steps and examine his evidence. His admirable history of Canterbury Cathedral was the first work in which architectural history was fully developed; he wisely and properly adopted the system of Rickman, as far as it went. Rickman had been the first to reduce plans into tables, as I have already said; but he was not a learned man, not well acquainted with history, or the use of terms. Willis added these to Rickman's system, and thereby made architectural history complete, thorough, and undeniable. Unfortunately Willis's excellent notes on Italian buildings are comparatively slight, little known, and not illustrated by engravings, which are indispensable for the proper understanding of this subject. It can only be understood by the eye. Either we must take the historical notes to the spot and compare them with the building, or have accurate representations of it. Plans, sections, and drawings, or photographs are all necessary for the proper understanding of the subject; consequently the number of those who really understand it is comparatively small; and, although Willis's *History of Gothic Cathedrals* was published as long ago as 1843, and he explained it then on the spot to more than one hundred people, and in the same manner for about twenty years afterwards he fully explained the real history of many other cathedrals and churches in each succeeding year, at the meetings of the Architectural Institute, still the number of persons whose minds have become fully imbued with this true and important branch of history, is comparatively small.

Unfortunately the book which all English people take in their hands when they go to see the Cathedral of Pisa is one of Murray's excellent hand-books, and in these, generally useful volumes, architectural history has always been a *tabula*. The plans of Gally Knight, in 1844, are constantly given as if just of the same value as those of Willis in 1840, or of his pupils, as if architectural history had been standing still for half a century. Many ignorant people taking Murray's hand-book as their guide, suppose the actual cathedral which they see to be that begun by Pope Gelasius II in 1097, and consecrated 1118, the truth being that there is

scarcely a single stone of that building now *visible*. The foundations of the eastern part probably belonged to it, but that is all.

The interior of this great building was almost entirely destroyed by the great fire in 1596. The present vault and the clere-storey (which belongs to the vault) are part of the restorations of the Medici. The arches and the side walls of the aisles, and the exterior have fortunately escaped, and are, to a great extent, in a genuine state. The choir and apse being vaulted have also escaped to a great extent, and these are important for the history of the building. They do not belong to the building of Pope Gelasius, excepting perhaps the materials, which, being antique, were probably collected in his time, but the construction belongs to the same time as the Campanile, or leaning tower, which forms part of the same plan. This was begun in 1174, and was carried on for more than half a century; the extraordinary leaning over of this tower is caused by the bad character of the soil it is built upon, which would not bear the weight, and gave way under it to a considerable extent, though not sufficient to make it fall.

There is an external arcade round the upper part of the apse, but it is built of classical materials, and the construction is the same as that of the lower part of the tower,—that is, of the end of the twelfth century,—comparatively clumsy work, quite unlike the light and elegant arcades of the west front. And now we come to the point of the date of that west front. It is true that there are inscriptions upon it of the twelfth century, but to any one whose eyes are accustomed to the study of architectural history it is quite evident that these inscriptions are not in their original place; they have all been used before and are replaced, and one of them is upside down. A few years ago when the floor of the nave was repaved, it became evident that it had been lengthened about one fourth at the west end. The foundations of the wall of the old west front were visible, and my friend, M. Rohault de Fleury of Paris, made a plan of it, of which he gave me a tracing.

The Baptistery is distinctly a building of the fourteenth century. It was indeed *begun* in the twelfth, but on too

great a scale for the means provided. It was begun again in 1278, as recorded by another inscription ; but so great a work must have gone on slowly, and probably took more than half a century to complete.

It is much to be regretted that my excellent friend Mr. Ruskin, notwithstanding his enthusiastic love for art, his great ability, and his wonderful flow of words, has never studied architectural history, and consequently misleads himself first, and thousands of others after his example by following the ideas of the time of Gally Knight, and not being conscious of the great *revolution* that Willis has produced. There will always be ignorant people, and we must make allowance for their ignorance, but Mr. Ruskin ought not to be one of them, and would not be if he had given any attention to the subject. At the time that Willis gave his admirable lecture at Canterbury in 1844, there was a small clique of ignorant persons who set up poor old John Britton as a rival to Willis, and afterwards seceded from the Society because Willis's friends and pupils could not stand such nonsense. Let any man of common sense and decent education, at the present time, compare the rubbish of which the *letterpress* of Britton's Architectural Antiquities consists, with Willis's admirable histories of the Cathedrals, and ask himself whether it was possible that any one could be so absurd as to place the two upon a level. It seems incredible that this could have been done, yet such was the fact.

I fear that Mr. Murray will never find a Willis to edit his handbooks for the histories of the foreign Cathedrals ; but Willis's system, which is the system of common sense and accurate observation, ought to permeate the whole series in the same manner that it has done Mr. Murray's series of the English Cathedrals. According to the system of Willis, the west front of Pisa cannot be much earlier than A.D. 1250. This is the most probable date for it, and the elegant light arcades round the apses of the Rhine churches are a branch of the Pisan style, and later rather than earlier than the west front of the Cathedral ; and yet they are commonly set down to the twelfth century, the period of heavy clumsy work, before the light and elegant styles of the thirteenth century were invented, of which the west front of Pisa is one of the finest examples.

THE EARTHWORKS OF BRINKLOW, LILBOURNE, AND EARL'S BARTON.

By G. T. CLARK.

BRINKLOW.

Brinklow, although a very prominent feature in the eastern part of Warwickshire, and a landmark for many miles around, is not mentioned in the Domesday survey. At that time it seems to have been a chapelry and a part of the superior manor and parish of Smitham, known afterwards as Smite, but now disparished, and remembered only by Smeeton or Smiteton lane, and possibly by the site of its church at Peter Hall. Afterwards Brinklow became, as now, a parish, and for a time it gave name to a Hundred. In the Pipe Roll of 1st Richard I, 1189-90, it is recorded :—"Vicecomes debet ijs et iij*l* de Brinkelawa-hundreda pro falsa present' et pro murdr'." Soon afterwards it became absorbed, as it still continues, in the larger Hundred of Knightlow, also named from a tumulus, and its separate existence was only continued as a "Leta" or Leet, so called because at Brinklow was the court for many of the surrounding manors. Whether, as at Kenilworth and elsewhere, the "Mota" was the seat of the mote or court is uncertain, but not improbable.

Brinklow has no history preceding the Conquest, and played no part in that event. Moreover, although it contains a very formidable and, for defence, convenient earthwork, this has not, like so many similar works, been converted into a Norman castle, so that post-conquestal history is also silent concerning it, and hence it follows that all that can be concluded respecting this, its most remarkable feature, must be derived from the evidence afforded by the earthwork itself, and by a comparison of it with others, elsewhere, of a similar type.

This silence of local history is the more remarkable, since the Brinklow earthwork is from position, magnitude, and distinctness equalled by few, and surpassed by scarcely any work of the same type in this country. As to that type, there can be no question that the work, as it now appears, belongs to the class of moated mounds, to which belong also those, at no great distance, of Hinkley, Warwick, Leicester, Towcester, and Rockingham. Nor indeed is there anything in the appearance of the Brinklow earthwork to lead to the notion that it is not all of one date. The only reason for the doubt rests upon the use of the word Low, which, in the Midland counties at least, usually designates a sepulchral tumulus. Here, however, the mound rises from a deep and broad ditch, evidently of its own date and intended for defence, and so connected with the work of the court, which must always have been military, as to leave little doubt as to its origin; also it is most unusual to find a sepulchral hill converted into a military mote. The Saxon nations seem to have had a superstitious feeling forbidding this. The probabilities are therefore wholly in favour of every part of the work, the Low included, being of one date.

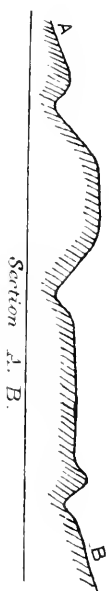
The village, church, and earthworks of Brinklow occupy the steep slope and elevated head of a short but well defined ridge, which extends east and west about two miles, from near Easenhall, where is a depression occupied by the London and North Western Railway, to Brinklow. It is intersected near its centre by the deep and broad cutting for the Oxford Canal, and the Low or tumulus which is incorporated into the name of the parish, stands upon its western and highest point.

The low ground to the east of the ridge was formerly the site of a broad mere or pool, which extended to Newbold Revel, thence called formerly Newbold Fenny, and the reduced remains of which were probably represented by the "magnum vivarium" or fish stew, mentioned in records of the time of Henry IV. No doubt the proximity of the Low to such a sheet of water would account satisfactorily for the name of Brinklow, and is probably its true parent. Another, not impossible origin, has however been found for it. The Low stands near the side of the great Roman Foss way, which here traverses Warwick-

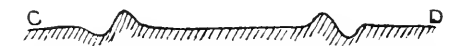
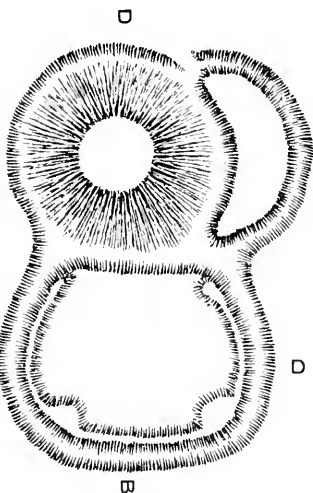
shire on its progress from Irchester and the S.S. West, towards High Cross, where it is intersected by the Watling street, and which has, on that account, been reputed the centre of England. An attempt was made by Dugdale, and has since been repeated, to connect this earthwork with a slight deviation of the Foss way which here occurs, but an examination of the course of the way, as laid down on the ordnance map, will shew that there is no connexion between them. The way generally exhibits the usual directness of a Roman road; but for a couple of miles each way from Brinklow its course is less regular, and besides, it makes a considerable angle to keep clear, not of the earthwork, but of the natural hill upon which it stands. It is true that the Roman engineers cared less for an easy gradient than is now the case, and often carried their road across an obstacle which would now be turned; but even a Roman engineer would not have hesitated to avoid a very steep rise and fall, when he could do so by a deviation not exceeding a furlong, as is the case here. The Foss way is laid out in a direct line from Gloucestershire to Leicester and Lincoln. Right in its course lay the steep end of the Brinklow ridge, to avoid which a bend has been introduced, and the hill avoided. The deviation would have been made whether the earthworks had existed or not, nor can any sound conclusion be drawn as to their date from their relation to the Roman way. It may indeed be the case that the village is named from its position upon the brink of the way; but "brink" is a term, as in Brinklow and Brinsmere, generally applied in topography to the margin of a stream or lake. Some of the advocates for a præ-Roman or British origin for the word have very needlessly derived brink from "bryn," a common Welsh word for high ground.

Brinklow is a fine and very perfect specimen of a moated mound, composed, as is usual, of a mound, and appended thereto a base court. The mound or "Mota," though wholly artificial, stands upon ground naturally rather higher than the court, which adjoins it on the west side, and intervenes between it and the parish church and village, through which runs the Foss way. The mound is regular in outline, conical, with a table top

LILBOURNE.

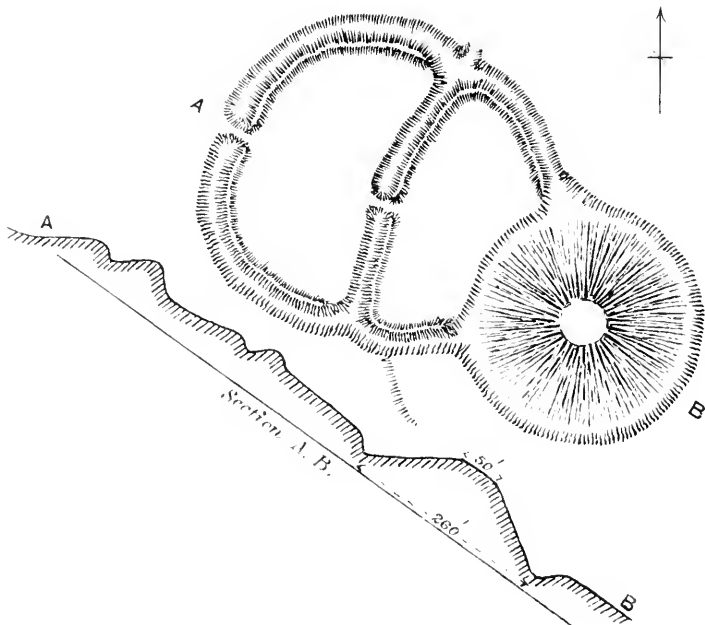


Road to Birtley



Section C. D.

BRINKLOW.



fifty feet in diameter, and a circular ditch out of which it rises, and the contents of which contributed to its formation. From the bottom of the ditch it is about sixty feet high, and from the adjacent ground beyond it is about forty feet, the ditch being about twenty feet deep and about forty feet broad at the level of its outer edge. The slope of the mound is about three-fourths to one, so that its diameter at its base is about 260 feet, and its circumference 780 feet. The summit is at present crowned by five well-grown elms, and the view thence is extensive and panoramic.

At the base of the mound and outside its ditch to the west is the base court, an area of irregular figure, in part governed by the configuration of the ground. This court is contained within a lofty and broad bank of earth, from ten to twenty feet high above its contained platform, and from twenty to thirty feet above the bottom of its exterior ditch. The bank is also very broad, from thirty to forty and even fifty feet, the broader and higher parts being thrown up at the bends, and at the points at which its two ends abut upon the counterscarp of the ditch of the mound. This side, towards the ditch, forms the gorge of the work, and is unbanked. It is about 150 feet broad between the banks, and with these and the ditches covers about a quarter of the counterscarp of the ditch of the mound.

The court is traversed by a bank, and on its outer or western side, that further from the mound, is a ditch. Both bank and ditch are of inferior dimension, as was to be expected, from those of the exterior defences. Of the two subdivisions of the court, formed by this line of defence, the outer or western, somewhat triangular in shape, is rather the larger. The ditches of the mound and court communicate freely. The cross ditch, being shallow, falls at each end into the outer ditch.

The level ground to the south of the mound seems to have been protected, on one side at least, by a scarp or slope about six feet high, which, however, ceases towards the south east. Probably this enclosure was an addition intended for the safe pasture of cattle. Also, beyond the outer ditch, towards the north-west, is a small triangular and slightly elevated platform, which is encroached upon

by the lane which comes up from the Foss, and probably was the ancient approach. There is no well or spring within the enclosure, but the ditches still contain water, and no doubt if cared for and ponded up would retain more. The ascent of the mound was probably by steps, as at Lincoln and Tickhill. There are two or three openings in the banks, but they seem modern and made for agricultural purposes. The entrance to the court was no doubt at its junction with the mound ditch, on the east side.

The parish church is placed on the slope of the hill, a little outside the ditch of the court, which is abutted on by the church yard. The church stands between the camp and the village street, near the Foss way. It has a good Decorated tower, but nothing of earlier date.

The whole character of this earthwork resembles those thrown up by Æthelflaeda and Ædward at the close of the ninth and early in the tenth centuries, of which Warwick was, and the moated mound at Tamworth still is, an example. Brinklow, however, more closely resembles Rokingham, as it stood in Leland's time before the mound was lowered. There is no trace of masonry in any part of the works, and no reason to suppose that the Normans ever made use of the place as a stronghold.

Brinklow soon after the Conquest seems to have belonged to Earl Alberic, whence, through d'Albini and Mowbray, it descended to the Estotevilles. Probably they had a dwelling upon the property, for Henry III was here in 1218. 30th March, by a writ tested Oxford, "ipso Comite" by the great Earl Mareschal, the king ordered the Sheriff of Warwickshire to give Nicholas de Stuteville the full seizin of the Manor of Brinkelaw, which Eustace de Stuteville had held as bailiff to Nicholas the father, and which has now descended to Nicholas his son; and on the 25th July, by a writ also tested by the Earl Mareschal from Brinklow, the king permits Nicholas de Stuteville to hold a weekly Monday market here, and an annual fair on S. Margaret's Day, according to a charter granted to Nicholas by King John. This is from the Close Rolls. In the Hundred Roll, 4th Edward I, 1275-6, Joan de Stotevill has enfeofed Albreda de Wytlebur in Brinklow, by the tenure of one sparrow-

hawk annually, Joan holding Newbold Fenny in capite. The Earl of Leicester also held two courts annually in "Brinkel."

LILBOURNE.

In the parish of Lilbourne, in the northern part of the County of Northampton, very close to the border of Leicestershire, and at no great distance from that of Warwick, is seen a somewhat peculiar earthwork, known locally as Lilbourne Castle. That it is entirely artificial and wholly of one date and of a military character cannot be doubted, but while its moated mound and the solidity of its other earthworks point to an English origin, its rectangular outline is unusual, though probably not without example, in works of that class. The character of the mound and the solidity of the earthworks, combined with the smallness of the included area, remove it altogether from the remains recognized as Roman, and although the site seems at one time to have been occupied by a Norman Castle, the earthworks must have been at the least a century old before they were capable of supporting safely either a wall or towers.

The work is placed at the lowest part of the southern slope of a rather high ridge, just above and at the edge of a spacious and level meadow, across which flows a tributary of the Warwickshire Avon, here but a few yards from the earthwork, and just about to join the main stream at a point about four miles above Rugby.

The earthwork is massive and substantial, rather than large. It is in figure roughly four sided, about ninety yards north and south, and sixty east and west, taken between the counterscarps of the containing ditch, which is deep and wide at the upper end and tolerably perfect at the lower or northern end. A cross ditch, running east and west, communicates with the main ditch, and divides the work into two parts. The southern, or upper part, measures about sixty yards north and south by fifty east and west. Its east, south, and west faces are defended by straight banks, which at the south-east and south-west angles are expanded internally into mounds, as though to carry towers. There is no bank

on the fourth side, which is divided from the rest of the work by the cross ditch only. The ditches range from fifteen to thirty feet broad and five to twenty feet deep, and the banks are about twenty feet high from the bottom of the ditch, and ten from the level of the internal platform.

The northern and lower half of the work measures about thirty yards north and south and sixty east and west, the extra width projecting on the east side. The whole western portion of this part is occupied by a large conical mound, flat topped, steep, and surrounded by its proper ditch, of which, however, the parts to the south, west, and north are common to the main and cross ditches. The eastern and remaining part of this half is occupied by a small earthwork something in the shape of a comma, of which the tail points to the northern face of the mound. The mound is fifteen yards in diameter at the top and about thirty-seven yards at the base, and about twenty-five feet high. There is no trace of masonry visible.

A road, probably an ancient one, lies close west of the castle, and leads down to the river; and resting upon this road, on the further side, is the church-yard, and within it the parish church, a small but complete building, mostly of Decorated date, and having some windows in the chancel in that style, very good, and very suitable for imitation.

Lillebourne is mentioned in Domesday, but there is no allusion to the earthworks. In the reign of Stephen the Barons Camville, according to Dugdale, had a seat here, where, in his time, were the *restigia* of a castle. The Camvilles were a considerable family, and founders of Combe Abbey. Lilbourne was settled upon a younger son, whose male line ended in the reign of King John, and the manor was held by the heiresses in purparty, and finally centred in Grey Marquis of Dorset. Walter de Esseby had lands here 33rd Henry III, and Wm. le Butiler held one fee 25th Edward I, as did, as shewn in the Testa de Nevill, Richard de Curton, Thomas de Estlega, and William de Estly. There is, however, no mention of the castle, and if one really existed it must have been of very small dimensions, and probably was adulterine, and destroyed in the reign of Henry II.

Lilbourne is just a mile east of the Watling Street and about the same distance from Catthorpe, supposed to represent the Roman Tripontium. Near this part of the road are several *tumuli*, probably sepulchral, but there is one on a high ridge between Lilbourne and the Street road which seems of a different character. It is called "Round Hill," and is a moated mound about thirty feet high, and fifty feet across at the top. This has been flat, but has been trenched so as to present a tricuspid outline. The concentric ditch is very perfect and seems made for defence, but there is no trace of a base court, and outside the ditch, to the south-east, is a smaller and apparently sepulchral tumulus.

EARL'S BARTON.

Northamptonshire contains many earthworks, which have been little studied, and for the most part are not noted in the Ordnance map. Of these, one of the most interesting is at Earl's Barton, seven miles east of Northampton, celebrated for its ancient church and still more ancient tower, a very fine example of Long and Short work, with pilaster strips vertical and oblique, very much resembling timber in their dimensions and arrangement. On the boundary of the churchyard, a few yards north-west of the church, is a large moated mound, of which the moat outside the yard is perfect, that inside filled up, no doubt by burials. The churchyard was evidently the base court to this mound; its boundary is still strongly marked, especially to the south, where it is a steep slope or scarp.

It is evident that upon this mound stood the dwelling of the English lord, who built a church within its court yard for the use of the tenants of the lordship, no doubt originally a much smaller structure than that now seen, the tower of which, however, is certainly of much earlier date than the Conquest.

Baurton, or Burton, is named in Domesday, but its prefix of "Earl's" is derived from the Earls of Huntingdon, the heirs of Countess Judith, the Domesday landowner. The tenants of the Honour of Huntingdon within this manor paid suit to a court called the Baron's Mote, held, not improbably, upon the above mound or mote.

OBSERVATIONS UPON A MODEL IN SILVER OF THE FIRST LIGHTHOUSE ERECTED ON THE EDDYSTONE ROCKS.

By C. OCTAVIUS S. MORGAN.

Everybody has perhaps heard of the Eddystone Rocks near Plymouth, and the celebrated Lighthouse, erected by the great engineer, Mr. Smeaton, which now stands thereon. This is, however, not the first building, for two have preceded it—one destroyed by water in 1703, of which this is the model; one built of timber by Mr. Rudyard in 1706, and burnt in 1755; and one built by Mr. Smeaton, partly of timber in 1759; of this the wood-work was burnt in 1770, but renewed by him with stone and metal in 1774, since which time it has remained uninjured. But it is feared that this may have to be removed and a new one constructed, not from any failure or fault in the fine structure, which was almost one of the wonders of the world when it was built; but, from certain vibrations which are felt during storms, it is feared that the rock itself on which it stands is giving way, being hollowed and undermined by the force and action of the waves.

Mr. Smeaton in his great folio work on the Eddystone Lighthouse, published in 1813, gives not only an account of his own great work and proceedings in the construction of his lighthouse, illustrated with all plans, drawings, and elevations of it, but also the previous history of the rock and the lighthouses which had been built upon it, accompanied with engravings copied from such early prints as he was able to obtain, and it is from one of them that I am enabled to identify this curious model with the first of these lighthouses, and to his work I am indebted for the following particulars in illustration of its history.

The numerous fatal accidents which frequently happened

to homeward bound ships by running on the Eddystone Rocks made it very desirable that a lighthouse should be built there, but the difficulties attending such an undertaking appeared insuperable. However, in the year 1696, Mr. Henry Winstanley of Littlebury in Essex, Gent., was not only hardy enough, but obtained the necessary powers, probably from the Corporation of the Trinity House, to put in execution a scheme for the erection of a lighthouse on these rocks.

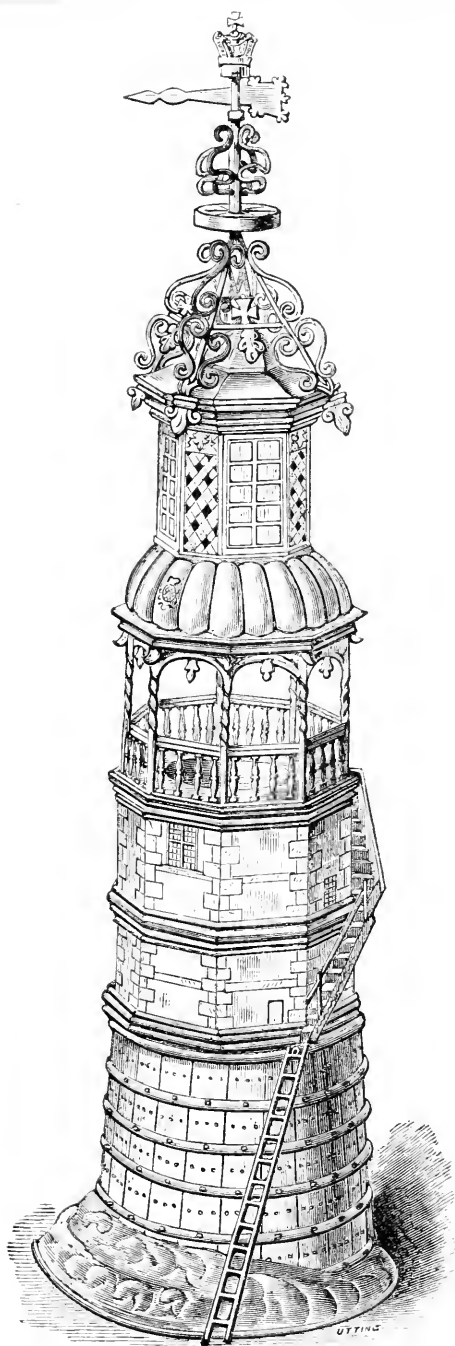
Mr. Winstanley had distinguished himself in a certain branch of mechanics, the tendency of which was to raise wonders and surprise. He was very ingenious, and had at his house at Littlebury many curious contrivances. He was a man of some property, but whether he was a proprietor or shareholder of the undertaking under the Trinity House, or only the directing engineer, does not appear. He established a place of public exhibition at Hyde Park Corner, called "the Winstanley Waterworks," which were shewn at certain periods at one shilling a head, and the exhibition continued after the death of Mr. Winstanley, and still existed in 1709. These particulars are of no importance, but serve to give a sketch of the talents of the man, and may account for the fantastic kind of structure he erected on the Eddystone Rock for the purpose of a lighthouse.

He has given the following narrative of its construction, the progress of which may all be traced in the model :—
"The lighthouse was begun in 1696, and was more than four years in building, not from the greatness of the work, but from the difficulty and danger of getting backwards and forwards to the place, as nothing could be left there safe for the first two years but what was most thoroughly affixed to the rock.

"The first summer was spent in making twelve holes in the rock, and fastening twelve great irons to hold the work that was to be done afterwards. The next summer was spent in making a solid body or round pillar, twelve feet high and fourteen feet in diameter; then we had more time to work at the place, and something to hold by. The third year the aforesaid pillar or work was raised, which to the vane was eighty feet. Being all finished with the lantern, and all the rooms which were

in it, we ventured to lodge there soon after Midsummer, for the greater despatch of the work. But the first night the weather came bad, and so continued that it was eleven days before any boat could come near us again, and not being acquainted with the height of the sea's rising, we were almost all the time drowned with wet, and our provisions in as bad a condition, though we worked night and day as much as possible, to make shelter for ourselves. In the storm we lost some of our materials, although we did what we could to save them; but the boat returning, we all left the house to be refreshed on shore, and as soon as the weather permitted we returned again and finished all, and put up the light on the 14th November, 1698, which being so late in the year, it was three days before Christmas before we had relief to come on shore again, and were almost at the last extremity for want of provisions. But, by the providence of God, there came two boats with provisions and the family that was to take care of the lights; and so ended this year's work."

This model represents the lighthouse as it then existed. Mr. Winstanley has not himself left any particular representation of the building here described as the production of three years' work. An elevation of it, however, is given in Mr. Smeaton's great work, made from a perspective print said to have been copied from a drawing taken on the rock by one Jaaziell Johnston, painter. This print was extremely rare, no other copy being known to Mr. Smeaton, and, as the lantern was lighted, the structure must have been fully complete. It may be well to mention here that the lanterns of lighthouses were at this time lighted with tallow candles, five of which weighed two pounds. The parts of this structure, as represented in the engraving, are the sloping surface of the rock, the stone basement, the store-room, the hall or living room, the "kitchen" or cupola, and the lantern for the lights. The silver model corresponds with the engraving in every minute detail, even to the design and ornament of the iron scroll work above the lantern, and a small oval window in the cupola. It was therefore probably made after the drawing by J. Johnston the painter, and the date



Model in Silver of the first Eddystone Lighthouse

of it must be at the latest 1699, as the lighthouse did not long continue in that exact form, as will appear, and it is hardly likely that the model would be made of the first original structure after great alterations had been made in its size and details of form. The narrative continues—"The fourth year, finding in the winter (1698-9) the effects the sea had upon the house, burying the lantern at times, although more than sixty feet high, early in the spring I encompassed the aforesaid building with a new work, four feet in thickness from the foundation, making all solid near twenty feet high, and taking down the upper part of the first building, made it as it now appears. And yet the sea in time of storms flies in appearance one hundred feet above the vane, and at times doth cover half the side of the house and the lantern as if it were under water." Mr. Smeaton in his great work gives an engraving of the lighthouse as altered, in which many changes appear. This second lighthouse, thus altered, lasted but a few years, and during the progress of the alterations, it being intimated to Mr. Winstanley that one day the lighthouse would certainly be overset, he replied that he was so well assured of the stability of his building he should only wish to be there in the greatest storm that ever blew under the face of Heaven, that he might see the effect it would have on his structure.

In this wish he was too amply gratified, for whilst he was there with his workmen and light keepers the dreadful storm began, which raged most violently in the night upon the 26th November, 1703, being one of the most severe and devastating storms ever recorded in Great Britain. The next morning, when the storm had so much abated that it could be seen whether the lighthouse had suffered by it, nothing appeared standing, but upon a more careful inspection, there only appeared some of the larger irons whereby the work was fixed on the rock; nor were any of the people or the materials of the building ever found afterwards.

The silver model is made to serve as a table ornament, being a standard or table saltcellar and spice box. It stands 17 inches high and weighs 19 oz. troy. On the top is the lantern, above which is a rod, supported by scroll work, which carries a vane, and terminates in a

royal crown. Beneath the lantern is a dome or cupola resting on an open arcade with a gallery, within which is a depression for salt, the windows of the lantern being perforated to serve as a caster for powdered sugar. Below this gallery are three stories, each being a box : one, the "state room," empty ; the next, the "store room," has a lid perforated for pepper ; the lowest forms a larger box, also empty. There is a winding external staircase leading from the basement storey of masonry to the upper storey and gallery, and a little silver ladder hangs to the foot of the staircase, to reach down to the rock on which the lighthouse is based, or the sea. It was formerly among the Morgan family plate at Tredegar, but how or when it came into the possession of the family there is neither record nor tradition, and it was given away about 1820 by my father, and is now in the possession of Miss Rous of Courtyrala in Glamorganshire, who has inherited it, and has kindly lent it to me for exhibition here. Of its earlier history nothing is known, but the Goldsmith's hall marks are very curious, and give us some information. It bears no London marks. The only marks which it bears are three oblong stamps, on one of which is the name *Rowe*, a very common Plymouth name, on another the word *Plin*", and on the third the word *Britan*.

It will be remembered that the Eddystone is in the vicinity of Plymouth, and the inference which I draw from these marks is that it was made at Plymouth, as indicated by the word *Plin*", by a silversmith of the name of Rowe, and that the word *Britan* denotes it to be of the *Britannia standard* of silver, as it must have been made in the year 1698 when the lighthouse was completed and in existence.

These unusual marks are thus to be explained. The standard of silver plate was raised by Act of Parliament in 1697 in order to prevent the current coin of the realm being melted down to make silver plate, as was then the practice, and special marks were ordered to denote this high standard. Among these was a figure of Britannia, and that standard went by the name of the *Britannia standard*, as it does now. In that Act of Parliament, however, the provincial halls were not mentioned, and it



therefore only applied to London. These halls had consequently no appointed mark to designate that standard of silver, yet no silversmith could lawfully make plate of any other standard. As this piece of plate made by Rowe of Plymouth was not made and marked in London, it must have been assayed and marked at Exeter, and the inference is that the Exeter hall adopted the word *Britan*, an abbreviation of *Britannia*, as a mark to denote that quality of silver. This piece of plate is thus not only of considerable historical interest as the model of a very remarkable structure which had but a very brief existence, and ultimately perished by a miserable catastrophe, but is also curious as being the only accurate model in silver of any structure that I am acquainted with, and is of great rarity as a most interesting specimen of provincial silversmiths' work one hundred and eighty years ago.

MEYDOUM.

By the Rev. W. J. LOFTIE.

Two hours' journey by rail to Wasta and one hour and a quarter's ride on donkeys from the station are required to visit this pyramid from Cairo. The returning train is due at four, but is often late, and we were kept no less than four hours waiting for it.

The morning ride across the harvest fields skirting the village was very pleasant. The pyramid was full in sight during a great part of the way, and looked so high, so strange, so fresh, that we kept constantly repeating "It is most imposing, more so than Gizeh, more so than Sakkara." The village, or town rather, of Meydoun is about a mile from the pyramid by the bridle path, but not more than half-a-mile as the crow flies. It appears to have been built on an ancient mound, part of which showed red bricks, but whether burnt bricks or bricks reddened by an accidental fire I could not tell.

Meydoun, as a town, has an interest apart from anything now to be found in it. The name is certainly the oldest local name now surviving in the world. This used to be said of Damascus, and I think also of Hebron. But Meydoun is mentioned on monuments of the third dynasty. It may, therefore, if we accept M. Mariette's chronology, date from before the middle of the fifth millenium B.C. Abraham flourished according to all accounts in the third. The name is given in two ways by the authorities. In Baedeker (edited by Ebers) it is  "Meytun of the oxen." This name is written in the tomb of Nefermat, described below. But M. Mariette, in the great book of photographs at Boulak, writes it , the first syllable of which may be Meri, and the name would seem to signify "Beloved of Tum."

Tum was the sun-god worshipped at Heliopolis. This would make the name Maytoun, rather than Meytun.

The pyramid is approached from the south along a slope of sand studded with dark green bushes. Here and there a patch of darker green appears, as if there had once been a series of ponds or lakes, and near one of them is a mound which seems to mark the site of a building, perhaps a temple. The pyramid is in three stages, the first 69 ft. high, the second 21 ft., and third, much ruined, from 10 to 15 ft. The total height is therefore less than 100 ft., but it appears far more from the situation of the mound on which it stands. This is a high hill of disintegrated white limestone, which may conceal a rock. Its surface is covered with great blocks, some of them well squared and chiselled, others rough, as if broken. The southern face of the pyramid is very rich in colour. It is like a slice of double Gloucester cheese, quite shiny in places, and of very smooth masonry. The other sides are hardly so perfect, and on the north is a hole cut into the face about forty feet above the top of the mound, about ten feet square, but only showing the inner masonry to be perfect and regular. The mound below on the same side has the traces of a recent cutting, now filled with sand, made, I presume, by M. Mariette, or some other explorer, with a view to gaining an entrance, an object not yet attained; its entrance is not known and has hitherto eluded investigation, but it is probably not far from the cutting. M. Mariette says it should be compared with the Mastabat el Faroon, as well as with the pyramid of Rigga, a little to the north. It seems to be a great mastaba surmounted by two smaller ones, and is, therefore, neither a mastaba, as usually found, nor yet a pyramid. The Arabs always call it the "Haram el Kadab," or False Pyramid, asserting that it is only a rock cased with masonry, and has no interior chamber. This is incredible, and a rich "find" may be expected when M. Mariette penetrates to a royal tomb.

There is every reason to believe that this strange building is the monument and still contains the body of a king who is variously described as the last of the third dynasty and the first of the fourth. In any case Sneferoo was a predecessor of Shoofoo, and his pyramid is older

than the oldest at Ghizeh. The name of Sneferoo is thus written in the tomb of Nefermat. I looked at this monogram with a feeling akin to awe. It is unquestionably the oldest written name of a king in the world, yet it is easily decipherable, and shows that already the Egyptians were accustomed to the use of letters, and distinguished the names of their sovereigns by a cartouche.









About 300 yards north of the pyramid across a hot slope of sand, we reached the first of a series of mounds containing tombs which have been opened and examined, and, I am sorry to add, almost entirely defaced. It would appear that the pyramid occupies the only rock, for these tombs are formed of crude brick, and only the sand and stony accumulations heaped over them from the surrounding desert hide their form which must have been that of a long, low, flat-topped building of rectangular plan, covered on its sloping faces with white stucco, and having several entrances and small porches, and other auxiliary structures along the eastern face. It would almost seem as if when all was finished and the body of the deceased duly deposited in its last resting place, among the rural and home scenes prepared in his life time, that the sand and stones were purposely heaped over it, and the beautiful carving, the great square stones from the quarry of Toora, the statues and the painting concealed from view under an artificial hillock. Another hillock stands a little further north east.


The first tomb we come to is that of Nefermat. He was a functionary of the court of Sneferoo. His name is clearly written above the door on the circular crossbeam with which, in imitation of the lintel and side posts of a wooden doorway, the entrance is furnished. This circular door head, which occurs almost always in tombs of the ancient empire, and is often copied in granite as well as in limestone, may have been a roller on which to suspend a curtain. The name of Nefermat is thus spelled :






He is described as "Suten ra," or cousin of the king, a title very frequent under the old monarchy, and no doubt representing the fashion by which noblemen in England have since the reign of Henry IV been ad-



dressed as "cousins" of the sovereign. It is written in this tomb , but the form is often varied.

Nefermat is represented with his wife Atet clasping  his knees. Her name is given in hieroglyphs:— Behind her on the right of the short entrance passage a procession of women is represented, bringing offerings from the estates of the deceased. Each of these estates is distinguished by its proper name, with the determinative . Among them is the name of the neighbouring city of Meydoun. One of the names has the figure of a swine as part of its determinative, but though it is fully described in Baedeker, I was unable to find it. The sand is much heaped up within the passage, and has probably covered it. To the left of the doorway stand, one above the other, the three sons of the deceased. Their names are much defaced, but, so far as I could make them out, the eldest was . The second was . The third, a child with his finger in his mouth, was

 These figures were incised on the stone and the hollows filled with a kind of enamel, most of which has been picked out by mischievous visitors.

Here and there a portion remains, which from the brilliancy and beauty of the effect makes us long for more. The red, with which the men are coloured, is very hard, and has resisted the hands of marauders better than the yellow colour of the women. There are also sculptures in low relief, as in the better known tomb of Tai at Sakkara. Above the portrait of Nefermat himself are representations of his possessions, each with a number attached, among other things his falcons, which are on perches, four in a row, the numerals below being , , , , . Perhaps this indicates 400 of the first kind, 300 of the second, and so on; but, though this is the earliest example of Egyptian numerals, and much older than the so-called "Tomb of Numbers" at Ghizeh, I have seen no account of it in the books to which I have had access.

About twenty yards north, but in the same rectangular mound, is the tomb of Nefermat's wife, Atet. The building has been much defaced, but enough remains to make it very interesting. She evidently survived her hus-





band, and seems to have succeeded him in his possessions. She is represented at the door in an act of adoration before the statue of Nefermat, and on the outer face, above the entrance, she is seated with her feet under her, in the modern Egyptian fashion, on a platform or high stool, while three fowlers bring her wild geese, carrying them by the necks, and she takes one in her hand. Exactly over the door a hexagonal net encloses a flock of the same birds, and on the left a fowler is in the act of drawing it over them. It was from this tomb that the marvellously lifelike picture of a flock of geese pasturing was taken which is now in the museum at Boulak.

Some thirty yards further, and a little more to the east is another mound, also of sand and flints, covering a core of crude brick. It contains two double tombs, both faced with masonry.

The first is that of Chent and Mara his wife. Chent, like Nefermat, was a functionary under Sneferoo, and a "trusty cousin and councillor." It is much defaced and contains little of interest.





The second tomb is almost altogether gone. It was about twenty yards further north, and apparently consisted, like the rest, of an entrance porch of carved stone, and a passage leading to interior chambers, ornamented with frescoed stucco and bas-reliefs of stone. Though so entirely dilapidated, this tomb is of the highest interest. It contained the statues of Ra-hotep and Nefert, which now form the greatest treasures of the museum of Boulak.

Ra-hotep appears to have been the son of Sneferoo, and to have died before his father, while still young. His wife, the beautiful Nefert, seems to have died about the same time, and both were buried in the same tomb. It is possible that their deaths may have left Sneferoo childless, and so led to the extinction of the third dynasty. Rahotep is represented a little less than life size, his sitting statue being four feet high, his left hand resting on his knee as if to support a wand or rod; his right hand raised as if in the act of giving an order. He is painted of a dark red brown, and wears only a white kilt or waist cloth, and a plain necklace. His eyes are of crystal, and startling by their look of life. His head is shaved, he

has no beard, and his whole appearance is that of a very young and rather plain, but not ignoble looking man. He is seated on a white stone seat or chair, on which, at either side of his head, are his name and titles. To his right the inscription commences with the formula Suten-se, the King's son; below this is his name  which occurs again with the same formulas at the other side:  Ra, followed by the table of offerings  hotep, and the letters  tp. His name therefore would seem to have been very much the same as the Greek, Theodotus. He is next described as a general of infantry—this is on his right, and on the left as a steward of the royal estates.

The statue of Nefert is carved in the same proportions, being slightly smaller than life. She is seated like her husband, and wears a white tight fitting and exceedingly graceful garment, slightly open in front at the throat; it only rises to the points of her shoulders, and leaves space for the display of an inner garment of which only the sleeves or suspenders are visible. She has no shoes, but her dress reaches to her ancles. Round her neck, she wears a necklace of six circles of green and red enamel from which a row of emeralds and rubies depended. On her head is an elaborately plaited "wig," but possibly her own hair is intended to be represented, and round her forehead is a ribbon or "snood," ornamented with roses and leaves, perhaps meant for embroidery.

Her face is exceedingly lifelike, and judged even by a modern or a classical standard remarkably lovely. Her mouth is full, but not too full, an incipient pout being changed almost into a smile. Its sweetness of expression baffles description. Her eye brows and eye lashes are black and rather heavy, but they are lighted up by a clear gray eye in which a merry twinkle seems to contend with depth of feeling almost amounting to sadness. In short, it is impossible not to feel, that in spite of rude workmanship in places, in spite of a somewhat coarse system of colour, in spite of the disguises which the tyranny of fashion, even in that remote age as now, loves to impose on natural beauty, you stand in the presence of a great original work, by the hand of a master devoted to his art. Although this is the earliest effort of portrait

sculpture known to exist, it yields to no other statue of the kind which I have ever seen in either of the two great qualities of portraiture, life-likeness and expression. The artist who made the figure of Queen Eleanor in Westminster Abbey could not have surpassed it in beauty, while for expression it is worthy of the school of Michael Angelo. Above her head at either side is an inscription; it tells us that she was named Nefert, and that she belonged to the king's family. Following the inscription is the determinative figure of a woman. The hieroglyphs are a good example of the simple yet effective style of writing under the old empire:—First comes the formula,  then follows the name  Nefer-t, a nefer or  guitar being placed alongside the n, f, r, as if to show the sound. Below is the determinative, . The word "nefer," sometimes rendered "nofre," is common in ancient Egyptian names. It is symbolised by a musical instrument shaped like a heart with a long neck and two cross pieces. The meaning seems to be as nearly as possible our word "gracious," but is sometimes translated "beautiful," and sometimes "good." That the lady represented in this wonderful statue was as good as she was beautiful, every admirer of the work would fain believe, but except her name and rank we know little about her. It is not quite certain that her companion in the tomb was her husband. Her date, even, is involved in obscurity, for the reign of Sneferoo, like the reigns of all the kings of Egypt before the eighteenth dynasty, is matter of controversy, and is variously estimated by the learned men who have written on chronology. According to M. Mariette, who adheres simply to the lists of Maneths, the fourth dynasty began in 1235, and until we have better information, we are safe, I cannot but think, in accepting his views as offering us a good working theory if nothing more. The Chronological Table in Baedeker makes Sneferoo the first monarch of the fourth dynasty, thus following the arrangement of Lepsius, who gives B. C. 3122 as his probable date.

The two statues are made in fine limestone, probably quarried in the Mokattam range at Toora. The colour is flat, and the surfaces unpolished. They are both as fresh

and bright as they can ever have been. Considered as the oldest pieces of portrait sculpture in existence, the oldest statues, indeed, of any kind, they betray an absence of conventionality, a simple adherence to nature which may be sought in vain in the numerous works of later Egyptian art.

There is another mound immediately north-east of that on which the pyramid stands. It does not appear to have been disturbed, and may hereafter yield treasures equally interesting to the excavator. The pyramid of Meydoun, I may mention, in concluding this imperfect note, is situated considerably to the south of the nearest pyramid on the Sakkara platform, and out of sight of any other. It is built at the edge of a low line of sandy hills, close to the cultivated land, and has not the advantage enjoyed by the pyramids at Ghizeh and others, of standing on a conspicuous eminence ; nevertheless, being without rivals in sight, it is visible for a long distance to the voyager on the Nile, although, so far as I am aware, it has hitherto been wholly neglected by the ordinary tourist. It is not more than five miles from the edge of the river, and could easily be reached from a dahabieh, even on foot in cool weather. I found it however rather too much for a single day's excursion from Cairo, as the trains do not answer except for visitors willing to undertake the ride from Wasta in the midday heat. My visit was made in April, 1878.

FASTI ORDINIS FRATRUM PRÆDICATORUM: THE PROVINCIALS OF THE FRIAR-PREACHERS, OR BLACK FRIARS, OF ENGLAND.

By the Rev. C. F. R. PALMER.

The great Mendicant Order of Friar-Preachers, or Dominicans, popularly called in England Black Friars, from the colour of their cappa, or cloak, was founded in the year 1215, at Toulouse, in the south of France, by Dominic Guzman, a Spaniard of noble birth. Its special object was, to preach to the people and minister to their spiritual wants throughout all the country, unfettered by local ties, and to teach in the great universities and schools. This Order was approved December 22nd, 1216, by pope Honorius III, and spread rapidly throughout Europe, being distributed into numerous provinces.

In its internal organization the Order is self-governed, yet subject to the supreme authority of the Roman See. It is presided over by a master-general chosen in a general chapter made up of deputies from each province of the Order. So too each province is regulated by a provincial prior chosen in a provincial chapter of those members of the associated communities, or houses, who, by learning or influence, have acquired an elective right. The affairs of the Order at large fall under the general chapters; those of each province are adjusted by the respective provincial chapters.

The Dominican province of England was established by the founder, in the second general Chapter held in May, 1221, at Bologna; and hence it extended into Ireland and Scotland, which formed one provincialate of more than a hundred houses, till the latter part of the fifteenth century, when Ireland and Scotland were made severally independent.

The provincials of England thus fulfilled an important charge in guiding and controlling a large, active, and powerful body of men. Often, too, they acquired a great external influence; for the same talents which made them able governors of their own brethren, qualified them also to become high ministers of state, or distinguished prelates of the Church. Yet these provincials have remained almost entirely unnoticed by historians and antiquaries. The present *Fasti* contribute towards supplying this want, yet in part only, for there are still gaps to be filled. What is here gathered has been a work of labour. The total loss of the conventual registers and writings of the Friar-Preachers of England leaves, as the only resource for the history of the Order, the collecting of isolated notices in the great courts of the kingdom, episcopal registers, and scattered records and deeds; and from such various stores is supplied an antiquarian *olla podrida*, which is rich, indeed, but not readily digested.

But this fragmentary work has been rendered more valuable by the Roman archives of the master-general of the Order, whence have been drawn important matters, which the national and local records of England do not furnish.

F. GILBERT DE FRESNOY.

F. Gilbert de Fresnoy was the head, or prior, of the thirteen friars who were sent the first into England, in 1221. On reaching Canterbury, they presented themselves to the archbishop, who, hearing that they were *preachers*, made F. Gilbert preach before him, the same day, in a certain church. The primate was so well satisfied with the discourse, that ever after he treated the new religious Order with favour. They arrived at London August 10th, and Oxford August 15th, where they set up a convent and began their special ministry. F. Gilbert was also the first prior of Oxford, and he continued in his double charge, it appears, till 1230, when the provincial chapters began, at Oxford, to be celebrated every year, and the English friars thenceforward governed themselves in a canonical manner.¹

F. ALARDUS.

Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, being a great friend and patron of the Mendicant Orders, in 1235, requested of F. Alardus, provincial, that F. John of St. Giles and F. Geoffery de Clive (two eminent friars) might be sent to him, at least for a year, to counsel and aid him in his own spiritual guidance and in the governance of his flock. And in order to make his application still more formal and regular, he also wrote to this provincial and to the definitors about to assemble (in September) in their provincial chapter at York, repeating his petition, and begging that a third friar skilled in canon and civil law might be given him. At this time, the desire of the bishop was only partially satisfied by the temporary services of one F. Gerinus.²

F. HENRY.

Albert of Cologne, whom Matthew Paris calls Aldehn, was elected archbishop of Armagh, in Ireland, by the pope, and being consecrated at Westminster, September 30th, 1240, continued in the see till 1247. In the mean time, F. Henry, provincial of the Friar-Preachers of England, was raised to the same metropolitan dignity. It sometimes happened that a false report of the death of the occupant, especially of remote dioceses, led to a fresh election; and the mistake had to be remedied by a translation to another see. F. Henry was probably still at the Roman Court, when, in or before 1245, he was transferred to the see of Culm in Prussia, retaining his archiepiscopal title; and his jurisdiction extended over Prussia, Lavonia, and Esthonia. In 1246, Innocent IV sent him with legatine powers to the Russian court, giving him letters of credence, dated May 3rd, with the charge of extinguishing the Russian schism. His mission was successful, and September 7th, 1247, the pope, at the Russian king's solicitation, empowered

¹ Trivet's *Annales*. Stevens' *History of Ancient Abbeys*, &c.

² Roberti Grosseteste *Epistole*.

him to reconcile the whole nation with the Roman Church. He died July 1st, 1254.¹

F. MATTHEW.

To this provincial and the definitors of the provincial chapter, the bishop of Lincoln addressed a letter, about 1242, complaining of the delay in sending two friars to attend him; for although he considered it as an act of liberality, still it was due to him by a papal privilege, and he hoped that these friars would be changed less frequently. F. Matthew belonged to the convent of Winchester; and the king, May 20th, 1242, gave him twenty marks for the support of the friars there. He was absolved from his office by the general chapter, May 31st, etc., 1254, at Buda, in Hungary.

F. * * * *

The name of the provincial, who was elected in 1254, has not come to light, though some interesting particulars appear concerning him. The king desired him, August 28th, 1255, to appoint in the provincial chapter those friars who were to preach the crusade in the several dioceses. Pope Alexander IV, June 22nd, 1256, charged the bishop of Worcester, this provincial, and F. Adam de Marisco, the Friar-Minor, to enquire into the life of Richard, late bishop of Chichester (who died April 3rd, 1253), in order for his canonization. F. Ralph Bocking, who wrote his *Vita S. Richardi* from their processes, speaks of the provincial as a man venerable in religion and eminent in learning.

In the general chapter, June 12th, etc., 1261, at Barcelona, the convent of Oxford was selected as one of the four houses of studies for the whole Order. And because the injunction of a previous general chapter on this matter was not observed by the provincial chapter in England, this provincial was deposed, and sent to teach at Cologne, or elsewhere as it seemed expedient to the provincial of Germany, nor was he to be recalled without the consent of the general chapter; and he was enjoined the penance of seven days on bread and water, seven disciplines, and seven masses. The definitors, too, who did not consent that the students of other provinces should be placed at Oxford were suspended, for seven years, from defining in any chapter, either provincial or general; if they were priors they were absolved from office and they were each penanced with thirteen days on bread and water, thirteen masses, and thirteen disciplines.³

F. ROBERT DE KILWARDBY.

Robert de Kilwardby belonged to an honourable family, seated probably at Kilwardby, now part of Ashby-de-la-Zouch. His armorial bearings were, *arg., on a bend gu. three escalops of the first*. A liberal education in his own country fitted him for the University of Paris, where he graduated, and taught grammar and logic so successfully that he was

¹ Matth. Westm. Matth. Paris. Bullarium Ord. Pred. Acta Sanctorum (Bollandi). De Burgo, Hibernia Dominica. Cotton, Fasti Ecclesie Hibernie. Etc., etc.

² Liberate, 26th Hen. III, p. 2, m. 6.

Ex Tabulario Mag. Gen. Ord. Roberti Grosseteste Epistole.

³ Pat. 39th Hen. III. m. 4 d. Pat. 44th Hen. III, m. 9. Ex Tab. Mag. Gen. Ord. Bullar. O. P. Acta Sanctorum (Bollandi.)

numbered amongst the illustrious academicians. At that time he wrote twenty-eight treatises on logic and philosophy. Then he came back into England, and entering the Order of Friar-Preachers, took the degree of doctor of theology, and, in 1248, succeeded his celebrated masters, F. Robert Bacon and F. Richard Fishacre, in the chair of theology. His fame soon spread, and out of his school went many excellent subjects to fill offices of state and church. He now added nearly twenty treatises, chiefly theological, to the productions of his intellect. Leland acknowledges that, although he lived in the age of chattering sophists, his works are worthy of more modern times.

In 1261, Kilwardby was elected provincial by the chapter held, in September, at Stamford. Under his care the province flourished; he rectified the error of his predecessor respecting Oxford; in five general chapters he obtained license for erecting twelve new convents, being four in 1263, and two each time in 1266, 1268, 1269, and 1270; in 1269, he was actively employed in founding Ipswich convent. On September 11th, 1265, Henry III requested him as provincial to enjoin F. John de Derlington, who had been found serviceable in the arduous affairs of the kingdom, again to render his assistance. About 1266, he wrote to the king thanking him for the benefits bestowed on the Friar-Preachers in their chapter, and acknowledging the receipt of a royal writ for the prayers of the Order in behalf of the king, queen, and tranquillity of the realm. As provincial he was present at the general chapter at Montpellier, May 24th, etc., 1271, in which he was styled *maguus magister in theologia*. The general chapter at Florence, June 12th, etc., 1272, released him from his government, but the provincial chapter of the same year, at Northampton, placed him in authority again.

Meanwhile the archbishopric of Canterbury had become vacant, and Gregory X, at the instance of Henry III, appointed him archbishop and primate of all England. The papal bulls were dated October 11th, 1272. Soon after the king died, November 16th, and was buried, on the 20th, in Westminster Abbey. The day after the funeral, the archbishop-elect and the earl of Gloucester, at the head of the prelates and nobles, assembled in the New Temple of London, proclaimed Edward I king of England, and in concert with the queen-mother, appointed a regency during Edward's absence in Palestine. Kilwardby received the temporalities of his see, December 12th, on the delivery of which, a formal protest on the part of the crown was read in St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster, lest the present election by the pope and cardinals should be drawn into a custom or precedent in vacancies of the English sees. He availed himself of the pope's license to choose the prelate, and was consecrated, February 26th, 1272-3, at Canterbury, by William, bishop of Bath, assisted by the bishops of Winchester, Rochester, St. David's, Ely, Lichfield, Exeter, Lincoln, Norwich, Llandaff, Bangor, Worcester, and St. Asaph. He received the pallium at Tenham, May 8th, from the hands of the bishops of Winchester and Exeter, and about September 8th was duly enthroned in his cathedral.

Edward I arrived in England, August 2nd, 1273, and witnessed the enthronization. The archbishop was at the second general council of Lyons, which assembled May 6th, and ended July 16th, 1274. He had been made legate-a-latore, May 20th, and after the council he hastened

back, and August 19th, crowned the king and queen at Westminster Abbey.

Amidst all his onerous duties, Kilwardby remembered the order whence he had been taken, and furthered its interests in the removal of the friar-preachers from Holborn into the city of London, and the establishment of their house at Salisbury.

At Lyons the archbishop had probably met with cardinal Giovanni Gaitano de Ursini, who soon became pope Nicholas III. This pontiff in his first promotion of cardinals, on the Saturday of the lenten ember-days, March 12th, 1278, declared the English primate to be a cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, by title of St. Rufina, and bishop of Porto (Ostia) at the mouth of the Tiber, the constitution being dated 3 non. Februarii (February 3rd) preceding. A letter of the archbishop written May 13th seems to show that he was still ignorant of the dignity conferred on him, but June 17th, as cardinal, he witnessed a royal charter to the Cinque Ports. On August 19th, he was at Addington, but soon departed for the papal court at Viterbo. He made his journey on foot, staff in hand, though he was a septuagenarian, for he never left the habit of his Order, or abated anything of its religious observance, and two of his brethren and two servants formed his whole retinue.

The pope designed to employ the new cardinal in the conversion of the Tartars. But while the cardinal was in the convent of St. Maria ad Gradus, commonly called Gradi, at Viterbo, he was seized with a mortal illness, and died in a few days, September 11th, some authors say in the year 1280, but most in 1279. The latter is the true date, for the bull of Nicholas III confirming the foundation of Merton College, Oxford, dated April 12th, 1280, mentions him as dead. It was suspected that he was poisoned, but when it is called to mind that the cardinal was about seventy-six years old, and that poison affords a ready explanation for any rapid sickness, especially of that dysenteric character which change of climate often produces, it is easy to understand how a false rumour might have sprung up. The cardinal was buried in the chapel of St. Dominic attached to the convent church of Gradi. His tomb was removed in the restoration of the chapel in 1549; but the following inscription was then placed on the wall:—

VENERABILIS FR. ROBERTUS KILVARBIUS, ANGLUS, THEOLOGUS
AC PHILOSOPHUS PRECLARUS, ARCHIEPUS CANTUARIENSIS,
PRIMAS ANGLIE, CARDINALIS PORTUENSIS, ORDINIS PRÆDICATORUM,
HIC SEPULTUS JACET. 1280.

In time this inscription too was effaced in restoring the altar and painting the wall. The works of this eminent scholar and theologian are enumerated by *Quetif et Echard: Scriptores Ordinis Predicatorum*,¹

¹ Royal Letters (Chancery), Nos. 249, 598. Ped. fin. Suff. 53rd Hen. III, m. 30. Pat. 1st Edw. I. m. 20. Claus. 1st Edw. I, m. 11. d. Pat. 3rd Edw. I, m. 16. Cart. 6th Edw. I, m. 3 in eed. Cart. 7th Edw. I, m. 5. Chronica de Waverley: Cotton MSS., Vesp. E. iv, fol. 190 b. Monumenta Britannica: Addition: MSS. of Brit. Mus. 15362, fol. 15. Register of

Grants, &c. of the Duchy of Lancaster No. 11, fol. 21. Chron. Conv. S. Mariæ ad Gradus, Viterbii, MS. Ex Tab. Mag. Gen. Ord.

Matth. West. Matth. Paris. Continuatio Chron. Flor. Wigorn. Trivet. Leland: Comment. de Script. Britan. Pitsens: De Illus. Ang. Script. Quetif et Echard: Scriptores Ord. Præd.

F. WILLIAM DE SOUTHAMPTON.

F. William de Southampton belonged to the convent of Winchester. His learning earned the chair of a master of theology, and he succeeded Kilwardby as provincial. Gregory X, December 21st, 1274, charged the archbishop of Canterbury, the provincial, and F. John de Derlington to form the monastery of Sandleford, when Matilda de Clare, countess of Gloucester and Hereford, was refounding it for nuns of the Order of Font-Everaud. When Llewellyn ap Griffith sued for peace, in 1277, F. William de Southampton, Robert de Tibetot, and Anthony Beck were commissioned to draw up the truce, and they finished their task, November 9th, at Aberconway; the same day the prince, and next day the king ratified the peace. The provincial obtained a royal pardon, June 14th, 1278, for John, son of master Robert Abbingdon, who had slain Gilbert le Pestur. On the 17th following, at Westminster, he witnessed the royal grant of privileges to the Cinque Ports. In the same year, too, a dispute between the bishop of Winchester and the monks of St. Swythen's priory in that city, concerning right of election, was referred, July 17th, to F. William de Southampton, provincial, and Anthony Beck, archdeacon of Durham, for arbitration. But the provincial died before the decision. He was probably not alive to receive the mandate of Nicholas IV, December 13th, for the bishop of Hereford, the provincial, and the minister of the Friar-Minors, to enquire into the loss and authenticity of some papal dispensations, which Geoffrey de Aspale, clerk, chancellor of queen Eleanor, averred he had lost during the disturbances in London, and now sought to have renewed. His works are given in *Quetif et Echart*.¹

F. HUGH DE MANCESTER.

F. Hugh de Mancester was a doctor of divinity of Oxford. Being elected provincial in 1279, he assisted in the next year as such in the general chapter, June 9th, etc., at Oxford. Edward I held him in great esteem. When courtiers and politicians would fain make out Henry III to have been a saint, and the queen-dowager, Eleanor of Provence, was residing at the nunnery of Amesbury, in 1281, a man was taken to her, who, it was alleged, had been supernaturally restored to sight at Henry's tomb. Eleanor gave implicit faith to a tale so flattering to her feelings, and tried to persuade Edward I of the miracle. But when she could not prevail, for the king knew the man to be an arrant rogue, she ordered him out of her room. As he was going, the king met Mancester, and drawing him aside related all that had just occurred, adding, "I know my father's justice so well, that I am certain he would sooner have plucked out the eyes of that wretch, than have given sight to such a consummate scoundrel." The provincial wrote a tract, *Contra phantasticorum quorundam deliria*, which was done at the king's command, "adversus impudentissimum quendam impostorem, maleficiis ac fraudibus instructum, qui prestigiis ejus dementaverat matrem." He was absolved from his office by the general chapter, in May, 1282, at Vienna.

¹ Thes. Recept. Sacc., Lib. A. fol. 238.
278, 407 b. Pat. 6th Edw. I. m. 11.
Cart. 6th Edw. I. m. 3 in cod. Monum.

Brit.: Addit. MSS., cod. 15363, fol. 310.
Pitsæus. Quetif et Echart. Bullar.
Ord. Præd.

In 1294, Mancester and a friar-minor, F. William de Gainsborough, were sent together as ambassadors to Philip III, king of France, to proclaim that Edward I renounced the feudal superiority of Philip over the duchy of Guienne. Being made definitor for the English province, F. Hugh had royal letters of safe conduct, March 1st, 1294-5, and, March 26th following, the sum of £15 out of the exchequer for himself and a companion to go to the general chapter of the Order at Strasburg; but the chapter was put off to the following year. In 1305, he gave testimony which, August 11th, exonerated three successive priors of the Friar-Preachers of Exeter from the charge of having wittingly harboured a friar, who had been convicted as an accomplice in stealing some national money deposited there.

Besides his tract, F. Hugh wrote a *Compendium Theologicum*.¹

F. WILLIAM DE HOTHAM.

Gay in conversation, mild in manners, devout, and learned, F. William de Hotham won the good will of friends and the patronage of the great. He began his studies at Merton College, Oxford, but soon joining the Dominican Order, finished his theology in the convent of St. Jacques at Paris, where he took his doctor's degree, December 9th, 1280, and became a professor.

In the provincial chapter of 1282 he was made provincial, and soon mingled in the affairs of state. In this same year, he accompanied Edward I in the expedition into North Wales. On October 28th, the king paid him and his confrere 20s. for some private expenses, and 24s. 6d. for the expenses of themselves and their grooms and horses in going from Bath to Blaiza, to the lady of the latter vill, as royal messengers, and in returning to St. Sever, their absence from the court extending to eleven days.

The general chapter of 1283, June 6th, etc., at Montpellier, claimed his presence. He obtained a royal grant, June 16th, 1284, for the Friar-Preachers to be personally quit of the custom of passage at the port of Dover.

About this time, the dispute of schoolmen on the *unity or plurality of forms* was running very high, being a question as interesting in scholastic philosophy as that of *evolution* in natural science. The Friar-Preachers as a body took up the opinion of Thomas Aquinas, in favour of the *unity*, although Kilwardby had supported the *plurality* which the Friar-Minors maintained. Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, upheld the latter. He wrote, December 7th, 1284, to the chancellor and regents of the University of Oxford, complaining that in their assembly, held November 24th, the provincial had rashly disseminated unseemly reports concerning him, and had quoted as witnesses the bishops who were present (October 22nd) at the consecration of the bishop of Salisbury at Summing. But the truth, the archbishop averred, was, that no bishop nor anyone else had heard what then passed between them. The fact was, on that day after dinner, the provincial had told him that the Friar-Preachers of Oxford had many times written to him, that the archbishop intended to disparage the Order and its opinions. To this he

¹ Ex Tab. Mag. Gen. Ord. Exit. Scac., Mich., 22nd Edw. I, m. 2.

Edw. I, m. 16. Pat. 33rd Edw. I, p. 2, m. 15. Trivet. Baleus: De Script. Britan.

had replied that he meant to do no such thing, but only to follow his predecessor in the matter, and that he esteemed the Order very highly. Then the archbishop went on in the letter to inveigh against the friars on the question; and he repeated his charges, January 1st, in a letter to the cardinals, and June 1st following, to the bishop of Lincoln, who was the special patron and protector of the Friar-Preachers of Oxford. There was one F. Richard Clapole, or Knapwell, a doctor and professor at Oxford, who vigorously opposed F. William de la Mere, a Friar-Minor. But so it was that twelve propositions or articles were singled out from his teaching as unsound, and in a public assembly of the bishops held in the quindemesme of Easter (April 15th to 27th), 1286, at Oxford, were formally condemned by the archbishop, and the abettors of them excommunicated. But the provincial, entering the synod, declared to the archbishop that neither that assembly nor any person, except the sovereign pontiff, had any jurisdiction over the Friar-Preachers, and appealed to the Roman See. Knapwell accordingly went to the pope, who, however, imposed perpetual silence on him, in a discussion which human science could not dogmatically decide. Afterwards he went to Bologna, and, notwithstanding the inhibition, renewed his teaching, but soon going out of his mind, died, in 1288, in great misery.

F. William de Hotham, March 3rd, 1285-6, concurred in the sale of the convent of Holborn to the earl of Lincoln, after the friars had removed thence. And about June following, the queen gave him one hundred shillings for the food in the ensuing provincial chapter at Beverley.

In the general chapter, May 25th, etc., 1287, at Bourdeaux, which required his presence, F. William de Hotham was released from the provincialship, and assigned to the convent of Paris, to teach, "*ad legendum sententias.*" He did not comply with the injunction, and the general chapter at Lucca, in May of the following year, took up the matter sharply, on account of the confusion to the Order and loss of studies which had been thus occasioned, and the correction of Hotham was committed to the master-general. Hotham explained how he had been hindered by weighty affairs of state, at the king's will. Such was his reputation, that when the bishop of Winchester, March 12th, 1288-9, collated Geoffrey de Hotham to the rectory of Bishop's Waltham, it was noted in the register that he was the nephew of F. William de Hotham. He remained with Edward I, who, early in 1289, went into the south of France, and August 12th landed again in England. In the week beginning March 25th of that year, the king gave an alms of seven shillings to Hotham's groom, who was sick at Oleron, for another had been hired in his place for fifty-six days, whilst he was ill, at one penny a-day. And at the same time, the king also paid twenty-six livres (£4 15s.) to Elias, marshall of the bishop of Agen, for a bay palfrey given to Hotham; to whom also for his own riding, he gave eighteen livres fifteen shillings (or 68s. 6d.) for a dappled horse bought of the archdeacon of Norwich. These two horses seem to have been for an important journey. From Guienne, the king sent F. William de Hotham and Sir Otho de Grandison to the Roman court, to arrange matters with the pope for the crusade, which he had determined to undertake. The ambassadors set out about the middle of May, for between April 25th

and May 11th the king gave three shillings to F. William de Hotham and F. W * * * his companion, "*pro calciamentis suis novis emptis contra iter suum ad curiam Romanam.*" The two ambassadors carried with them letters of credit, dated May 8th, at Lavarlae, to the pope, thirteen cardinals, five prelates and nobles, and to the king and queen of Sicily. Their negotiations were so successful that Nicholas IV, October 7th, granted to the king for six years the tenth of all the ecclesiastical benefices in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, for the expedition. When Hotham returned to the king, then in the south of England, the pope sent a brief dated November 10th, acquainting Edward with the complaints made by the English clergy against the royal officials, for gross extortions and violations of ecclesiastical liberties. On February 3rd, 1289-90, the king sent to the pope the articles of agreement for the crusade; and the pope dispatched as nuncio the bishop of Grosseto in Tuscany, with a brief, dated May 20th, on the subject of ecclesiastical grievances. The nuncio entered into all the rest of the arrangements for the crusade; and December 14th, in accepting the tenth, the king made a solemn protest in the presence of the nuncio, and many bishops and nobles (amongst whom was Hotham) that, unless lawfully hindered, he would go to the aid of the Holy Land.

In 1290, the provincial chapter was held, September 8th, etc., at Oxford, and Hotham was chosen, a second time, to govern his brethren. He was one of the twenty-four prelates and magnates appointed June 5th, 1292, by the king of England, to discuss the claims of the many competitors for the crown of Scotland. Pedro Martini, of Luna, in Aragon, wrote to Edward I, March 5th, 1292-3, saying that he intended to serve under him with one-hundred soldiers in the army of the Holy Land, and begging advice on the matter through F. William de Hotham, provincial. The general chapter, May 17th, etc., 1293 at Lille, in Flanders, required his presence. One of his last official acts appears to have been, to send F. Robert de Wynethorp as his vicar into Scotland, and F. Philip de Redmar as vicegerent of the prior of Berwick-on-Tweed, who had royal letters of protection, November 1st, 1296, to proceed to their destinations.

After the death of John de Saundford, archbishop of Dublin, October 11th, 1294, the chapter of St. Patrick's unanimously nominated their dean, Thomas de Chatsworth, to the vacant see. The king gave the royal assent and certified the same to Rome, but strongly opposed the election with the pope. Chatsworth did not present himself with the Roman see within the legitimate time, and, long after, made such unworthy and frivolous excuses for his delay, that Boniface VIII took the matter into his own hands, and at the king's suggestion selected F. William de Hotham, to whom, 8 Kal. Maii (April 24th) 1296, he addressed the necessary bull, and allowed him to choose the prelate and place for his consecration. The bull was put into force late in the year, whilst Edward I was in Suffolk; November 23rd, the temporalities of the see were restored; December 5th, was granted to the archbishop-elect, the pre-emption of ploughs, heifers, and other goods of the see, except corn, which was to be sent into Gascony; and December 8th, the restitution of the temporalities was signified to the canons of Penkridge, and they were commanded to receive their new archbishop.

The archbishop-elect had the king's license to dwell in England, but December 9th, he received royal letters of protection in Ireland enduring for one year, and a writ to the justices and other royal officials there that he should enjoy all the liberties and jurisdiction of his predecessors. The king, at the end of August, 1297, made his expedition into Flanders, in order to ravage France from its Flemish borders, in revenge for the seizure of Guienne; he landed at Sluys, went to Bruges, and thence to Ghent. In the course of this autumn Hotham received consecration at Ghent, from the hands of Anthony Beck, bishop of Durham. Edward found the king of France too powerful for him, and chose the archbishop of Dublin to negotiate with the duke of Bretagne, acting in the name of the French monarch, for peace; and a truce of two years was made. In the mean time, the pope laboured to establish lasting peace and for that end sent the generals of the Friar-Preachers and Friar-Minors, who, December 28th, arrived in Flanders. Thereupon Edward sent the archbishop of Dublin, the earl of Savoy, Sir Otho de Grandison, and Sir Hugh de Vere (to act with the bishop of Winchester then actually at the Roman court), in solemn embassy to the pope, with letters of credit, dated at Ghent, February 18th, 1297-8, directed to the pope and to eighteen cardinals. Edward returned into England, March 14th following. Boniface VIII received the ambassadors with all honour, and June 20th, pronounced his sentence of arbitration. All being now satisfactorily settled, the archbishop started to rejoin the king. But at Dijon, in Burgundy, he fell sick, and died at the convent of his Order, August 27th, the eve of the feast of St. Augustin, to whom he had a special devotion. If he had lived he would shortly have received the cardinalate. By command of the king, the corpse was embalmed; the bowels found a grave at Dijon, whilst the rest of the body was brought into England, and buried with great pomp in the church of the Black Friars of London.

The literary works of F. William de Hotham will be found in *Quetif et Echard*.¹

F. WILLIAM DE HEREFORD.

F. William de Hereford was elected provincial in the chapter of 1287. Queen Eleanor of Castile made a present of some small sum, March 5th, 1288-9, to a groom of his, who carried her a message from him. He had a safe-conduct, February 15th, 1289-90, for going to the general chapter at Ferrara, held May 21st, etc.

At this chapter two cardinals of the Order, in a letter dated April 26th, demanded the removal of F. Munio de Zamora from the office of master-general; and this letter was accompanied by another of May 1st, directed particularly to four of the friars, requiring them to effect

¹ Garderoba Regis, 10th Edw. I: Treasury of Rec. of Exch., vol. A $\frac{1}{2}$. Pat. 12th Edw. I, m. 9. Cart. 15th Edw. I, m. 2. Liberaciones Custod. Gard. Regine, 14-18th Edw. I. Reg. Joh. ep. Winton, fol. 60. Rot. elemos. Reg., 17-18th Edw. I. Rot. Vascon. 17th Edw. I, p. 2, m. 11 d. Pat. 18th Edw. I, m. 40 in ched. Thes. Cur. Receipt. Scac., lib. A, fol. 8 b. Thes. Cur. Receipt. Scac., Rot. Scot. Royal Letters (Chancery) No. 2251.

Monument. Brit., Add. MSS. 15365, fol. 9. Chron. de Lanercost. Cotton MSS. Claud D vii, fol. 197. Rot. Scoc. 24th Edw. I, m. 6. Pat. 25th Edw. I, p. 1, mm. 22, 24. Claus. 25th Edw. I, m. 25. Rot. Misc., 26th Edw. I. Ex Tab. Mag. Gen. Ord. Wilkin's Concilia. Bullar. Ord. Pred. Annales de Dunstaplia. Chronicon Tho. Wykes. Trivet. Walsingham. Rymer, new edit. Quetif et Echard.

the removal. When the letters were publicly read, the whole chapter reclaimed against the proceeding; and after a strange scene of tears, cries, and threats of passing into other religious Orders, a strong remonstrance to the two cardinals and a letter to the whole Order in which the master-general was highly commended, were written by the twelve provincials and all present, and a formal appeal was made, May 28th, to the Holy See. The pope deposed the master in the following year.

Hereford was one of the twelve provincials who joined in the remonstrance, letter, and appeal. When the chapter was over he turned homeward, but had not reached England when a fatal illness closed his life. The general chapter of 1291, at Palentia, announced that every friar was bound to celebrate three masses for his soul, etc., as he had died on his way back from a chapter.¹

F. THOMAS DE JORZ.

The family of Jorz flourished in Nottinghamshire, and according to the contemporary testimony of F. Bernardus Guidonis, Thomas and five brothers joined the Friar-Preachers. Walter and Roland became archbishops of Armagh, and Ivo was a writer. Thomas passed his early years in the convent at Oxford, and went through part of his theological studies at Paris, when St. Thomas Aquinas was there. He is supposed to have spent some time at Naples. As a doctor of divinity, he taught at Paris, London, and elsewhere, and was a professor of the Dominican school at Oxford. Whilst prior of Oxford, he had to attend the general chapter at Strasburg; a royal mandate was issued, February 19th, 1294-5, for the chancellor to deliver to him a writ *ad orandum pro rege* addressed to the chapter, and also letters of safe-conduct thither with three companions. The safe-conduct was made out the same day; it was renewed, March 1st, for Manchester and him; but the chapter did not assemble. When Hotham became archbishop of Dublin, Jorz, as prior of the convent where the next chapter was to be held, took the government of the province in the interim; and in that chapter assembled at Oxford, in 1297, he was elected provincial.

On the general chapter of 1300, Edward I, April 4th, bestowed forty marks for two days' food, being one day for himself, and one for Edward his son; and he gave 100s. to the provincial for his and his brethren's expenses in going to it. In this assembly, May 28th, at Marsailles, a master-general was elected, and of the twenty-nine electors, nine were provincials, of whom Jorz was one. This master died in August. The general chapter was held at Cologne, in 1301, towards the expenses of which, through F. Thomas de Wetwong sub-prior of London, the king again, May 2nd, gave £20 for two days' food, one for himself and one for prince Edward, and also £4 to the provincial for him and his confreres going to it. On May 20th, the mastership was supplied, and the provincial of England was among the twenty-nine electors.

Edmund, earl of Cornwall, died October 1st, 1300. He left a costly cross of gold set with gems and pearls, which he directed to be sold,

¹ Rot. Ho-p. Regine, 17th Edw. I. Pat. 18th Edw. I. m. 38. Ex Tab. Mag. Gen. Ord.

and three-fourths of the price to be equally divided between the Friar Preachers and Friar-Minors, whilst of the remaining quarter two-thirds were to go to the Carmelites, and one-third to the Augustinians; and for every penny the friars were to celebrate a mass for the earl's soul within a year. The cross was purchased by queen Margaret, second consort of Edward I, and Jorz, March 29th, 1301, being with the royal court at Berkhamstead, received £89 10½d., for the share of his brethren.

Being troubled by two of his subjects F. Robert de Kenyngton and F. Benedict de Offord, who left the Order and went wandering about through various counties, Jorz obtained a writ, March 14th, 1302-3, for their arrest, so that they might be punished according to their institute. In the general chapter at Besançon, May 26th, etc., 1303, he and six other provincials were absolved from office, for some error in confirming them in it; but the matter appears to have been set straight. On December 16th, the king paid a messenger for carrying letters to him. As provincial, he had a safe-conduct for two years, January 1st, 1303-4, to the Roman court, on affairs of his Order in England; and on the 21st, the king gave him and F. John de Thorp forty marks for three days' food of the general chapter at Toulouse, and £4 for their expenses in going to it. This chapter was held May 17th, etc., and the provincial was present. About this time he quitted office.

In February, 1303-4, F. Walter de Winterbourne was created cardinal of St. Sabina. On June 28th the king gave recommendatory letters for the new cardinal, F. Thomas de Jorz, Sir Otho de Grandison, and F. John de Wrotham as his ambassadors to the pope, but Benedict XI died July 7th, and the embassy was put off. In the following year, Jorz and Wrotham proceeded on their mission, and October 15th, 1305, the king sent them, then actually at the papal court, twenty marks for their expenses, through a firm of Florentine merchants. With others, they were charged with important affairs of state, for on the 27th of the same month, the king gave letters of credit to the pope for Henry Lacy, earl of Lincoln, Hugh le Despenser, Amanenus, lord of Lebreto, Otho de Grandison, F. Thomas de Jorz, and F. John de Wrotham, John de Benstede, and master Philip Martell.

The embassy was honorably received by Clement V, at Lyons. Cardinal Winterbourne died September 25th, 1305, and at the request of the English king, the pope, on the Friday of the Advent Ember-days (December 17th), included F. Thomas de Jorz amongst the twelve cardinals, whom he then created, with the title of St. Sabina. On January 13th following, (1305-6) the cardinal wrote to Edward I from Lyons, thanking him for having obtained his promotion, and informing him of the honour which had been shown him in consequence of the royal favour. Within a fortnight afterwards (January 25th), he again wrote to the king from Lyons, thanking him for the gift of 500 florins of gold received through the bishop of Chester, and mentioning the intended journey of the papal court to Bourdeaux.

The cardinal forwarded the interests of England with the Holy See. On April 15th, 1306, the king wrote to five cardinals, and amongst them to the cardinal of St. Sabina, thanking them for their attention to his ambassadors, and begging their favour concerning the tenth granted to him by the pope, as master Thomas de Cobham and Sir

Roger Sauve would explain. On September 6th, he thanked him for sending information of what went on at the papal court, and requesting him to continue to let him know all the news. At Bourdeaux, the cardinal suffered severe losses by fire; the king, September 19th, wrote sympathizing with him in the misfortune, sending what pecuniary aid he could then afford, and promising more as circumstances admitted; and at the same time, begged the cardinal's support for William Comyn, brother of the earl of Buchan, to be preferred to the see of St. Andrew's, and Geoffrey de Moubray to that of Glasgow.

The king ordered the chancellor, April 26th, 1307, to present the cardinal to the first church vacancy in the royal gift, worth 300 marks or thereabouts. And May 6th, he ordered him to write, amongst others, to the cardinal, and solicit him to urge the canonization of Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln. About this time, F. John de Thorp, companion to the cardinal, and F. Roland de Jorz, the cardinal's brother, went to the papal court, and for the journey they received, May 29th, ten marks out of the exchequer. It is probable that they conveyed the chancellor's letter, and also that it was in reply to this letter the cardinal wrote to the king promising to pay the utmost attention to the instructions contained in the royal missive. Edward II, December 12th, begged him and another cardinal to promote the canonization of Thomas de Cantilupe, bishop of Hereford.

Royal letters of safe-conduct were given, April 16th, 1308, for master Adam de Cyrencestre, canon of Hereford, and chaplain to the cardinal, and Richard of St. Alban's and Robert de Belegrove, valets, who belonged to his household, and were now going abroad, with horses, harness, and other things, to join their master.

Edward II wrote to the pope and cardinal, August 6th, in behalf of Frederick, son of Manfred, king of Sicily, who was surrounded, he said, with unmerited persecutions and straits; and on the 22nd, in favour of Walter Reginald, bishop-elect of Worcester. And January 19th, 1308-9, he begged the pope to allow the Friar-Preachers of Norwich to remove to the site of the Friars of the Sac; and he prayed the cardinal to interest himself in the matter.

In return for the sincere affection and watchful diligence which the cardinal showed towards his king and country, Edward II granted him, March 4th, 1308-9, a pension of a hundred marks a year. He received orders of payment for the half-year, October 1st, 1309, and June 12th, 1310. In this latter year, Clement X, April 14th, appointed him judge, with others of the sacred college, in the controversy amongst the Friar-Minors concerning the degree of poverty to be observed in their institute, and this occasioned him to compose his work, *De Paupertate Christi*. On the election of the emperor Henry VII he was sent as legate-a-latore into Italy, to pacify the troubles of those parts, and unite the factions and people in receiving the emperor with all honour. This retinue consisted of two of his brethren and two servants, and he travelled on foot, for such was ever his religious observance, that after death some even ranked him among the *Beati*, and he was inserted in a martyrology of the Order. Thus he set out from Avignon, and had arrived at Grenoble, when fatigue and the infirmities of eighty years overcame him, and he died there on St. Lucy's Day (December 13th), being the third Sunday of Advent. In

compliance with his wishes, his body was conveyed next year (1311) to Oxford, and honourably buried in the choir of the Friar-Preachers. In the general chapter of 1311, the usual suffrages were appointed for his soul; every priest of the Order to celebrate three masses, every cleric to say the seven penitential psalms in the stead of each mass, and every lay-brother to recite a hundred Paters and a hundred Aves.

To Cardinal Thomas de Jorx many works have been ascribed, which are given in *Quetif et Echard*.¹

F. ROBERT DE BROMYARD.

F. Robert de Bromyard passed through his courses at Oxford, and when he commenced his degree, in 1289, his patron, Henry, bishop of Hereford, December 1st, made him a present of 20s. Afterwards he was a lector at Winchester, and it is likely that he was also prior there, as he stands at the head of fifteen friars, who, about 1300, were licensed to preach in the diocese. In the chapter at Lynn, September 8th, etc., 1304, he was elected provincial. As such he concurred in procuring the royal pardon of the three priors of Exeter in 1305. The general chapter, May 22nd, etc., 1306, at Paris, absolved him from his office, which he was nowise to resume. He still abode at Winchester, was appointed penitentiary of the diocese, September 13th, 1307, and held the charge till the close of his life, shortly before the end of October, 1310.²

F. NICHOLAS DE STRATTON.

F. Nicholas de Stratton, master of theology, taught in the Dominican schools at Oxford, where he remained till the summer of 1312. As a defensor, he had a safe-conduct, February 23rd, 1301-2, for himself and three companions to go to the general chapter at Bologna, in the following June. The chapter at York, in 1306, made him provincial. He was sent in the royal service, in 1307, into Gascony and to the papal court, whence he went on to the general chapter at Strasburg. He received, January 20th, 1306-7, forty marks for finding this chapter in food for two days, and 100s. for his journey; and probably carried with him the writ *de orando*, dated the preceding December 1st, to the capitular fathers. He was also at the general chapter of Placenzia, June 7th, etc., 1310, for which the writ *de orando* was issued March 5th and payment was made, March 19th, of £10 for the food of the chapter,

¹ Privy Seals (Chancery) 22nd Edw. I, No. 6. Rot. Garderob. Regis, 28th Edw. I. Liber quotidianus Contrarot. Garderob. 28th Edw. I. Pat. 23rd Edw. I, m. 16. Lib. Garderob. 29th Edw. I: Addit. MSS. 7966a. Jornale Garderob. incip. 24 Martii, 29th Edw. I. Divers. Expens. solut. in Garderob. Regine per. Tho. le Querle, annis 29th, 30th, 31st Edw. I. Pat. 31st Edw. I, m. 33. Lib. Garderob. 32nd Edw. I: Additional MSS. 8835. Pat. 32nd Edw. I, m. 27. Exit. Scac., Mich., 31st Edw. I, m. 3. Claus. 32nd Edw. I, m. 10 d. Lib. Garderob. 33rd Edw. I. Claus. 33rd Edw. I, m. 6 d. Royal Letters (Chancery) Nos. 934, 1806, 2226, 2227, 3122. Claus. 34th Edw. I,

m. 6 in ched. Rot. Rom. et Franc. 34-5th Edw. I. Claus. 35th Edw. I, m. 15. Exit. Scac., Pasch. 35th Edw. I, m. 2. Pat. 1st. Edw. II, m. 14. Rot. Rom. et Franc. 1-3rd Edw. II, m. 5, 7, 9. Pat. 2nd Edw. II, p. 1, m. 12. Liberate, 3rd Edw. II, m. 2, 4. Ex Tab. Mag. Gen. Ord.

Quetif et Echard. Rymer, new edit. Bullar. Ord. Pred. Trivet. Wood, Hist. et Antiq. Oxon.

² Reg. Joh. epis. Winton. fol. 206 a. Pat. 33rd. Edw. I, p. 2, m. 15. Reg. Henr. epis. Winton. fol. 66, 144 b. Ex Tab. Mag. Gen. Ord. Roll of Household Expenses of Rich de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford (Camden Society).

and £5 or marks ("v m'r' lib'") for travelling. The king paid 12d., October 23rd, 1311, to a messenger for carrying a royal letter to him. In the following year, he went to the general chapter at Carcassone, when, May 13th, a master-general was elected, there being forty-five electors, of whom seventeen were provincials. In this chapter, he was absolved from his office, in order that, the ensuing year, he might *read the sentences* at Paris: and none of those now removed from authority were to take up their charges again. The prior of the convent of Beauvaisis, at the same time, was penanced with ten days on bread and water, because he treated the definitor of England with disrespect on his journey thither.

He did not immediately go abroad, for February 22nd, 1312-13, he was appointed the penitentiary of the diocese of Winchester; after which his name does not occur again till February 13th, 1325-6, when, as doctor of theology, at Winchester, he had episcopal faculties for preaching and hearing confessions. It is probable that he closed his life there.¹

F. WILLIAM DE CASTRETON.

F. William de Castreton was appointed provincial by the master general, either because the chapter, August 15th, etc., 1312, at Chester, failed to elect, or the master set aside the choice. This provincial was present at the general chapter at Metz, June 3rd, etc., 1313; for three days' food, of which the king gave him, April 30th, through F. John de Leycestre and F. Richard de Salyne, of the London Convent, £20, in the name of himself, his queen, and prince Edward, and through F. Robert Giffard, sub-prior of London, 40s. in aid of his travelling.

In 1314, both the general and the provincial chapters were held at the same time at London, and towards the expenses of each the king gave forty marks. These eighty marks were paid, May 11th, 14th, 15th, and 17th, to F. John de Wrotham, prior of London. The writ *de orando*, May 10th, also demanded that the general assembly would punish, according to the discipline of the Order, those friars in Scotland who had persuaded many to throw off their allegiance to England.

In this general chapter, solemnized May 26th, etc., the Irish friars were empowered to nominate three, of whom the provincial should appoint one as vicar, with all the powers of a provincial, except when the English provincial was personally in Ireland. In the reply of the master-general to the king, May 30th, thanking him for his multiplied favours to the Order, the question of the Scotch patriotism was avoided.

Under one restless spirit, six friars brought before both the chapters certain wild accusations against the Order. But no notice of them was taken. The recalcitrant friars employed one Stephen de Sidesmere, or Sydolvesmere, as their proctor or notary, who, in their name, then appealed to the archbishop of Canterbury and to the Holy See. The charges and appeals were affixed to the door of St. Paul's, in London,

¹ Pat. 30th Edw. I, m. 28. Exit. Seac., Mich. 34th Edw. I, m. 4. Rot. Garderob. de anno 35th Edw. I. Claus. 35th Edw. I, m. 17 d. Claus. 3rd Edw. II, m. 10 d. Exit. Seac., Mich. 3rd Edw.

II, m. 6. Lib. Garderob Regis, 5th Edw. II: Bibl. Cotton. Nero C. viii. Ex Tab. Mag. Gen. Ord. Reg. Henr. episc. Winton, fol. 176 b. Reg. Joh. de Stratford, episc. Winton, fol. 15.

and spread up and down the country, to the great defamation of the Order. Three separate royal writs were issued to arrest and deliver vagabond apostates, to the Order, September 18th, to the mayor and sheriffs of London; September 21st, to all sheriffs and bailiffs; and October 1st (when Sydolvesmere was mentioned by name), to the sheriff of Oxfordshire. The malcontents went out of the Order, and the whole matter was speedily quashed.

This provincial was released from office by the general chapter, May 11th, etc., 1315, at Bologna.¹

F. * *

The provincial chapter of 1315 was held September 8th, etc., at Winchester. Who was then elected provincial, does not appear. It is doubtful whether he went to the general chapter at Montpellier, May 30th, etc., 1316; for when the king, April 22nd, gave the usual £20 in the three royal names, to F. Richard de Bromfeld of the convent of London, he also paid 40s. for two friars to carry the money abroad. He was absolved from the office by the general chapter at Pampeluna, May 22nd, etc., 1317.²

F. JOHN DE BRISTOL.

F. John de Bristol belonged, at least for a time, to the convent of Cambridge, where he probably utilized his doctorate by teaching theology. As definitor for England, he went to the general chapter of 1309, May 18th, etc., at Saragossa; for the food of which the king, March 22nd, gave through him £10, and to him 40s. for travelling. In his journey he and his companion were received with such scant courtesy by the procurator of the convent of St. Jean de Angely, that the chapter dismissed the culprit from his office, and sent him to the convent of Tulle.

At the chapter at Leicester, August 15th, etc., 1317, Bristol was chosen provincial. In his official capacity, he received £15 from the sheriff of Wiltshire, for the provincial chapter, August 28th, etc., 1319, at Salisbury. Moreover, in the next year, some affair or other carried him to Edward II, at Kings-Langley, and, May 2nd, he had a royal alms of 100s. towards returning to his own place. And also he had a safe-conduct, March 3rd, 1221-2 (with the writ *de orando*), for going to the general chapter at Vienna, at which he assisted, May 30th, etc. By deed, dated December 11th, 1320, he and F. Thomas de Westwall, prior of Oxford, terminated that tedious controversy concerning privileges between the Friar-Preachers and the University of Oxford, which, for nine years, had been equally troublesome to the

¹ Exit. Scac. Pasch. 6th Edw. II, m. 1. Exit. Scac. Pasch. 7th Edw. II, m. 5. Claus. 7th Edw. II, m. 5 d. Royal Letters (Chancery), No. 3282. Exchequer Miscellanea, bund. 902, art. 49 (containing the charges against the Order). Pat. 8th Edw. II, p. 1, m. 17, 21, 22. Annales

Anglie: Addit. MSS. 5444, fol. 91b, 93. Ex Tab. Mag. Gen. Ord.

A. Murimuth, Chronicon. Bullar. Ord. Præd.

² Exit. Scac. Pasch. 8th Edw. II, m. 1. Exit. Scac. Pasch. 9th Edw. II, m. 1. Ex Tab. Mag. Gen. Ord.

English and Roman courts. To him as provincial, F. Nicholas Trivet dedicated his great work, *In Psalterium*.¹

F. SIMON DE BOLASTON.

F. Simon de Bolaston is ranked amongst writers of celebrity by Boston of Bury, being a doctor of divinity of Cambridge, eminent for learning and preaching. The general chapter of 1328, at Toulouse, May 22nd, etc., was composed of provincials, and in aid of it, for three days' food, he received £20, February 19th preceding, in an exchequer tally on the collectors of the vingtiemes in Oxfordshire.

Under the name of *Bouralston*, he is mentioned as provincial in the register of the bishop of Exeter, towards the close of the same year. He also wrote a commendatory letter to the pope, from Dogmersfeld, September 27th, 1329, in favour of the bishop of Bath. When Edward II was deposed in January 1326-7, numerous nobles and others, and almost the whole body of the Friar-Preachers, sought to restore him. They discredited his death, for one Thomas de Dunheved, a Friar Preacher of London, had been deluded by divination into believing that the unfortunate monarch was still alive in prison. In a parliament at Winchester, in March, 1329-30, the earl of Kent was adjudged to death, and was beheaded for high treason, "although," says Stowe, "it were but devised fantasie and a meere lye;" and as conspirators, the provincials of the Friar-Preachers and Carmelites were banished, and several Carmelites and Friar-Preachers were condemned to perpetual imprisonment. F. Simon regained the royal favour, for at Oxford, in August, 1338, he finished his treatise, *De Iudiciorum Ordine, et modo serrando cum Fratribus Ordinis*. His other works are described in *Quetif et Echard*.²

F. RICHARD DE WINKLEY.

F. Richard de Winkley, S.T.D., taught from the professor's chair, either at Oxford or Cambridge. He became provincial, chaplain and confessor to Edward III., and a skilful diplomatist.

During his time, the general chapter was held, June 4th, etc., 1335, at London, made up of provincials. In preparation, as early as September 30th, 1334, a royal mandate to the warden of the Cinque Ports and his bailiffs of Dover, allowed the master-general and all the provincials to pass the port freely both to and from the chapter. Within three weeks of the assembly, the king, May 18th, gave £60, through F. William de Rokeslee, towards the expenses, and, on the 26th, the writ *de orando* was issued.

In 1337, Winkley went over-sea, on the king's affairs, with the bishop of Lincoln, the Earls of Salisbury and Huntingdon, and Sir William Trussel, Sir Reginald de Cobham, and Sir Nicolas de la Bache, knights;

¹ Exit. Scac. Mich. 2nd Edward II, m. 8. Ex Tab. Mag. Gen. Ord. Exit. Scac. Pasch. 13th Edw. II, m. 2. 15b. Garderob. 13th Edw. II: Addit. MSS. 17362. Pat. 15th Edw. II, p. 2, m. 27. Claus. 15th Edw. II, m. 16d. Wood.

² Exit. Scac. Mich. 2nd Edw. III, m. 13. Reg. Joh. Grandisson, epis. Exon., vol. i, fol. 55.

Wilkins' Concilia. Stowe's Annals. Quetif et Echard.

and for his expenses, May 6th, £6 13s. 4d. was advanced to him, for which he had to account in the exchequer.

In the same year, a commission was appointed, consisting of the bishop of Lincoln, William de Bohun, earl of Northampton, Robert de Ufford, earl of Suffolk, Sir John Darey, steward of the royal household, F. Richard de Winkley, provincial, master John de Ufford, canon of London, master Paul de Montfiore, John de Montgomery, knight, and master John Wauwayn, canon of Darlington. These proctors or commissioners were deputed, October 3rd, to treat with the king of France on the grave questions between the king of England and him; to treat with nobles for their friendship, and with others concerning the staple of wool abroad: and October 7th, to treat with David, king of Scotland, for a truce, and even for a final peace. Any three of these commissioners could act, the bishop or an earl being one of them. The provincial was engaged with the French affairs, and had to go to various parts over-sea; and he received for travelling, October 17th, 1338, an exchequer tally for £20. The royal present of a cask of wine to him cost the king, February 19th, 1339-40, 66s. 8d.

In 1337, Edward III. assumed the title of king of France, and in the following year began his terrible wars. The general chapter of 1339 met, May 16th, at Clermont-Ferrand, and as it was thus held within his enemy's domain, the king withheld the £20 now become customary for England to offer to the Order on such occasions. This year, the alms were given, October 21st, to the convent of Winchester, for the provincial chapter there: in the next and following years, to the convent of London, for which it was changed, May 20th, 1345, into a permanent pension.

In the meantime, Winkley was put out of office as provincial, and the general chapter of 1339 appointed a vicar-general until a canonical election was made. The king was indignant that his chaplain should be thus removed whilst honourably employed in royal and public affairs; and when Winkley had to go to the general chapter, June 4th, etc., 1340, at Milan, wrote thus to the master general.

“Rex, magne discretionis religionis viro, Fratri Hugoni, Magistro Ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum, salutem.

“Pensantes gravitatem et prudentiam ordinatam, que deberent in tanto presidente clarius enitere, mirari cogimur, quod Capellanum nostrum quamdiulectum Fratrem Ricardum de Wynde pridem Ordinis vestri Priorem Provincialem in Angliâ, dum nostris et reipublice negociis laudabiliter intendebat, nichil illicitum vel Ordinis honestati contrarium perpetrando, in nostri contumeliam, ut nostris placeretis emulis, a dicto Prioratus officio, non servato more solito, sicut intelleximus, amovistis: quod forsitan minime fecissetis, si favores et gratias, quibus domus nostra regia dictum Ordinem prevenit hactenus, et subsequi poterit infuturum, debite librassetis. Et ideo valde placeret nobis ut, ad redimendam ingratitude hujusmodi, prefatum Ricardum, jam ad vestrum Generale Capitulum accedentem, haberetis consideratione nostri cum exhibitione favoris et gratie sincerius commendatum, ut preter ad quod tante probitatis et note bonitatis viro debetur ex meritis, ex recommendationis nostre suffragio sentiat incrementum, Ordoque vestra ex hoc nos inveniat in oportunitatibus gratiores. Datum apud Westmonasterium, 20 die Aprilis.”

Secret and arduous affairs of the kingdom sent Winkley also to the Roman court, for which he had letters of credence to the pope, dated April 25th. Benedict XII. answered the king, by Winkley, July 13th, expressing his desire to establish peace between England and France. For the expenses to and fro, and at the papal court, he received, October 17th, £10., and October 24th, £20. He was not re-installed in the provincialsnip.

In 1342, the royal confessor was again sent to the Roman court. Preparatory to his journey he staid some time in London, and received, April 7th, 100s. for expenses there; a grey palfrey for riding, worth 113s. 4d., and a sumpter-horse for his *harness* worth 46s. 8d., both bought for him May 7th, 25th; and had his letters of credence to the pope, dated May 22nd, in which the king also begged some privileges for the royal chapel; and June 8th, forty marks for travelling expences.

Early in the following year, whilst at Portsmouth, Winkley was plundered of goods to no small amount. He seems to have fallen into the hands of freebooters; for Richard Hokere and Richard Swayn, of Winchelsea, two royal officers, were sent after the robbers, carrying a writ, dated May 6th, for all sheriffs and bailiffs to aid in arresting and conveying to the Tower of London, Rog. de Dynton, Will. Pevensese of Portsmouth, John Spencer of Portsmouth, Rob. Blake, Will. Havyn of Feversham, Rog. Smyth, and other evil-doers and peace-breakers, who had committed the outrage. About this time the confessor started from London for the papal court, "*pro arduis negotiis ipsius domini regis domino summo pontifici exponendis*;" and the journey there and back took him 113 days. Immediately after, he was despatched to Vannes in France, which took up another 64 days. He was allowed 6s. a day for his and his companion's expenses in both journeys, and October 11th, 1343, there were paid into his own hands in the exchequer, £33 18s., for the Roman journey, 116s. 8d. for some papal bulls, and 50s. for passage and re-passage of the sea; and £19 4s. for the French journey.

After this time, Winkley was taken up only with the duties of his ministry. He had a grant of forty marks a year, April 17th, 1344, in aid of his expences, and for better maintaining his state in the king's service. A royal gift of £4, 19s. was made to him, March 2nd, 1345-6. He obtained two royal pardons of manslaughter, one February 6th, 1346-7, in favour of Rich. Kyng, for the death of Walter de Luttone; the other, July 25th following, in favour of Will. Smythiot, of Cambridge, for the death of one Stephen, called Frenshman, or Borgulon. His pension was last paid him, March 6th, 1346-7, and July 4th, the order for payment was issued, but not executed. Winkley ceased to be confessor some time before Christmas, when F. Arnald de Strillegh held the charge, and it is evident that he had now closed his life.¹

¹ Claus. 8th Edw. III, m. 11 d. Exit. Scac., Pasch., 9th Edw. III, m. 6. Claus. 9th Edw. III, m. 26 d. Exit. Scac., Pasch., 11th Edw. III, m. 4. Rot. Alenian., 11th Edw. III, m. 2. Rot. Scoc., 11th Edw. III, m. 6. Exit. Scac., Mich., 13th Edw. III, m. 4. Lib. Garderob., 12th-16th Edw. III, Treas. of Rec. of Exch., vol. A⁵. Exit. Scac., Mich., 15th Edw. III, m. 7, 8, 11. Ex. Tab.

Mag. Gen. Ord. Ex. Scac., Mich., 14th Edw. III, m. 6. Claus. 14th Edw. III, p. 1, m. 27 d. Rot. Rom. et Franc., 14th-15th Edw. III, m. 6. Exit. Scac., Mich., 15th Edw. III, m. 5, 7, 11. Lib. Garderob., 17th-19th (15th-18th) Edw. III, Treas. of Rec. of Exch., vol. A¹⁻⁵. Rot. Rom., 16th Edw. III, m. 2. Exit. Scac., Pasch., 16th Edw. III, m. 14. Pat. 17th Edw. III, p. 1, m. 23 d. Claus.

F. HUGH DE DUCTON.

F. Hugh de Ducton, or Dutton, became S.T.M., and a professor of divinity at Oxford. In the general chapter of 1339, he was made the vicar-general of England: "Item facimus Vicarium Generalem in Provinciâ Angliæ F. Hugonem de Ductona, Magistrum in Theologiâ, de Provinciâ Angliæ, donec Prior Provincialis electus fuerit et confirmatus, et præsens extiterit in eadem." In the register of the bishop of Winchester, August 11th, 1339, occurs, "Frater Hugo de Ducton, Ordinis Prædicatorum, in Provinciâ Anglicanâ Vicarius Generalis." The chapter held shortly after at Winchester, over which he presided, elected him provincial.¹

F. NICHOLAS DE MONINGTON.

F. Nicholas de Monington was provincial, but the exact time of his government does not appear. In 1365, F. Thomas de Ringstead, bishop of Bangor, on his death-bed in the Black Friars' convent at Shrewsbury, made him an executor of his will, dated December 3rd, and proved February 9th following. He belonged to the convent of Guildford, and died April 29th, on which day his yearly *obitus* was kept.²

F. WILLIAM DE BODEKISHAM.

He was a master of theology, and a professor. Whilst he held the office of provincial, seventeen religious of the convent of Oxford, evidently young students as some of them were foreigners, broke into open rebellion. The provincial appealed to the secular power, and a mandate was issued, May 4th, 1370, to the sheriff and a serjeant-at-arms, to give him or his vicar all assistance in restoring discipline; and proclamation was made in the town to prevent any armed resistance.

In the general chapter of 1378, at Carcassonne, Bodekisham, though not then holding the supreme authority, was degraded from his other honours, in the great dispute with the master-general, but on appeal he was restored in the following year.³

F. THOMAS DE RUSHOOK.

For several years, F. Thomas Rushook was prior of Hereford, where, in 1352, he was governing a community of eight priests and three lay brothers. Some time after he was elected provincial.

In 1374, the provincial was called to a council at Westminster, summoned by the king soon after pentecost, to decide the question of

17th Edw. III, p. 1, m. 13 d. Pat. 18th Edw. III, p. 1, m. 12. Pat. 19th Edw. III, p. 1, m. 14. Exit Scac., Mich., 19th Edw. III, m. 19. Liberate, 19th Edw. III, m. 4. Liberate, 20th Edw. III, m. 6. Exit. Scac., Mich., 20th Edw. III, m. 3, 34. Rot. Cart et Pat. apud Cales, 21st Edw. III, m. 17, 22. Exit. Scac., Mich., 21st Edw. III, m. 40. Liberate, 21st Edw. III, m. 4. Rot. liberat. draperie pellure etc., 21st, 22nd, 23rd Edw. III. Rymer (new edit.)

¹ Ex Tab. Mag. Gen. Ord. Reg. Ad. de Orleton, epis. Winton, vol. i, fol. 78. Leander Alberti, De Vivis illustribus Ord. Præd. 1517. Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. Wood, Hist. et Ant. Oxon. Quetif et Echarl.

² Tanner's MSS., fol. 179; in Bibl. Bodl. Willis's Bangor.

³ Pat., 44th Edw. III, p. 1, m. 14 d. Bullar. Ord. Præd.

the pope's dominion over ecclesiastical temporalities and his feudatory claim to England. He sat, with three other masters of theology, on a form in front of the prince of Wales and archbishop of Canterbury. Being called on first to give his opinion, he begged to be excused such a difficult matter, and counselled, that, according to the custom of his Order in arduous questions, they should say the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, or a mass of the Holy Ghost. The debate took up two days, and after much tergiversation and recrimination, a negative answer was returned.

In his provincial duties, Rushook fell into grave dissension with F. Elias Raimundi, master-general of the Order. The provincial was supported by F. John de Leicester, his vicar-general of Ireland, and other masters and leading members of the province. The general-chapter at Carcassonne, in June, 1378, removed him and all his supporters from every office, and excluded them from private cells and native convents; and appointed F. John Parish, F. John Empsay, and F. Thomas Nortebe successively vicars-general of England, and F. Robert Cusack vicar-general of Ireland. Nortebe does not seem to have acted, for shortly after F. William Siward was in his place. The matter was carried before the English parliament and the Roman court. The provincial and all the late provincial chapter petitioned the king and parliament to hear their proctors, F. John de Leicester, vicar of Ireland, F. William Cambe, S. Th. Bac., and F. Peter Daniel, against F. John Parish, who was acting against the honour of the kingdom and safety of the Order. Rushook sent his procurator to Rome, whilst Empsey appeared in behalf of the opponents. A royal inhibition, November 10th, forbade any of the Order to hinder him unduly in his appeal to the holy see, and in the exercise of his office as provincial. Urban VI committed the matter to cardinal Nicolas Caraccioli, who solemnly hearing both sides, pronounced, August 25th, 1379, the deprivation of Rushook and Lester to be unjust and null, and that all the acts of the provincial were canonical, and reinstated them and all their supporters: he decided that the four vicars-general, Siward, Empsay, Parish, and Cusack were intruders, revoked their appointments, and cancelled all that the general chapter of 1378 had done against Bodkisham; and in order that his sentence might be carried into execution, he made Bodkisham procurator of the provincial and his party, to enforce it, and enjoined the archbishops of Canterbury, York, Armagh, Dublin, Cassel, the bishops of London, Winchester, Norwich, Hereford, Rochester, Dundalken, and Carlisle, the master-general, vicar-general of the Order, the general chapter, etc., to carry it into execution within six days. All which, Boniface IX, at the instance of Richard II, February 20th, 1396-7, ratified and confirmed.

At the royal court, Rushook soon rose in favour. Edward III. gave him, as provincial, an order for a new habit, July 14th, 1376. Richard II, ascending the throne, in 1377, made him his confessor; and at this time he was a professor of theology. The king, October 6th, 1380, put him into the office of chirographer in the common bench, till otherwise provided for; January 25th, 1380-1, granted him a pension of £40 a year; and June 9th, 1382, presented him to the archdeaconry of St. Asaph.

Through the royal influence, Rushook was promoted by the pope, January 16th, 1382-3, to the bishopric of Llandaff. He had the temporalities restored, April 2nd; made his profession of obedience at

Oxford, April 18th, and was consecrated, May 3rd, in the church of the Black Friars of London, by the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of Winchester, Exeter, and Ely. But in 1385, he was translated to Chichester (the bull of provision being dated October 16th), of which he had the custody of the temporalities, December 6th, and they were fully restored, March 26th following. He was retained as the king's confessor; and although his pension of £40 ceased on the last day of April, 1383, he and his companion or chaplain (F. John Burghill, afterwards royal confessor and bishop) were still provided, at the royal expense, with the winter and summer habits and cappas, and with beds and bedding, and were attended by four valets or grooms. In June, 1384, he had a royal gift of £6 13s. 4d., for small expenses at the court; and in September, 1385, cloth for a cappa and capuce against the burial of the king's mother.

In 1386, the king, coerced by parliament, put the administration of the state into the hands of commissioners, but in a council at Nottingham, in August of the following year, he got the judges to declare the commission to be prejudicial to the regal prerogatives, and stopped its execution. Thereupon the parliament assembled February 3rd, 1387-8, condemned the judges, though they pleaded that they had been overawed, as traitors, and, March 6th, their sentence was repeated. On the same day, the bishop of Chichester was impeached for being present when the questions were put up to the judges, for threatening them into their answers, concealing the object of the traitors, and by his connivance exposing the whole realm to danger. The bishop denied the charge, declaring that no threats had been used, that he was under secrecy as to the answers, and that he had taken care no evil should arise from the transaction. The lords temporal found him guilty of treason, and banished him into Ireland for life. The city of Cork, or within two leagues, was assigned as his residence; with permission to receive forty marks a year from any friend who would allow him so much. The safe conduct, July 8th, 1388, suffered him to take forty marks for the first year, one bed, clothing, a book for saying his hours, and two English servants; and he was required to be at the port of Bristol by August 1st, and at Cork by Michaelmas day.

As a consolation in his exile, pope Urban VI translated him to the see of Triburna (Kilmore); but as the revenues were wholly inadequate, his friends petitioned parliament, that for God's sake and as a work of charity, a subsistence might be assigned to him for life. And so an exchequer pension of £40 a year was granted him, March 10th, 1389-90. His pension was regularly paid him, and for the last time, January 25th, 1392-3. Unable to separate himself from the scenes of his former greatness, he was hovering on the outskirts of the royal court when death overtook him, broken hearted at his political disgrace. He was buried within the church of Seal, in Kent.¹

¹ Rot. Assis. (Heref.), 26th Edw. III. Rot. Assis. (Heref.), 27th-30th Edw. III. Claus., 27th Edw. III, m. 17 d. Rot. liberat. pannorum etc., 48th Edw. III—1st Rich. II. Claus., 50th Edw. III, p. 2, m. 8. Petitiones ad Parl. R. 290. Rot. liberat. pannorum etc., 1st-3rd Rich. II. Pat., 2nd Rich. II, p. 1, m. 17 d.

Pat., 4th Rich. II, p. 1, m. 6. Pat., 5th Rich. II, p. 2, m. 1. Pat., 6th Rich. II, p. 3, m. 14. Partic. Comp. Custod. Garder. Hosp. Regis, 6th, 7th Rich. II. Comp. Custod. Garder. Hosp. Regis, 7th, 8th Rich. II. Rot. liberat. pannorum etc., 7th-9th Rich. II. Pat., 8th Rich. II, p. 1, m. 11. Pat., 9th Rich. II, p. 1,

F. WILLIAM SIWARD.

When F. John de Woderow resigned the office of confessor to the king, the charge of the royal conscience was imposed, November 12th, 1376, on F. William Siward, who was a master of theology of Oxford, and taught in his convent there. On the same day, the pension of £69 10s. 6d. was assigned to him, being 3s. a day (£54 12s.) to maintain him and his companion, and the men serving him in the royal household, four horses and one hackney; 1½d. a day each (£9. 2s. 6d.) for the wages of four grooms or valets; and 116s. for small expenses. About the end of March, 1377, he received the cloth for winter and summer habits of himself and companion, their bedding, table-napery, etc., and the robes of their four valets. But Edward III. died, and his charge ceased, June 21st. He had then absolutely received, June 6th, only £10 of his pension, though a loan of £33 6s. 8d. had been advanced, January 16th; so that there were due to him £23 3s., 110s. 6d., and 69s. 0¾d. On October 14th, he was paid £19 15s. 3d. for pension after his office ceased, by order of the royal council, and gave up the patent of his grant. He had £20, July 20th, 1383, which he had a right to demand for certain services to the late king; but it was not till April 23rd, 1390, that the settlement of £32 2s. 6½d. discharged the balance due to him.

On leaving the royal court, Siward remained in London, being prior of the convent there. In 1378, he was involved in the dispute between Rushook and the master-general. He sat in the great provincial synod of 1382, held at the Blackfriars of London, and May 21st, subscribed the condemnation of the twenty-four conclusions of Wyclif. The chapter of 1383 elected him provincial. On All Saints, the same year, he preached before the king at Eltham, and received the fee of 13s. 4d. The usual £20 for the provincial chapter was advanced to him, March 18th, 1390-1, and was made an absolute payment, April 27th. He was released from his supreme office, April 2nd, 1393, by the master-general, on which occasion he was called *magister Ulricus Secard* in the register of the Order; and, the same day, F. Robert Humbleton was appointed vicar-general of the province. Afterwards, F. Alexander Bache, bishop of St. Asaph, and royal confessor, made him an executor of his will, dated at Clatford, August 13th, 1394, and proved, December 15th following. On the nativity of St. John Baptist (June 24th), 1396, he preached in the chapel within the manor of Havering, before Richard II., and had 40s. for his pains. John Drax, serjeant-at-arms, who arrested and had in custody F. John Haket and F. John Edmuntton, for some political offence, received a mandate of July 29th, 1396, to deliver the prisoners to F. John Depyng and F. William Siward, and the convent of London, there to be kept in safe custody.¹

m. 11. Pat., 9th Rich. II, p. 2, m. 23. Claus., 12th Rich. II, m. 45. Pat., 13th Rich. II, p. 3, m. 27. Exit. Scac., Mich., 14th Rich. II, m. 1, 8. Exit. Scac., Mich., 15th Rich. II, m. 1, 10. Exit. Scac., Mich., 16th Rich. II, m. 1, 10. Eulogium Historiarum. Bullarium. Ord. Præd. Archdeale's Monasticon Hibernicum. Walsingham.

¹ Rot. liberat. pammor. etc., 48th Edw. III.—1st Rich. II. Pat., 50th Edw. III, p. 2, m. 11. Exit. Scac., Pasch., 51st Edw. III, m. 27. Exit. Scac., Mich.,

51st Edw. III, m. 27. Comp. F. Will Syward in Garder. Regis, 1st Rich. II. Exit. Scac., Mich., 2nd Rich. II, m. 10. Cotton. MSS. Cleopatra, E. II. Exit. Scac., Pasch., 6th Rich. II, m. 13. Comp. Custod. Garder. Hosp. Regis, 7th-8th Rich. II. Exit. Scac., Pasch., 13th Rich. II, m. 2. Exit. Scac., Mich., 14th Rich. II, m. 2, 23. Ex Tab. Mag. Gen. Ord. Lib. Contrarot. Garder. Hosp. Regis, 19th 20th Rich. II. Claus., 20th Rich. II, p. 1, m. 27. Bullar. Ord. Præd. Willis's St. Asaph.

F. THOMAS PALMER.

F. Thomas Palmer, S.T.M. preached, on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul (June 29th), 1384, in the church of the Friar-Minors of Southampton, before Richard II., who gave him a fee of 13s. 4d. He received, July 6th, 1387, the £20 from the exchequer for the provincial chapter. On All Saints' day, 1389, he occupied the pulpit in the royal chapel of Eltham, and the king gave him 20s.: so too, at Eltham, on Palm Sunday (March 27th), in the following year, 13s. 4d.: also on Epiphany (January 6th), 1392-3, at Eltham, and on the second Sunday of Lent (February 27th) following, at Shene, on both occasions receiving 20s. from the royal purse: and on Ascension day (May 15th) 1293, his sermon in the royal chapel at East Hampstead was rewarded with 40s.

In 1393, the master-general of the Order appointed Palmer visitator of the two visitations of the province, those of London and *the Marches*, to put down and correct those who gainsayed the graces and privileges granted over the head of the provincial. In the chapter held in the summer of the same year, he was chosen provincial: and the master-general, in confirming his election, November 23rd, committed the convent of Oxford to his special care "de regimine prioris et de incorporatis." His government of his brethren, however, was unhappy, and some charges of severity brought up the question as to whether his election had been canonical. The master-general appointed F. William Bagthorpe, prior of Lynn, November 30th, 1395, to investigate the matter, charging him to enquire into the truth in every possible way consistent with the canonical sanctions and the constitutions and laudable customs of the Order; and he was to forward his report sealed to the prior of Cologne for the master-general.

Whether it was that any of the charges were true, does not appear; but certain it is that Palmer, and every vicar of the province under him, were removed, June 28th, 1396, from office, by the master-general, who at the same time appointed F. William Bagthorpe to be vicar-general of the province, with plenary powers, until another provincial was duly elected and confirmed. On the last day of February following, he was cited to appear before the general chapter, held June 10th, etc., at Frankfurt.

But scarcely was Palmer out of one office than he was into another. On the elevation of F. John Deping, prior of London, in July, 1397, to the see of Waterford and Lismore in Ireland, Palmer was elected prior of that great house. He personally received the payments of the pensions, December 17th, 1399, for the provincial chapter and his convent; and December 15th, 1401, and September 26th, 1402, for his convent. On Palm Sunday (April 8th), 1403, he preached before Henry IV., at Eltham, receiving 40s. from the king. He ceased from his office about the end of 1407, when his name disappears from the records of the living.

Palmer is enumerated amongst the men of learning of his day, and was held in friendship by Richard Clifford, bishop of London. He was a noted opponent of Wyclif, against whom most of his writings were directed. The extinction of the Great Schism also employed his pen. See *Quetif et Echard* for his works.¹

¹ Comp. Custod. Garder. Hosp. Regis 10th Rich. II., m. 12. Lib. de Recept. et 7th-8th Rich. II. Exit. Seac., Pasch., Prestit. in Garder. Hosp. Regis, 13th-14th

F. WILLIAM PIKWORTH.

In the synod of 1382 at the Blackfriars of London, F. William Pikworth was one of the bachelors of divinity of Oxford, who, May 21st, condemned the opinions of Wyclif. Afterwards he proceeded master of theology. In the chapter at Newcastle-on-Tyne, August 15th, 1397, he was chosen provincial, and although he was elected "*à majore et saniori parte electorum*," the master-general, whilst confirming him in the office, October 20th, made an absolute election in his favour, lest there should have been any defect whereby the appointment would devolve on himself. Moreover, he obtained full powers, November 11th, from Boniface IX. to appoint a provincial: and evidently he had to meet some trouble when, November 2nd, in the following year, he made Pikworth vicar-general in the province, with full authority, "*in casu quo per alium quam per Ordinem absolveretur*." But Pikworth remained in power; and when the parliament, in 1402, passed an ordinance, that the four Mendicant Orders should not receive any infant under fourteen years of age, without the assent of the nearest of kin or guardians, he and the other three provincials were summoned into full parliament, there to promise for themselves and their successors to observe the statute. On Easter-day (April 15th) 1403, being still provincial, he preached before Henry IV. at Eltham, and received the royal alms of 40s.¹

F. JOHN LANCASTER.

In 1396, F. John Lancaster was teaching, as a master of theology, in the convent of Cambridge. He is casually mentioned as provincial, in August, 1410, in the episcopal register of Exeter.²

F. JOHN TILLE.

For nearly fifty years, the notices of the provincials become very fragmentary, nor is it certain that the series is complete. F. John Tille and F. Thomas Bird are admitted here only on strong presumption, and not on that positive evidence which is most desirable.

F. John Tille preached at Shene, on Lady-day (March 25th), 1393, before the king, who rewarded him with 26s. 8d. Also on the third Sunday of Lent (March 18th) 1402-3, being then S.T.M., he preached at Eltham before Henry IV., and had 40s. Being attached to the convent of London, he received payments of the pension May 3rd, and July 11th, 1408, and November 15th, 1402, as prior of that house. Henry IV. made him his confessor, and granted him as such, January 4th, 1412-13, a life pension of forty marks out of the ulnage and subsidy of cloth within the city of Winchester, in its suburbs and soke, and elsewhere in Hants: and he attended that monarch on his

Rich. II. Comp. Custod. Garder. Hosp. Regis, 16th-17th Rich. II. Ex. Tab. Mag. Gen. Ord. Exit. Scac., Mich., 1st Hen. IV., m. 8. Exit. Scac., Mich., 3rd Hen. IV., m. 18. Exit. Scac., Pasch., 3rd Hen. IV., m. 26. Comp. Tho. More, custod. Garder. Hosp. Regis, 4th Hen. IV. Leland, Comment. Leland, Collectanea. Quetif et Echard.

¹ Cotton MSS. Cleopatra, E. II. Ex. Tab. Mag. Gen. Ord. Comp. Tho. More, custod. Garder. Hosp. Regis, 4th Hen. IV. Bullar. Ord. Præd. Rot. Parliam., vol. iii, p. 502.

² Ex. Tab. Mag. Gen. Ord. Reg. Edm. Stafford, epis. Exon., vol. i, p. 101.

death-bed. This pension was confirmed, for a fine of four marks, by Henry V, June 26th, 1413; also by Henry VI, December 15th, 1422. The payment appears to have been irregular, for December 9th, 1413, the exchequer disbursed £6 19s. 2d., which the collectors ought to have paid; and the collectors had a mandate, November 24th, 1415, to pay up the arrears.

When William Taylor, a priest, was cited before the archbishop of Canterbury for heresy, his writings were submitted for examination to certain *Sacræ Paginæ Professores* of the four Mendicant Orders. In the chapter-house of St. Paul's, February 20th, 1422-3, Tille, in the name of himself and four brethren, deposed against Taylor, and the other three Orders concurred in the censure, which was repeated, February 25th, in *le Hostrye* of the Blackfriars of London. Taylor suffered, March 1st, under the terrible statute *de heretico comburendo*. Unless Tille was new provincial, the Friar-Preachers were not represented, on this occasion, equally with the other three Orders. In 1428, Ralph Mungyn, chaplain, was detected of heretical pravity before the archbishop's provincial council, in the chapter-house of St. Paul's, and July 28th, Tille was present. Mungyn recanted at St. Paul's Cross.¹

F. JOHN ROKILL.

On the cessation of his predecessor, F. John Rokill was appointed vicar-general by the master-general of the Order, and was elected provincial in the ensuing chapter of the province; and this must have been in, or shortly before, the year 1427, for he was in office, in the usual manner, in 1428. After his removal he abode in the convent of London, and received payments of the pension, April 19th, 1442, December 2nd, 1443, and December 2nd, 1448, on the last occasion being mentioned as prior there.²

F. PHILIP BOYDON.

F. Philip Boydon was clothed and professed at Shrewsbury. He became prior of Kings-Langley; but the master-general, "ex certis causis," removed him from office, and remitted him to his native convent, forbidding him anywise to return to Kings-Langley. At the request of Jane, dowager queen of England, Martin V, August 26th, 1426, sanctioned what had been thus done. Afterwards he was elected provincial, and as such appeared in the convocation of prelates at St. Paul's London, April 28th, 1438, when he and the other Mendicant provincials had to answer Master Philip Norris, dean of Dublin, in that ribald attack on their Orders, which two years later was censured by Eugenius IV.³

¹ Comp. Custod. Garder. Hosp. Regis, 16th-17th Rich. II. Comp. Tho. More, Custod. Gard. Hosp. Regis, 4th Hen. IV. Exit. Scac., Pasch., 9th Henry IV, m. 3, 17. Exit. Scac., Mich., 14th Hen. IV, m. 4. Rot. Pat., 14th Henry IV, m. 9; original grant in the archives of the Corporation of Winchester. Pat., 1st Hen.

V. p. 2, m. 30. Exit. Scac., Mich., 1st Hen. V, m. 8. Claus., 3rd Hen. V, m. 10. Pat., 1st Hen. VI. p. 1, m. 12. Capgrave's Chron. Wilkins.

² Exit. Scac., Pasch., 20th Hen. VI, m. 1: Mich., 22nd Hen. VI, m. 3: Mich., 27th Hen. VI, m. 7. Bullar. Ord. Præd.

³ Wilkins. Bullar. Ord. Præd.

F. THOMAS BIRD.

F. Thomas Bird, or Brid, s.t.d. and prof., laboured much to extinguish the Great Schism. On a false report of the death of Richard Cantwell, bishop of Lismore and Waterford, he was appointed to that see by Eugenius IV. in 1438, but did not receive episcopal consecration. He was sent as ambassador of Henry VI., "pro unitate ecclesie," into Germany, to Frederick, king of the Romans, and into other foreign parts, for which he received forty marks, March 28th, 1442, in full of all the expenses of the journey. For all his trouble as to the schism and his embassy no just reward was assigned him, so that he greatly impoverished himself and his friends. He, therefore, petitioned Henry VI. for recompense; and the king, October 22nd in the same year, granted him a pension of twenty marks, for nine years, out of the customs of the port of Kingston-on-Hull. Afterwards he went on an embassy into France with the earl of Suffolk, and being sent back with letters to the king, received £26 13s. 4d., August 17th, 1444, and also £13 6s. 8d. for joining the earl again. In the same year, he went to the pope for the quiet and unity of the Church; and in connection with the embassy of the marquis of Suffolk, had to carry dispatches to the king, and then to return to the marquis with the royal letters; for the expenses of all which the royal council assigned him forty marks, paid February 17th, 1444-5. After all these labours, he was recompensed, October 29th, 1445, with a pension of forty marks a year out of the port of Southampton. On June 7th, 1448, he received the pension for the provincial chapter; at which time he seems to have held the government of his brethren. Nicholas V. provided him, March 27th, 1450, to the see of St. Asaph; but Thomas Knight was already the bishop elect; and on the head of which Thomas the mitre alighted is a knotty problem in history, though the evidence seems to favour Knight.¹

F. NICHOLAS STREMER.

F. Nicholas Stremer, s.t.m., belonged to the convent of Guildford, where his *obitus* was kept viii Id. Nov. (November 6th). He was provincial of England; but the period of his tenure of office is not ascertained.²

F. WILLIAM EDMUNDSON.

F. William Edmundson, s.t.d., became prior of Cambridge about 1465, and, during that time, held the government of the province. As provincial, he sued, on account of tallies, for the pension to the chapters, in 1472, July 2nd, the late sheriff of Wilts, and November 18th, the late sheriff of Salop, each for 40s., due May 5th, 1469. He ceased from office in 1473.³

¹ Exit. Scac., Mich., 20th Hen. VI, m. 2, 3, 15. Pat., 21st Hen. VI, p. 1, m. 27. Claus., 24th Hen. VI, m. 23. Exit. Scac., Mich., 22nd Hen. VI, m. 5; Pasch., m. 3. Exit. Scac., Mich., 23rd Hen. VI, m. 10. Pat., 24th Hen. VI, p. 1, m. 15, 35. Exit. Scac., Pasch., 26th Hen. VI, m. 6. Bullar. Ord. Præd. Ware, de Præs. Hib. Brady, Episcopal Succession.

² Tanner's MSS., fol. 179; in Bibl. Bodl.

³ Exit. Scac., Pasch., 6th Edw. IV, m. 2. Exit. Scac., Pasch., 7th Edw. IV, m. 3. Placita coram Baron. de Scac., 9th Edw. IV, m. 26; Trin., m. 40; Pasch., 12th Edw. IV, m. 5 d, 17; Trin., m. 29; Mich. m. 57. Harl. MSS. cod. 2176, fol. 27.

F. JOHN PAIN.

F. John Pain, or Payne, an Englishman, studied at the convent of Oxford, and became s.t.d. and professor there. He was elected provincial in 1473. In the registers of the master-general, he is mentioned as such, January 14th, 1473-4, November 11th, 1475, May 21st, 1476, and May 17th, 1478. He received the pensions, October 23rd, 1477, for the chapter, and November 11th following for the convent of Oxford. The territorial jurisdiction of the provincials was lessened when the general chapter at Rome, June 10th, &c., 1481, raised Scotland into an independent province. On the recommendation of Edward IV, pope Sixtus V. provided him, March 17th 1482-3, to the see of Meath, in Ireland. He had had the custody of the temporalities committed to him, February 15th; and June 8th, on which day the bull of provision was received by the royal council, Edward V, styling him "oure trusty and welbeloved clerk and chaplayn," ordered that he should be put into real possession, and that a mandate should be sent to the chancellor of Ireland for the same purpose. Richard III, on payment of a fine of 6s. 8d., confirmed Edward IV's grant of the custody, July 16th following; and on the feast of St. Dominic (then kept August 5th) the bishop was enthroned by his clergy in the church of St. Patrick at Trim.

This bishop supported the regal pretensions of Lambert Simnel, and crowned him, May 24th, 1487, at Dublin, when he preached in favour of that extraordinary adventurer; but soon made his peace with the king, and received a royal pardon. He was made master of the rolls in Ireland. Dying May 6th, 1506, he was buried in the Dominican convent of St. Saviour at Dublin. In the cathedral of St. Patrick he had placed a marble tombstone inlaid with brass, near the west door, bearing his epitaph in limping rhyme; but it has long disappeared.¹

F. WILLIAM RICHFORD.

F. William Richford, professor of the sacred science, belonged to the priory of Guildford. Being elected provincial in 1483, he was at the general chapters, October 10th, &c., 1484, at Rome; June 29th, &c., 1486, and June 3rd, &c., 1487, both at Venice; in all which chapters masters of the Order were elected; and in that of 1484 Ireland was unanimously erected into a separate province. He was adjudged to death in Sir William Stanley's conspiracy, January 30th, 1494-5, at the Guildhall, London; but though his life was spared, he did not survive long. In the obituary of his convent he is noted as one "*qui moribus ac sanâ doctrinâ totum ordinem decoravit*;" his *obitus* was kept iv non. Maii.²

F. WILLIAM BEETH.

F. William Beeth was educated from his youth amongst the Dominicans of Oxford; and his great knowledge, particularly in theology, gained him renown amongst learned men, especially those

¹ Ex Tab. Mag. Gen. Ord. Exit Scac. Mich., 18th Edw. IV, m. 2, 3. Pat., 1st Rich. III, p. 1, m. 8 (18). Docket Book of Royal Grants; Harl. MSS. cod. 433, fol. 229b. Ware, de Praes. Hib. Wood,

Athen. Oxon. Bullar. Ord. Præd. De Burgo, Hib. Dom.

² Tanner's MSS. fol. 179; in Bibl. Bodl. Ex Tab. Mag. Gen. Ord. Hall's Union.

of his Order. Being also a person of great discretion, he was elected provincial in 1495, and discharged the office till 1505, at which time it is probable that he died. He wrote some works, which Antony à Wood enumerates.

F. ROBERT FELMINGHAM.

F. Robert Felmingham was chosen provincial in 1505, and the master-general confirmed his election November 11th. The time of his death does not appear.²

F. ROBERT MILES.

F. Robert Miles, s.t. prof., was, at the same time, provincial and the prior of King's-Langley. Being superior of the priory of Dartford in both these capacities, he concurred with the prioress of Dartford in a presentation, November 26th, 1522, to the church of Elmsden in Kent. In the archives of the English Dominican province is still preserved a *Collectarium*, in small folio of 134 pages, written in black-letter on vellum, and at the bottom of the first page after the calendar is: *Orate p' a'l'a Venerabilis p'ris fl'ris Rob'ti Myles sacre theologie m'ri ac q'nda' p'vinctialis anglie q' hu'c libru' fieri fecit A° x'i M cccc xviij.* He occurs in the register of the master-general, June 26th, July 6th, 1525, and June 30th, 1526; and died about the spring of 1527.³

F. JOHN HODGKIN.

F. John Hodgkin studied at Cambridge, where he took the degrees of s.t. mag. in the Order, and d.d. in the University. He belonged to the convent of Sudbury, where he taught theology. Being chosen provincial in 1527, he was confirmed in the office, May 22nd, by the master-general. In the same year, he was one of those friars who conferred with Thomas Bilney, at Norwich, and led him to recant. The prior and convent of Sudbury, February 18th, 1529-30, granted him the use of a house with gardens and stables for life; and he was to pay 5s. a year as long as he discharged the office of provincial.

On the establishment of the royal supremacy, in 1534, nearly two-thirds of the Friar-Preachers withdrew into Ireland, Scotland, and Flanders. Those who were left behind were deprived of their ordinary head, and the king appointed the provincial of the Augustinian Friars to be master-general of all the Mendicant Orders, and F. John Hilsey to be provincial of the Black Friars. Hodgkin passively submitted to the loss of his authority.⁴

F. JOHN HILSEY.

F. John Hilsey, Hilsley, or Hildesley, belonged to the family of that name at Benham in Berkshire, originally of the Hildesleys of

¹ Ex Tab. Mag. Gen. Ord. Wood, Athen. Oxon. Quetif et Echard.

² Ex Tab. Mag. Gen. Ord. Kirkpatrick's Norwich.

³ Kennett's MSS.; Lam-downe MSS.,

cod. 917, fol. 74b. Ex Tab. Mag. Gen. Ord.

⁴ Ex Tab. Mag. Gen. Ord. Miscellaneous Books of the Court of Augmentation, vol. c, fol. 96 b. Cooper's Athen. Cantab.

Hildesley, in the same county. He joined the Black Friars at Bristol, and was sent thence to Oxford, where, in May, 1527, he supplicated to be admitted to the reading of the Sentences, and, in November, 1532, being s.r. bac., he was admitted, on supplication, to the degree of doctor of divinity, but did not stand in the act following. Whilst prior of Bristol, in 1532 or 1533, he preached hotly against Hugh Latimer, and wrote to the chancellor, May 2nd, complaining of his sermons, and of the divisions they were causing in that town. When the royal supremacy was fully established, in 1534, he devoted all his energies to carrying out the king's will, inasmuch that the king constituted him provincial of the Friar Preachers, in order to bring them into subjection. A commission was issued, April 13th, to F. George Brown, provincial of the Augustinian Friars and to Hilsey, to visit and reform the five Orders of Friars (Crutched Friars being included), to reduce them to the supremacy. The two commissioners immediately began their visitations; and on the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th, the convents of all the five Orders in London made their free and unanimous submission. At Bristol, June 9th, Hilsey found two observantine friars, who were preaching against the supremacy; and pursuing them through Somersetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall, all the time executing his commission, he came upon them at Cardiff, July 2nd, where the bailiff had just arrested them, and was carrying them prisoners towards London. From Exeter, June 21st, he wrote to Cromwell: "I haue nott fownde onny rellygyus p'sons in my vysytacons that hathe vtterly denyede and refusyde the othe to be obedyente, trew, and agreable vn to the kyng's hyghe pleasure and wyll. Yett I haue fownde some that hathe sworne wythe an euyll wyll, and slenderly hathe takyn an othe to be obedyent; off whome I schall more openly declare and schewe vn to yowe att my nexte comyng vn to yowre honorable mayst'shypp, by God's g'ace."

As master-general of all the Mendicants, the provincial of the Augustinians appointed F. William Oliver to be prior of the Black Friars of Cambridge. This prior being a supporter of the supremacy of the pope, was soon denounced by Cranmer in a letter to Cromwell, June 7th, 1534, as only a man of very small learning, sinister behaviour, ill qualities, and of suspected conversation of living. The recommendation that Hilsey should be put in his place was superseded by the appointment of F. Gregory Dodd, a staunch supporter of the royal cause; whilst Hilsey was made master-general of his own Order and prior of London. He found no peace. F. Robert Stroddel surrendered the priorship of London very reluctantly, and stirred up many friends "to come to hytt ageyn." "And as for y^e offyce of y^e m^r gen'all of ouer rellygyon, y^e whyche yo^r mastershypppe appoyntyd to me," Hilsey wrote to Cromwell, October 16th, "master p'vynceyall off y^e austen freers dothe take hytt apon hyme: & wher y^t we, by y^e cownceill off ouer hole gen'all chaptre hathe made certeyn assygnacons, he hathe changyd and broken them agen, wythowt ony cause or reason whye, sayyinge y^t he ys ouer m^r gen'all, and y^t we shall doe nothyng but vndre hym. Nowe, ryght hon'able master, here ys owr greffe; doe yoⁿ as yowe shall thynke best yn hytt. I am att yo^r com'awndme't, & shalbe ever by God's grace." He was continued, and soon the still greater influence of a bishopric was given him.

Hilsey was consecrated to the see of Rochester, September 18th,

1535, at Winchester, by the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of Winchester and Sarum. The temporalities were restored October 4th. He retained the priorship of London *in commendam*, so that he now styled himself, "Bysshopp of Rochester, master-gen'al & p'uinciall of thordre of Freres p'chours in England, & prior off the howse of the same order in the cytie of London next Ludgate." He took up his abode in this house, and as he could not dwell quietly with F. Robert Stroddel, dispatched him to Dartford as president of the priory there, to the great discomfort of the aged prioress, S. Elizabeth Cresner, who wrote twice to Cromwell, but without avail, remonstrating against the unjust and unkind treatment from the bishop in the matter.

After a time the bishop yielded up the office of provincial. He concurred in the consecration of several of the new prelates: in 1536, Brown, Mauning, and Salisbury (March 19th), More (October 22nd); in 1537, Holgate (March 25th), Thomas and Bird (June 24th), Aldrich (August 19th), Morley (November 4th), Ingworth and Hodgkin (December 9th); and in 1538, Holbeach (March 24th), and Finch (April 7th); the ceremony for More, Holgate and Finch being in the Lady Chapel of the Blackfriars, London. On August 30th, 1538, he sent to Cromwell, Dodd, prior of Cambridge, who was desirous to suppress the image of our Lady there. On November 12th following he and fifteen friars surrendered the convent of London, but he continued to reside there. His opposition to the bill of the Six Articles was his last act; and he closed his life between January 1st and March 24th, 1538-9. His works are given in Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*, and Cooper's *Athen. Cantab.*¹

F. JOHN HODGKIN. (*Restored*).

After he was displaced from the provincialship, Hodgkin kept aloof from the royal court, and was looked on with distrust; but indigence and neglect pressed heavily, and through friends he soon sought favour. He wrote to Cromwell, begging his honourable goodness to remember his orator "oon Doctoor Hogekeyn, wiche of late was Provinciaall of the order of Blacke fryers," as he was at Sudbury in much poverty, without comfort and succour of any friend; saying that as yet he had heard nothing from him; and praying his "most habundaunt goodnesse and gentyll herte" to look with pity on him, and not let him thus decay. And he ended by averring all readiness to do such service and pleasure as was commanded him, in the most lowly manner.

Soon after this he was restored to the office of provincial, about the latter part of 1536. The prior and convent of Sudbury, considering the help and comfort that they had by the presence of "Mast' Doctor

¹ Cotton MSS. Cleopatra, E. IV, No. 199. Pat., 25th Hen. VIII, p. 2, m. 32 (6). Claus., 25th Hen. VIII, m. 9 (31). Miscellaneous Books of the Court of Augm., vol. xcv, fol. 26; vol. cxciv, fol. 123; vol. ccxvi, vol. 52. Pat., 27th Hen. VIII, p. 1, m. 8 (39). Miscellaneous Letters, temp. Hen. VIII, second series,

vol. viii, Nos. 43, 45; vol. xviii, Nos. 81, 83, 84; vol. xxxv, Nos. 108, 118, 119. Addit. MSS., cod. 6085, fol. 309, 311, 312, 314. Surrenders, London, Blackfriars, No. 132. Ministers' Accounts, 31st-32nd Hen. VIII, No. 112. Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* Cooper's *Athen. Cantab.* Cox's *Crammer*. Stubbs' *Reg. Sac. Angl.*

Hogekyn, p'viniiall," amongst them, renewed his lease, May 2nd, 1537, of his lodging, at the yearly rent of 13s. 4d. Through the whole of rogation-week (May 6th-12th) following he was preaching at Shrewsbury, and the corporation rewarded him with 10s.

Being appointed one of the suffragan bishops, December 3rd, 1537, by the king, he was consecrated on the 9th, under title of Bedford, at St. Paul's, by the bishops of London, Rochester, and St. Asaph. From Sudbury he again wrote to Cromwell, complaining that, for five years, he had continued in much poverty and misery, solicited his grace and comfort, and expressed readiness "w^t the best of hys powre, aft' hys wit and konnynge," to do as hearty and true service as he could. The convent of Sudbury was suppressed about the end of October, and the bishop had his leases registered, November 4th, in the court of augmentations, so as to secure his dwelling there, for which he continued the rent of 12s. 4d.

Cromwell seems to have done nothing more for him; but after that statesman's death he received the vicarage of Walden, Essex, February 12th, 1540-1, but resigned in 1544, being instituted, July 3d, to the rectory of Laindon, with the chapel of Basildon, in the same county. He had the prebend of Harleston in St. Paul's, London, November 26th, 1548. He took part in the consecration of several bishops: in 1540, Thirlby (December 19th); in 1541, Knight (May 29th); in 1542, Bush (June 25th); in 1545-6, Man (February 14th); in 1547, Ridley (September 25th); in 1551, Coverdale and Scory (August 30th). He took a wife, and lived through Edward VI's reign. When Mary came to the throne, he was deprived of his preferments in 1554, but repudiating his wife and expressing penitence, received a dispensation from cardinal Pole, March 27th, 1555, for his marriage and consecration by schismatical bishops; and being thereby restored to his sacerdotal functions, was admitted, April 2nd, to the rectory of St. Peter's, Cornhill, London. On the accession of Elizabeth he conformed again, and regained his prebend, but lost St. Peter's, wherein the former incumbent was reinstated. He appears in 1559 at the consecrations of Parker (December 17th), Grindal, Cox, Meyrick, and Sandys (December 21st); and Bullingham, Jewell, Young, and Davies (January 21st following); and died about June, 1560.¹

All the houses of the Dominicans in England were dissolved between July, 1538, and April following, and with them the office of provincial ceased. The master-general of the Order, finding the English province totally disorganized, gave the title of *provincial of England*, by papal authority, to one of the companions who formed his council, appointing F. Angelo Bettini, a Florentine, October 19th, 1546, to the honorary dignity. The few Dominicans in England under the two later Tudors and the Stuarts, were governed by vicars-general. And so it went on till the year 1685, when the titulars ceased, and provincials superseded the vicars; and since 1730 the canonical elections have been resumed.

¹ Miscellaneous Letters, temp. Hen. VIII, second series, vol. xvii, Nos 72, 73. Miscellaneous Books of the Court of Augm., vol. c, fol. 95 b. Pat., 29th Hen.

VIII, p. 5, m. 32 (14). Addit. MSS., cod. 6085, p. 311. Cooper's Athen. Cantab. Estcourt's Anglican Ordinations. Stubbs.

Original Documents

Contributed by JOSEPH BAIN, F.S.A. Scot.

GRANT BY INGELRAM LORD OF COUCY TO THE KING, OF THE
REVERSION OF THE LANDS OF JOHANNA WHO WAS WIFE OF
JOHN DE COUPELAND DECEASED.

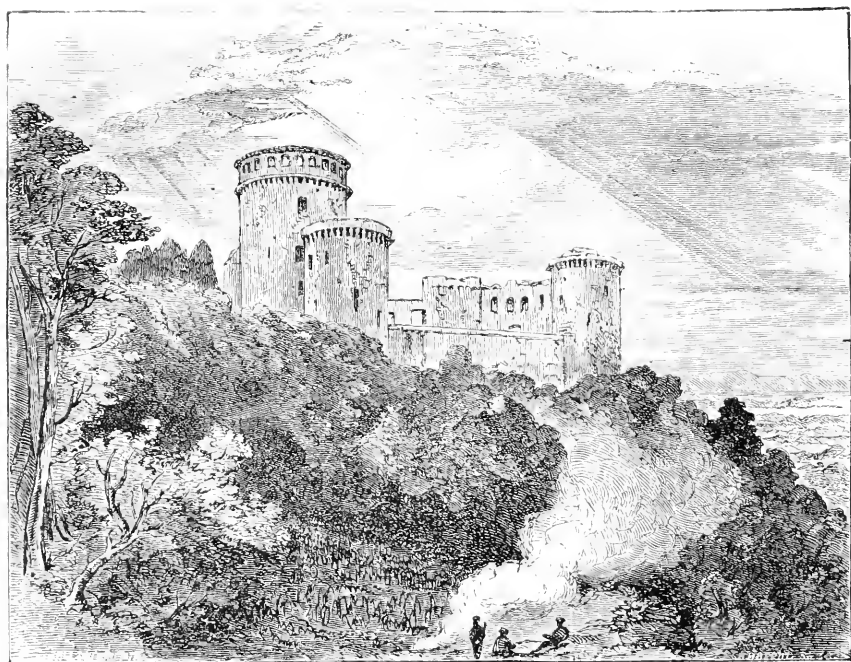
26th Nov., 41st Edward III. (1367).

“Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Ingelramus Dominus de Coucy et Comes Bedefordie ex certis et evidentibus causis concessi pro me et heredibus meis quod omnia maneria terre et tenementa que nobilis domina Johanna que fuit uxor Johannis de Coupeland tenet ad terminum vite sue et que post decessum ipsius Johanne ad me et heredes meos reuerti deberent post mortem ipsius Johanne Excellentissimo principi et domino meo domino Edwardo Regi Anglie Illustri et heredibus suis remaneant habenda et tenenda sibi et heredibus suis una cum feodis militum aduocacionibus ecclesiarum hospitalium domorum Religiosarum vicariorum et capellarum parcis forestis chaceis boscis warennis piscariis moris marisiis turbariis pratis pascuis pasturis sermiciis tenencium tam liberorum quam natiuorum libertatibus regalitatibus escaetis wardis maritagiiis releuiis commoditatibus profitiis et omnibus aliis ad predicta maneria terras et tenementa qualitercumque spectantibus siue pertinentibus imperpetuum Et ego predictus Ingelramus et heredes mei omnia predicta maneria terras et tenementa cum pertinentibus suis predictis quibuscumque prefato domino meo Regi et heredibus suis Warantizabimus et contra omnes gentes defendemus imperpetuum In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti carte sigillum meum apposui Hiis testibus Venerabilibus patribus W[illelmo] (de Edyndon) Wyntoniensi Cancellario | S[imone] (Langham) Eliensi Thesaurario Anglie | Episcopis | Leonello Clarencie Johanne Lancastrie Ducibus | Edmundo Cantebrigie Ricardo Arundellie Comitibus | Edwardo le Despenser domino de Glamorgan Bartholomeo de Burgherssh et Johanne atte Lee Senescallo hospicii ipsius domini Regis et aliis Data Londonio vicesimo sexto die Nouembris Anno Regni Domini mei Regis Edwardi supradicti quadragesimo primo.”

(Indorsed.)

“Irrotulata in dorso claus' cancellarie Regis. Et tricesimo mense Nouembris anno regni sui quadragesimo primo.”

The seal, in red wax, is attached to the tag, and exhibits the three bars vairée of the De Coucys, above which is a helmet affrontée, with mantlings, from which springs the crest, a panache, or plume of feathers. The legend is imperfect: “Domini de Couci” is all that can be read.



Chateau Chigny.

There is nothing to shew in what shire the lands lay. The document is contributed, as its granter bore the dignity of Earl of Bedford, in close neighbourhood to Northampton. His own family name recalls the days when the Turk was the terror of Christendom.

Ingeham (or Enguerrand), the seventh Sieur de Couci of that Christian name, was the last male of his illustrious house, which was accustomed to ally with princes.

Their proud motto—

“Roi ne suis,
Prince ni Comte aussi,
Je suis le Sire de Couci”—

shewed a spirit above titles. Enguerrand VII was one of the hostages in England for the ransom of King John. While there he married Isabella, daughter of Edward III, who created him Earl of Bedford and Count of Soissons. After his father-in-law's death, he allowed the Princess to return to England, and also is said to have returned his Order of the Garter to Richard II, preferring to retain his allegiance to the French king, while renouncing that of England. In the autumn of 1375 he led an army of 40,000 men into the Aargau to vindicate the right of his mother, a daughter of the House of Austria, to her dowry lands in the cantons of Berne and Luzerne. Though the force was composed of soldiers of fortune from nearly all the countries of Europe, the Swiss called them Engländer, and the traditions of the country still point to the “English barrow” of Buttisholz near Luzerne as a memorial of De Couci's defeat.

Those who have read *Anne of Geierstein* cannot fail to remember how Sir Walter Scott makes use of the tradition. De Couci left two daughters by the Princess, the younger of whom married Robert de Vere Duke of Ireland, the favourite of Richard II.¹ He had another daughter by a second wife, who married her cousin Philip of Burgundy, Comte de Nevers. The last Lord of Couci was one of the leaders of the Christian army, which was so signally defeated by the Sultan Bajazet at the battle of Nicopolis in 1394, when he was made a prisoner. He died in captivity at Brusa in Bithynia on 18th February 1396-7, the last male of his family. Robert de Bar, son of his eldest daughter Marie, was compelled in 1400 to sell the great domain of Coucy to Louis first Duke of Orleans for 400,000 livres. It remained with the royal family of France up to the great Revolution. The brother of Louis XIV was Lord of Coucy, and its last seigneur was “Egalité” Orleans. The colossal keep of “Couci le Chateau,” which, irrespective of the high ground whereon it stands, towers above the plains of the Aisne to the height of 200 feet, measured from moat to water table, has been described by M. de Caumont, and more recently by M. Viollet-le Duc in an interesting monograph (Paris, 1857, 8°). The great architect, who has done so

¹ Robert de Vere died in exile at Louvain in the Low Country, from the effects of a wound received at a hunting party in that neighbourhood. His friends, Sir John of Lancaster and others, wished to bury him in the Church of the Augustins there, which was resisted by the Dean and Chapter of St. Peter's Church, who claimed his body as their parishioner.

This curious dispute was settled in favour of the parish church by John of Bavaria, Bishop Elect of Liège on 5th July 1394, under a Papal Brief of Boniface IX, directed to the Bishop, and the Provosts of St. George of Cologne, and St. John of Utrecht, on the 24th February previous.—(*Annales de l'Académie d'Archéologie de Belgique*, vol. vii, p. 95).

much to perpetuate the glories of feudal France, says, that of all those known to him, this donjon is the largest, most complete, and strongest. It appears to have been built about 1220 by Enguerrand (third of the name) Lord of Coucy. On its second storey is situated the great hall, surrounded by a gallery. In this hall 1,200 to 1,500 men could be assembled to receive general orders. "Nothing," says M. Viollet-le Duc, with enthusiasm, "in the monuments of Roman antiquity or in our own time is so grand as this beautiful structure, or so impressed with the stamp of power. Everything of general use seems to have been intended for a race larger than man. The benches are two feet high; the steps twelve to fifteen inches; the window sills three feet and a half, and doorways in proportion." Its founder, the third Enguerrand, was one of the grandest figures of the feudal age. Fifty knights with their followers formed his body guard of 500 men, independently of the vassals who owed him suit and service. Even Philip Augustus of France is said to have replied to the Chapter of Rheims when they implored protection from him, that he would *pray* the Sire de Coucy to leave them unmolested, but could do no more.

From the terms of the charter it may be gathered that Johanna de Coupeland was not dead. The word "tenet" would imply that she was in possession at its date. The grant indeed also possibly warrants the supposition that the Lord of Coucy was in the year 1367 meditating the return to his continental allegiance, and resignation of that to his father-in-law, which took place ten years later.

It does not appear whether John de Coupeland was the same person as the Northumbrian squire who captured David King of Scots at Neville's Cross in 1346. The Northumbrian, as may be seen from entries in the *Fœdera*, was made a knight banneret, and handsomely rewarded with lands by the King. The John de Coupeland of the present charter is not styled a knight. The surname is however a north country one, and this omission of the style may have been accidental.

The original is rendered without contractions. It is preserved among the Exchequer Miscellanea in the Public Record Office, London.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

February 1, 1878,

G. T. CLARK, Esq., in the Chair.

The Chairman alluded to the great loss the Institute had sustained by the death of Mr. J. Hewitt. The decease of Senhor Soromenho was mentioned, and the members were congratulated on the convalescence of Mr. Parker, and his resumption of his Roman lectures. Mr. W. M. Flinders Petrie then read the following "Notes on Ancient Roads."

Though the Roman roads have been so much discussed, and their positions so often debated, yet the subject of ways in general—what may be called the natural history of roads—seems to have been but little considered; and it is in hopes of calling some attention to it, and giving some nucleus for the varied information that may be collected on it, that these notes have been put together; premising that as no one has yet laid down the axioms and definitions of the subject, it may be allowable to mention some things, which, though obvious when stated, yet require to be noticed.

When we leave the main lines of Roman road, we lose all regular literary knowledge of the subject, and therefore need a consideration both of the analogies of the Roman roads, and also of the effects of the various causes of decay in roads; it is therefore desirable to deduce what we can from the main Roman roads, as a help in the examination of the lesser and unrecorded roads, and of those belonging to unhistoric ages. The ultimate object is to find the dates at which the various roads were made, the state of the country at those times, and the ages of various ancient remains that may be determined by these means. To use roads, in short, in the same way as any other instruments of enquiry, such as languages or architecture, that must be studied in themselves before they can be applied to other subjects.

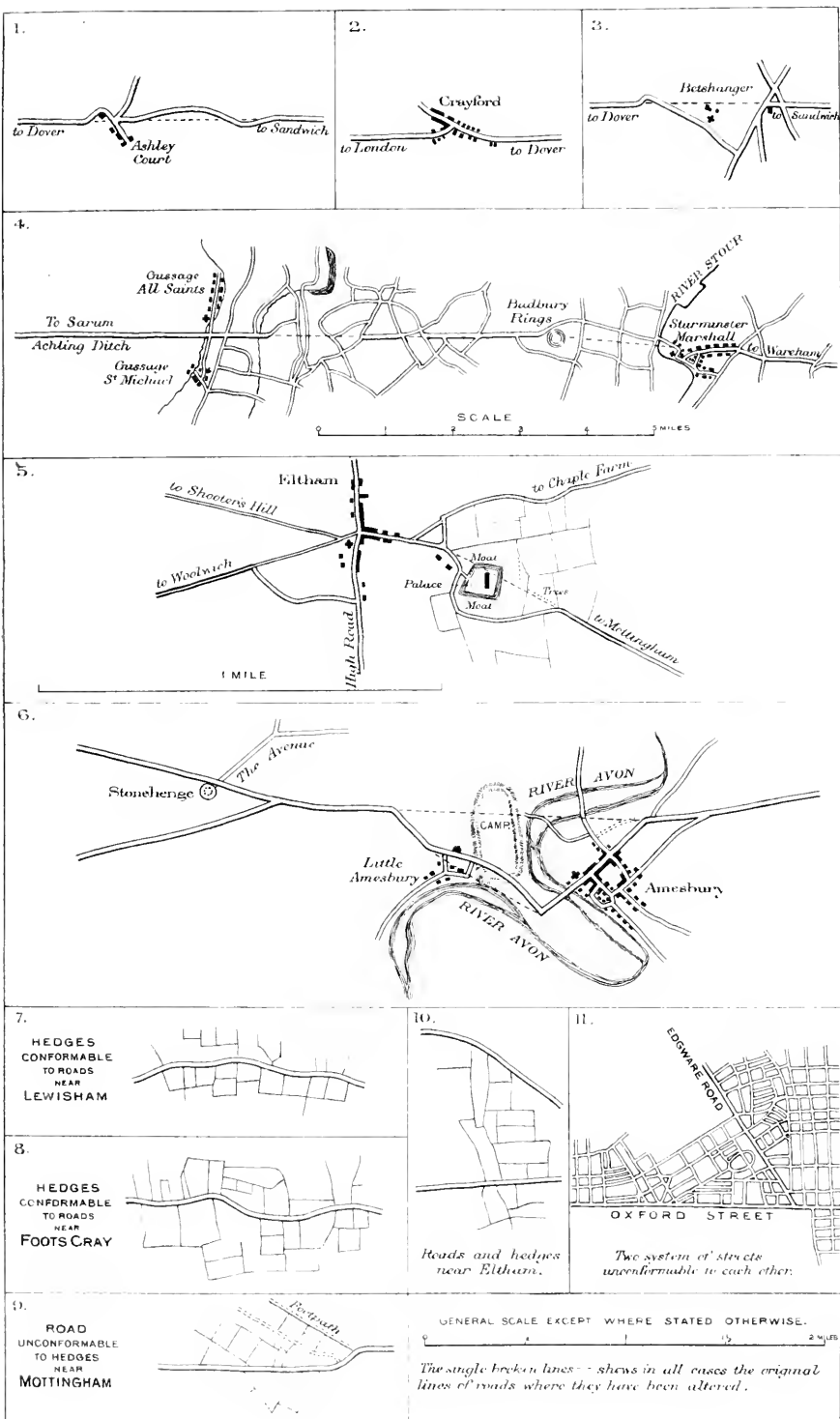
Roads following natural features of the country, the water-sheds or the streams, are not of such historical value as those which run *cross-country*; since the former will always be used more or less from their natural convenience, whereas the latter depend on the artificial circumstances of trade and settlements. The very rabbits will make neat tracks along ditches or ridges on the ground, just as man will make roads in valleys or on hills, and they use contour roads as well as modern engineers. In such things we may expect man in all ages to follow the mere animal instincts of least fatigue, which Professor Houghton has considered so fully.

It is therefore in the straight-running cross-country roads that we find the principal materials for discussion. In the first place we may notice that the diversions from the old line are of three sorts:—First, from accidental inconveniences, such as a very muddy place, or encroachments

on the road by some roadside occupier, or alterations by a town being built on it; as, for instance, in the Roman road from Dover to Sandwich (fig. 1), and London to Dover (fig. 2), these are but slight twists. Secondly, diversions are due to the avoiding of hills when the military use of them is no longer required, and the deviation to reach places of trade; as is seen in Watling street, from Dartford to Rochester (Pl. II). Thirdly, we find a partial abolition of the road, without any substitute expressly provided, or any apparent natural cause, as in Dover to Sandwich (fig. 3), or Sarum to Badbury and Wareham (fig. 4). The first sort of diversion is of little importance; the second shows that fresh interests have grown up since the road was made, but that its termini, or places along it, are still of importance; the third shows in general that the road belongs to a past order of things, and that it must be of considerable antiquity. These sharp deviations from a comparatively straight line are therefore of much value, as they always mean something; for since a road will never be laid out in such a way, they must be the result of an important but now destroyed intercourse between places. Such observations deduced from the well known Roman roads, will serve as guides in the examination of other ancient ways.

If we can then, from such analogies recover the ancient lines of road, we may hope to fix by their directions the lines of traffic, and by their convergence the sites of ancient towns and centres of trade. In various parts of the country many ancient and disused lines can be traced within a few miles of each other, now partly converted into by-roads, and partly mere field paths or wood cutters' tracks; as, for instance, in Kent, from West Wickham to Crayford, and from Knockholt to Croking Hill and Bexley, these converging on the neighbourhood of the ancient British capital. Other instances of straight lines of road are those from Marden to Bredgar, and from Staplehurst to Detling. In other cases we have what may be British, and what certainly were Roman cross-roads; as from the Roman camp at Keston to Telegraph Hill, Swanscombe; from Keston camp to Ightham camp, past Knockholt; from Telegraph Hill to near Ightham camp (both of these being originally British sites); and the line from the Blackheath camp to Keston camp, on to Ide Hill (which is admirably suited for a camp) and still further into the weald, where it is lost. (For all these see Pl. II.)

The London and Maidstone road seems to be also Roman, judging from the straight line in which it evidently ran from London to the neighbourhood of Maidstone. One deviation of it at Eltham runs around the ground formerly attached to Eltham Palace; and, another road having been diverted for that palace (as we shall see further on), it seems most probable that the line originally ran straight through the palace grounds; it is possible that this bend may be much older than the palace, and was made for the sake of following the old winding road to Bexley, as far as convenient, at some time when the straight road was out of repair or when some landowner wished to absorb it into his domain. About ten miles further on the present high road turns out of the line, apparently to avoid the numerous steep valleys of the chalk, and to gain quicker the smooth ground below it, but a more or less distorted road can be traced from this deviation all across the chalk, exactly in the straight line; this however is lost on reaching the richer ground of the greensand, where it would repay cutting up, and the old line reappears as the high road at Ditton.



The road from Rochester to Maidstone is certainly Roman, and also probably the straight piece from Hunton up to Maidstone.

The sites of ancient ferries over the Thames, and of fords over lesser streams, are also shewn by the roads; when we see such roads as that from Tunbridge to Gravesend, with a continuation in a straight line in Essex, and from Tunbridge to Northfleet, also continued in Essex, we cannot suppose that such straight lines were made up to the river from the country on each side for any purpose but that of crossing. Such places would perhaps repay some spade work, as small articles are likely to be lost on getting into boats, and would be quickly covered up with mud; the road defines the spot within a few yards, so that the field would not be wide.

So far we have only been concerned with the *recognition* of ancient roads, which we see may be largely done by mere inspection of a map, apart from any historical statements; but the information that roads give us as to their own date, and that of other remains, is one of the principal results to be considered. The relative date of roads and buildings is shewn in some cases by their positions, as for instance the road from Mottingham to Shooter's Hill, that passes Eltham palace (fig. 5); here we cannot doubt in the least that the palace has turned the road aside. Whether there was a roadside house, which was afterwards converted into the palace, or whether the road was shifted when building was first begun there, is not so certain; but it is clear that the road has been diverted (especially as a row of trees still shews part of the old line), and that this change was made at or before the time when the moat was dug and the palace built, *i.e.*, in or before the thirteenth century; this road, therefore, in its original state must have existed before the thirteenth century, and since that time has followed its present course. This road also furnishes an interesting example of the intersection of roads, as running from Mottingham to Shooter's Hill, it cuts the road from Chaple Farm to Woolwich, which coincides with it in part at the approach to Eltham palace; the road to the palace being so much more used that it has swallowed its less important neighbour. Both these roads cut the Eltham high road at their junction, but at too great an angle to be affected by it.

Not only may the date of the road be determined by the remains with which it is connected, but the dates of remains may be settled by a road which connects them. For instance, the camp on Blackheath has been called Danish, but when we see a straight line of road connecting it with the Roman camp at Keston, and continuing far down into the heart of the country, we may fairly include it in the Roman remains, especially as it lies on the line of Watling street. An important case is the old road which runs in a tolerably straight line across the downs from Heytesbury to Andover; on its reaching the neighbourhood of Amesbury or Ambresbury (fig. 6) it takes a sudden turn, and then regains the old line about a mile further on. This diversion apparently originated thus; the old line of road plainly must have run across the fortified hill known as "Vespasian's Camp" (this name I may say has no local authority, and originated with Stukeley), and it is remarkable that there still are bridges over the Avon just where this road would pass it; next when the hill camp was occupied by a force, and free passage over it was not allowed, then another line was adopted, round the hill and following the stream; afterwards when the camp was disused, a lesser deviation

was adopted through the camp, across the tail of the hill, Amesbury having sprung up meanwhile, so that the old line could not be reoccupied. This deviation must have taken place when the camp was occupied for some considerable time, and when the force was not hostile to the country, as that would have stopped all traffic, even *past* the camp. That the road originally passed through the camp cannot be doubted when we see how directly the portions on each side point to the camp, and how on each side a sharp bend has been made to avoid it. But it might be said that the direct road through the camp was merely abandoned for convenience in favour of the present one, still through the camp but avoiding most of the hill. As against this we may note that the piece of road west of the camp is diverted, so as to run straight to Little Amesbury, and wholly avoid the camp by taking the river bank; and a *second* turn brings it partly back, so as to cut the camp; this shews that the road was wholly ejected from the camp, and then afterwards run through it in the present course, as already stated; especially as the form of the hills could not have originated the present line of road.

We may therefore take it as tolerably settled that this road originally passed over the hill; that afterwards the road was diverted when the hill was occupied by a force which was not hostile to the country during the whole of its stay, and during that time Amesbury grew up; then after the camp was abandoned, the present line over the tail of the hill was adopted. Now Amesbury, or Ambresbury, is certainly of Saxon date if not earlier. The most reasonable derivation of the name is from Aurelius Ambrosius, and Sir Thomas Mallory, whatever he may be worth on such a point, gives it as a town of Arthurian date; in any case the deviation on which it is founded must be early Saxon or pre-Saxon, and a Roman occupation of the camp fits the requirements of the case better than any other; however that may be, we may with good reason settle the date of this straight road itself, before deviation, as being pre-Saxon, without resting on any point which may be doubtful. Now to any one who knows Stonehenge, I need hardly say anything about this road being long posterior to that structure. It cuts across the avenue leading up to Stonehenge, close to the circle itself; it cuts it at an irregular angle; and there is no reason in the conformation of the country why it should not have passed as easily, or even more so, about half-a-mile clear of Stonehenge, without coming near to it, or the grand approach to it. We cannot suppose when that structure was regarded with reverence or admiration (as it assuredly must have been for a long time, by the tribe who erected it) that a road would have been allowed to pass close to it, and to irregularly cut across the laid out approach to it, when another line would have been as good or better. In fact the road ignores Stonehenge, and Stonehenge ignores the road. What can we then conclude, but that Stonehenge was erected many centuries before the road was made, as it certainly would not have been laid out *across* a road; and this road is pre-Saxon; then, as Stonehenge is not Roman, (except in the fancy of Inigo Jones), therefore it must be *pre-Roman*. Such seems to be the chain of argument with which this road supplies us, and this will serve as an illustration of the use of the roads in questions of the date of remains, in addition to the well-known Silbury Hill case, which proved to be ambiguous.

Next we may consider the relative date of the cultivation of the country and the formation of roads. When roads are made across open

down land, or through woods, the subsequent enclosures and clearings are always made rectangularly to the road, simply for the sake of enclosing ground with the least trouble; but when land is already divided, and a road is made to connect two places, the road either winds round the hedges and different properties, or else passes in a nearly straight line irrespective of the hedges. This principle is shewn most clearly in railways, where the necessities are strongest. Thus if we find the roads fairly straight, and the hedge system conformable to them, we may be certain that the roads were first made on open or common land; for instance, the old Kentish high road between Lewisham and Bromley (fig. 7), or between Footsray and Farningham (fig. 8). In these we see that the hedges are all conformable to the line of road, even though it may wind. But where, on the contrary, we find a road unconformable to the hedges, as between Mottingham and Chiselhurst (fig. 9), it is certain that the road was later than the hedges, in fact the country was cultivated before that road was made. In many cases, of course, the question becomes complicated by different and unconformable roads lying near each other; but in these instances the hedgerows are often of value, as shewing which road was the earlier, since one may be clearly before and another after the hedgerow system, as between Eltham and Chiselhurst (fig. 10). Also in the case of the road between Mottingham and Chiselhurst, we see footpaths which agree with the hedges, and are therefore previous to the road. A similar principle is still more clearly shown in the building of streets, where we may see how far the building extended from different lines of thoroughfare before the two systems met, as, for instance, the district between Edgware Road and Oxford Street (fig. 11). As the date of roads may be settled with some certainty by the names of places on them, for instance, Celtic names, showing the road to be pre-Saxon, therefore we may to some extent determine the date of the laying out the present systems of hedgerows in different places.

Thus the principal points to which I would call attention are—

1st, That cross-country roads are among the most important historically, as depending on artificial conditions.

2nd, That deviations in the roads shew their disuse and their antiquity.

3rd, That the ancient unrecorded roads, either British trackways or Roman streets, can be traced across the country, though now disused by reason of the changes in the centres of trade and population.

4th, That these ancient roads shew the old lines of communication.

5th, That the age of the roads may be deduced from their connection with ancient remains of known date; and

6th, That conversely, the age of various remains of unknown date may be deduced from the forms of the roads.

7th, That the state of the land when the roads were made is shewn by the system of hedgerows.

8th, That the relative date of the roads may be shewn by the hedgerows between them; and the absolute date of the roads (and therefore of other remains) is fixed by the names of places along them, as well as by their connections with ancient remains.

In this sketch of the subject, only a few examples on each point have

been given; and the details have been omitted as not necessary to the consideration of the principles involved. It would be premature to go further at present, until the outlines shall have been considered, and accepted or rejected by those whose experience enables them to speak decisively on the subject. If these principles should stand examination, we may perhaps see roads afford some further results of importance in archaeology; especially as the apparatus required is mainly a set of ordnance maps and an eye to the meaning of what is represented on them.

If the history of the roads and country of each district was unravelled bit by bit, by an exhaustive consideration of the meaning and bearing of everything that seems strange or unaccounted for by known circumstances, and by every clue that we have as to the age of remains of roads; then, on reviewing the information thus obtained when marked on maps, many or perhaps most of the remaining gaps in the history and sequence of the conditions of the country and the dwellings of its inhabitants would be pointed out by the necessary and obvious connection of the facts ascertained. Of course all disputed matters, and those which are merely suppositions or have but faint evidence, should be marked accordingly, so as to give some knowledge of the trustworthiness of each part.

What seems to be now required, for the registration of the facts already known, and for purposes of farther research in the ways here suggested, is a series of antiquarian maps; on these should be marked all roads used, all towns and sites of dwelling, all names as far as they are known, the amount of cultivated land, and all sites where remains have been found. To prevent confusion it would be requisite to take a separate map for each epoch: 1st, Pre-Roman (distinguishing palæolithic, neolithic, and bronze remains); 2nd, Pure Roman; 3rd, Romano-British; 4th, Saxon; 5th Norman to Tudor times. In these maps each site should be dated according to the nearest indications that can be obtained, and the character of the remains shewn by recognized symbols, distinguishing destroyed from existant remains; the one inch scale would be sufficient, except in towns. The machinery requisite for the production of such a work might be found in the County Archaeological Societies; who should each prepare a register map of the antiquities of their respective counties, adding to it continuously by farther researches and by discoveries of remains. The information thus locally collected should be incorporated in a series of register maps of the London Societies, and thus form a complete topographical index of the antiquities of England; this might, when sufficiently advanced, be published, by lithograph colour printing over the ordinary ordnance survey maps. Such a work should not be left to the fragmentary efforts of private enterprise, excellent as those labours may be; but it is only suited for the combined work of the large organizations of antiquaries throughout the country, which have been gradually forming as if to search and register the antiquities of the whole land.

The Chairman dwelt at some length upon the interest attaching to the subject, as connected with the topography of the country, and pointed out how the character of the several occupants of the country, British, Roman, and English, was stamped upon the roads constructed by each. The strong character of the Romans was shown by the unyielding, direct nature of their roads, so prominently seen where the fossway crosses

Watling Street at High Cross, from whence the routes run to Lincoln, Bath, London, and Shrewsbury. Later roads were solely made for local convenience, and till within the last century no far-seeing scheme of road making had ever been adopted. When coaches came into common use the condition of the roads was bettered, and some attention paid to the directness of the line. The Chairman concluded by expressing a hope that the subject would be taken up and further worked out.

Mr. R. H. Soden Smith read the following "Notes on a Gold Pectoral Cross of the Sixteenth Century."

"The pectoral cross which I have the honour of exhibiting is of gold, and measures nearly two and a half inches by one and a half. Each limb is terminated or capped by a foliated ornament of good design; at top is a ring for suspension; the lower limb has been finished with a screw to hold the hinged front piece of the crosses in its place. The whole surface—front, back and sides—is covered with emblems and inscriptions grounded with black enamel.

"In front at top are the three nails, the number always shown except in the earliest period, when four were figured. Beneath are the two scourges, with the rod carrying the sponge and the spear placed transversely; at either side a star, and the pincers and hammer outside towards the ends.

"The lower limb of the cross is filled up by a representation of the pillar and the cord by which Christ was bound to it during the scourging, small dots and stars of gold being left in the enamel ground apparently as ornament.

"At the back the upper space is occupied by a circle, in which is the cock, alluding to the warning of St. Peter; in the centre is a larger circle enclosing a wreath, intended to represent the crown of thorns, and within it a heart. At the ends are circles showing the pierced hands; the lower limb is occupied with an emblem, which seems to be the wound in the side; beneath it the pierced feet, and at the very base the three dice. Round the sides runs the following inscription in bold Roman letters, gold on black enamel ground:—

CRUX XPI ERVAT * NOS * A * DOLORE * TRISTI. A.B.

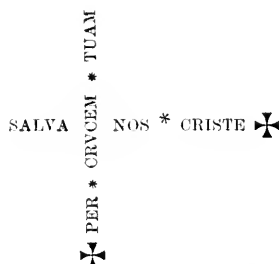
The A.B. may be possibly the initials of the owner.

"On throwing back the hinged front piece it is found bearing on the under side the following inscription in black enamel letters on the gold ground: beneath a small representation of a cross:—

✠ CHRISTVS * PER * CRUCEM * INIMICOS * CRVCIS * DEVICIT.

After which the space is filled up with an elegant foliated scroll ornament.

"Within the cross is a crucifix, the figure of the Saviour skilfully modelled and excellently wrought in gold and enamel, the cross supporting it being grounded in translucent ruby enamel. A gold star-shaped nimbus is over the Christ's head, and above it the label INRI. On the step of the cross is the skull. On the reverse of the crucifix in black enamel letters on the gold ground is the inscription:—



The interior of the cross forming the receptacle for this crucifix is enamelled with translucent green enamel, the gold ground beneath being engraved with a diaper.

“The work of this beautifully finished and elaborate cross is of the sixteenth century, and it is apparently by an English goldsmith. It came from the possession of an old family, but I have a history with it. Its form, as is usual in pectoral crosses in the Latin Church, is that of the *crux innisa*, or upright four-armed cross. The form which began to come into general use from the time of Constantine. He seems to have exerted his authority to proclaim to the Pagans that the death of Christ on the cross was no longer to be deemed a reproach to the Christians, but was a sacrificial mystery in which they gloried. Previous to that time the actual form of cross which was used in crucifixion was perhaps shunned in emblems to avoid offence, and the Greek Tau, or other symbols used instead, sufficiently significant to Christians, but not so repulsive to the prejudices of the heathen world.

“Pectoral crosses were very early worn, the object being to bear on the breast a portion of the wood of the true cross which was usually believed to be enclosed within them. Thus in 811 A.D., the Emperor Nicephorus sent to Pope Leo III, a golden pectoral cross having within it some portions of the true cross “disposed in a cruciform figure.” Again in 863, Rottradius, Bishop of Soissons, declares that he wore the wood of the holy cross at his breast.

“As early as the 6th century, St. Gregory of Tours mentions a golden cross which he drew from his breast containing relics, and with it he miraculously extinguished the flames of a fire.

“The pectoral cross does not however appear to have been a distinctive ornament of bishops in very early times, perhaps not till the fourteenth century. Now, however, it is so regarded, and is an emblem, in the Roman Catholic Church, ‘of jurisdiction ; hence when any bishop enters the diocese of another he wears the cross concealed.’

“A fine pectoral cross of character similar to that now exhibited was lent to the museum at South Kensington in 1862, by Bishop Clifford ; it originally belonged to Adam Beeke, the last abbot of Colchester, who was executed by order of King Henry VIII. It is of gold and is enamelled, bearing on one side the stigmata and the sacred heart, and on the other the instruments of the passion. It also opens, as this does, by a hinge and discloses a finely enamelled crucifix.

“Another important pectoral cross may be mentioned though of a different period and class of work. This is the remarkable and well-known specimen in the collection of Mr. Beresford Hope, which for a con-

siderable time has been and is now exhibited at the museum, South Kensington. It is of gold encrusted with "cloisonné" enamel, and has been completely described and well figured in a valuable paper by Mr. A. W. Franks in vol. viii of the *Journal* of this Institute, p. 58. It is of Constantinople work of the 10th or 11th century.

"Another interesting pectoral cross also encrusted with cloisonné enamel I saw some years ago in possession of Mr. Percy Doyle, C.B., but of this I have no detailed account."

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. W. M. F. PETRIE.—Maps and plans in illustration of his paper.

By Mr. R. H. SODEN SMITH.—A gold pectoral cross of the sixteenth century.

By Mr. A. HARTSHORNE.—"Quarrells" of the latter part of the fourteenth century, with the following notes upon them:—

"When I was travelling in Northern Germany with the late Mr. Petit, in 1860, we arrived at Christmas at the town of *Soest*, the ancient capital of Westphalia. This singularly interesting town, with its high walls, mural towers, gateways, and gates complete, is perhaps one of the most remarkable places in Prussia, and, at the time I speak of, it presented the appearance of a mediæval walled town, almost unaltered by the ravages of restoration.

"It contains several Romanesque and Late Gothic churches, among the former the cathedral, with a large western tower and a wide open porch abutting on to the main street. A spacious vaulted upper room in this tower contained several large and deep plain oak chests, entirely filled with arrows, such as these which I now have the honour to exhibit. There were also stored in the same room several cross-bows, some nearly perfect, others in various stages of dilapidation. Certain of these bows were formed of flat pieces of whalebone, after the fashion of iron carriage springs of the present day, and the whole presented a most genuine and perhaps unique collection of ancient military weapons of this kind.

"I was informed that these 'quarrells,' 'viratons,' or 'shafts,' were made for the defence of the town when it stood a siege in the latter part of the fourteenth century. This statement I have never been able to verify, but I was assured that the information was contained in a printed history of the town of some consideration.

"Although these arrows were not found on the sites of historic battlefields, as Dryden says—

'Then after length of time the labouring swains
Who turn the turfs of those unhappy plains,
Shall rusty piles from the ploughed furrows take,
And over empty helmets pass the rake.'

they have the advantage, which 'rusty piles' never possess, of being complete with their stems and feathers, and I would call particular attention to their excellent condition, which is all that can be desired. It will be observed that the feathered examples have roughly welded heads or piles, apparently not very carefully made, as would of necessity

be the case if a large quantity were required on the emergency of an unexpected or prolonged siege; but, on the other hand, the oaken shafts and linden featherings display much careful accuracy of workmanship, and particularly the latter, with their spiral arrangement for giving the weapon a rotatory motion, causing the arrow to hurtle with more impetuosity through the air. No doubt the feathered examples are 'viratons' or cross-bow bolts, and belonged specially to the whalebone cross-bows before mentioned. These bolts may be compared with one found (or rather the pile of one) in the ancient castle of Oberstein, engraved in vol. xvi, p. 265, of the *Journal* of the British Archaeological Association.

"The unfeathered shaft is probably a 'flight,' or 'roving arrow,' and bears a remarkable resemblance to an arrow pile dug up at the depth of ten feet at the old castle of Trifels in Germany, together with a war axe and a wooden coffin (also engraved in vol. xvi, p. 265 of the *Journal* of the Association).

"All these Soest examples are remarkable from the entire absence of *barbs*, and they differ in this respect from the usual type of English arrow heads, while their resemblance to the German piles before alluded to would almost suggest a special Teutonic type.

"The 'quarrell' proper derives its name ('carriaux,' 'quadrelli') originally from the four sided form of the head. It differs from the 'viraton' in having straight feathers, but both were launched from crossbows equally with barbed arrows.

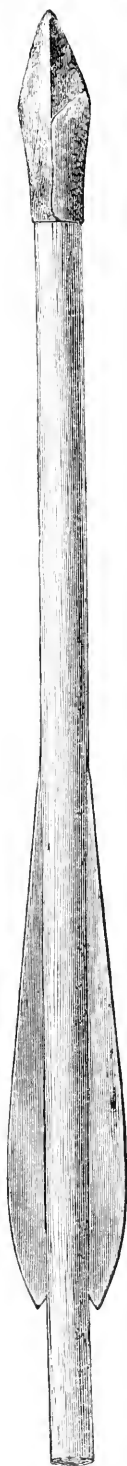
"As regards the practical employment of the Soest viraton, its stab would no doubt be deeper and more deadly than that of an ordinary barbed head, and the weight of a revolving viraton discharged from a whalebone cross-bow could not have failed at least to crush through any fence of mail, or entirely penetrate a jupon of cuir-bouilli. On the other hand common barbed shafts could be quickly shot from a common bow, and did good service in always sticking where they struck a joint, besides harassing both horse and man more than any other weapon of war."

By Mr. J. G. WALLER.—A collection of bronze implements, &c., consisting of ingots, celts, gouges, portions of swords, and a fragment of a *fibula* of the same character as that example engraved in the *Journal*, vol. vii, p. 302. All these objects were found near Saltwood, Kent, on the site of a British camp.

By Mr. E. W. WILMOTT.—An ancient iron key, lately found at Ramsgate.

By the Rev. J. B. DEANE.—An impression of a silver seal, said to have been found on the field of the Battle of Worcester, the "Crowning Mercy" of Cromwell. But the seal bore the arms of Deane impaling Chambers, viz.: Erm. 3 copper plates (ppr.) on a chief (gu.), a chamber (or), a coat granted in 1723, as Mr. S. Tucker (*Rouge Croix*) has ascertained, to Thomas Chambers of London, to his descendants, and to the descendants of his brother William.

By Major-General Sir H. LEFROY.—An impression of a seal with a figure apparently of the Archangel Michael with the legend doubtfully deciphered: I L S V. This had been lately found at Woodham, Hants.



Weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ oz.



Quarrells and Piles from Soest.
Half full size



Weight 2 oz.

March 1, 1878.

Colonel PINNEY, V.P., in the Chair.

The Rev. J. FULLER RUSSELL read "Notes on Elizabethan Communion Plate, in regard especially to the substitution of 'Decent Cups' with 'Covers,' for 'Massing Chalice' and Pattens" (printed at p. 44).

Mr. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE spoke of the gradual change in the shape of the Chalice between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the peculiar propriety of the Chalice to its purpose, which had more to do with the substitution of the Communion Cup for it than any necessity for a larger vessel.

Mr. C. E. KEYSER read the first portion of a paper on "The Mural and Decorative Paintings in Canterbury Cathedral," giving a detailed account of these valuable evidences as they formerly appeared and as they now exist. (This will appear in a future number of the *Journal*).

Mr. J. G. WALLER remarked that the discovery of these paintings in our churches, with an accurate record of them, is interesting as illustrating the religious teaching of our ancestors; and the last thirty years, during which archaeological science has made such great advances, has presented us with a view of that "liber laicorum" of which we hear so much in theological writers of the middle ages, descending from the time of the great controversy which terminated in the eighth century. It is necessary always to remember, when we endeavour to elucidate a subject thus presented to us, that the lives of many saints contain the same incidents; therefore, when a painting is discovered in England, except of such saints whose renown was common to Christendom, we must always turn our attention rather to those of English origin, and sometimes to those whose worship was local only. It is a law which obtains in every country in Europe.

Mr. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE read the following account of a remarkable Shaft and Subterranean Chamber lately discovered in Eltham Park, the seat of T. Jackson, Esq.—

"About a month ago some excavations were made at Eltham Park, the seat of Thomas Jackson, Esq., in order to remedy a considerable leakage in the water supply. On finding the leak, the workmen were ordered to trace the course of the water that escaped. This was found to run into a disused brick drain with a semicircular arch, 21 inches wide by 26 high; and a workman being sent along this drain found that it ended at the top of a deep shaft. The ground above the shaft was then broken up, and the crown of the arching over it appeared at only six inches below the surface. This semicircular arching was then partly removed, but the air below was not sufficiently pure to enable any one to descend for some days.

"The shaft thus disclosed lies about 300 feet from the present house and premises. It is 140 feet deep, and over 4 feet wide besides the lining; it leads down to a chamber cut in the chalk, the average size of which is 30 × 50 feet and 9 feet high, the extreme dimensions being 40 × 63 and 9½ high. This chamber is clearly unfinished, about a 1000 tons of material having been excavated and removed to the surface. The roof is flat, a course of flint being left as a lining; and it is supported by three pillars along the middle of the chamber. The walls are cut into bays, pilasters being left at intervals of about 16 feet for the support of the ceiling. Such is the general form.

"With regard to the workmanship, the shaft is carefully lined

down as far as the chalk, through which it is cut; the remainder of the distance is without lining. The upper 75 feet is lined with bricks laid in mortar, 9 inches thick at the top, and at least 14 inches thick below, as far as could be seen through the put-log holes. Below this 40 feet is lined with chalk blocks varying from about 3 to 8 inches in height, but always of the same thickness in each course. Their inner faces are cut concave to the curve of the shaft, and at some of the put-log holes they are seen to extend 7 inches deep back, with a second set behind, probably making up 14 inches like the lower part of the brickwork. The lowest 22 feet of the shaft is cut through the solid chalk, without any holes or wedges being left.

"The exceptions in the lining are six courses of chalk in the brickwork, and eight courses of brick in the chalk. Five of the six courses of chalk occur together at 47 feet below the surface, and shew that the excavators dug down to the chalk 70 feet below this point without any lining whatever, as no chalk is otherwise at hand. Another course of chalk occurs 10 feet below these. The brick courses in the chalk are solely put in at the put-log holes, these holes occurring *in* the course; though why bricks should be thus placed it is hard to see; if they were either next above or below the holes some reasons might be imagined. The whole lining rests on a foundation plate of wood 4 inches thick, which lies on a chalk ledge; it is nailed together with iron nails, and is now quite decayed.

"The goodness of the work of the shaft is noticeable; it is perpendicular within three inches or so, and its average variation from a straight line is only about an inch; it is the same size the whole way down, the diameter not varying more than half an inch, being 49½ inches at the top and bottom of the bricking, and 49 at the bottom of the chalk lining; it increases to 50 inches in passing through the chalk, at the base it is for convenience sake enlarged to 56 inches. The excavation hole is tolerably true, wherever it can be seen through the put-log holes, and only in one place is it seen to be 9 inches too large.

"The chamber below is entered through a doorway 52 inches wide, or nearly the width of the shaft, which is there widened as already mentioned; the doorway is 76 inches high, and its top is 8 inches below the ceiling; from this door the floor slopes down about 2 feet to the general floor level. The top of the doorway is of irregular form, the curve beginning about 4 feet from the bottom, and the top being nearly flat in the middle.

"The flat roof follows a stratum of flint for the ceiling, and the floor is rather irregular, varying about 2½ feet, the door being at the highest, and the part opposite the door the deepest. The work is evidently unfinished, as all the bays are left in the state in which they would be worked, courses of flint here and there projecting and the chalk not cut away from beneath them, plainly because the flint was more difficult to extract than the chalk. The columns in the middle are rather too weak for the weight, the smaller ones having long vertical cracks along the middle, which is the thinnest part. The scheme of the chamber seems to have been triangular rather than square, the columns and pilasters being opposite the intervals in the next row, though this order is rather interfered with in the middle by the shaft. Such an arrangement would naturally be adopted as supporting the roof best, since it makes the distances between the

columns all equal. Five or six strata of flint are visible in the chamber.

"So far I have described the shaft and chamber as they were originally left. At some subsequent date the drain was constructed by which the shaft was recently found. This drain does not run to the centre of the shaft; it cuts clean through the brickwork of the shaft without any bonding, and the bricks of it are rather thicker than those of the shaft. At the same period an arch vaulting was thrown over the shaft to cover it in, and constructed like the drain, much more roughly than the shaft, the mortar not being at all smoothed on the face. Probably at this time, or earlier, four stout iron eyes were roughly driven into the brickwork of the shaft, three courses below its top, splitting the bricks asunder. Two of these eyes about 10 inches apart are placed on each side of the shaft. This later drain has a vertical opening into it, 2 feet from its mouth in the shaft; this opening is covered with a round hewn slab of sandstone, about 4 inches thick, 20·8 diameter, slightly conical on its upper surface, with flat top $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches across.

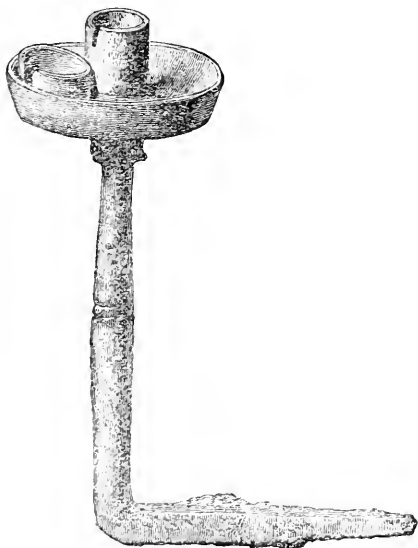
The remains of the sewage led into the shaft by this later drain have covered the floor of the chamber to an average depth of 6 inches; it has lain there long enough to decompose, and having been washed by the great inflow of water recently, it forms a stiff, tenacious, slippery clay, almost inodorous, so that I staid three hours below without any difficulty. From the quantity of deposit, the drain probably ran into the chamber for at least a century, perhaps two or three centuries.

"The chalk has evidently been worked quickly ahead from the bottom of the shaft; for if a long time elapsed before the chamber was excavated the chalk around the the shaft would have hardened by exposure to the air; whereas the pick marks in the chamber shew that the chalk was very soft, and quite different to its present state when worked.

"The pick used was much like a small stout one of modern type, the pointed end about 7 or 8 inches long, 1 inch wide, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ thick, judging from several marks, and the broad end $2\frac{1}{5}$ wide.

"Among the remains found was the candlestick, which was stuck into the chalk in the side of the chamber, a patten iron, a piece of glass like the edge of a blown sheet, bones, most of which had probably been washed into the chamber with the sewage, and some iron nails.

"Within the head of the doorway eleven or twelve of the latter have been driven in, radially from the centre of the doorway, about 8 or 10 inches apart, and nearly up to their



heads. They have evidently been put in during the excavation as the chalk has not split, as it would certainly do if nails were driven in such a position now.

"The bricks of the shaft are mostly headers apparently, and the bricking of the later arching over it is irregular, being all stretchers, but arranged without any *regular* bond. With regard to the bricks, those of the shaft are about 2·5 thick, those of the drain and arching only 2·2, agreeing with those in the bridge arch of Eltham Palace of the fourteenth century. Later bricks in Eltham of 1694 (Philpot's Almshouses) are more like the shaft bricks, being 2·45 thick, and still later bricks in Eltham of the middle of the last century are only 2·4 thick. The other dimensions are even more inconclusive as to date."

Mr. Petrie then noticed the various theories that had been propounded as to the object of this chamber, viz : 1st, that it was for water; 2nd, that it was for chalk; 3rd, that it was for flints; 4th, that it was a safe place for valuables; 5th, that it was for sewage; 6th, that it was a hiding place; 7th, that it was a dungeon. All these theories were severally discussed and set aside as untenable, but a hope was expressed that the date and purpose of this remarkable work might be ascertained from some of the various indications that had been considered.

A general discussion followed, and a cordial vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Jackson for the facilities which he had afforded in the exploration of the shaft and chamber.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. R. H. SODEN-SMITH.—Two silver cups and covers in illustration of Mr. Fuller Russell's paper. One of these, without Hall marks, was described as probably Flemish work made in England about 1510; the other was Hall marked 1591, and bore the characteristic "nurling" ornament round a Tudor rose (on the cover), the cup being decorated with a pattern stamped with a tool in half inch lengths.

By Mr. C. E. KEYSER.—Tracing of a mural painting in Idsworth chapel near Horndean (described in the *Journal*, vol. xxi, p. 184).

With reference to the destruction of paintings in churches in the seventeenth century, Mr. WALLER was disposed to defend some of the iconoclasts of that time. For instance, we know from Dousing's Diary that he "destroyed" more than 1000 pictures in glass. He really only demolished the heads of the figures as superstitious things, and cut out what was obnoxious in monuments. Much of the real mischief was caused by the neglect of the eighteenth century.

By Mr. T. JACKSON.—Various objects of antiquity from the subterranean chamber in Eltham Park.

By Mr. W. M. F. PETRIE.—Plans and sections in illustration of his remarks.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—An English dagger for duels with an escallop guard of steel; the rest for the thumb in the *forte* of the blade of unusual form. Anno 14th Elizabeth.

A small narrow celt of grey flint partially polished, said to have been recently found in the city.

By Captain A. G. HARTSHORNE.—A sword, temp. Charles I, in-

scribed MEFINIO, with basket hilt inlaid with silver. This weapon had apparently been altered into a naval dress sword, temp. George III.

By Mr. A. HARTSHORNE.—A pair of jingled spurs of Peruvian make, with long spiked rowels, which, being locked with the jingles, were driven into the saddle girths, thereby enabling the horseman to cling with more tenacity to the saddle, and perform with greater ease those feats of horsemanship for which the Peruvians are so justly celebrated.

By Mr. F. J. SKILL.—A model in plaster of a disused font in Rotherham church. This was formerly exposed at what was called “the round stone door,” and has suffered much in consequence. It would appear that it was formerly protected by a pent-house, for in the churchwardens’ accounts entries occur such as the following (for which we are indebted to the obliging courtesy of Mr. John Guest):

s. d.

1675—To Thomas Cutt for mossing the pent-house over the round stone, being			
two days as appears by his acquittance	:	:	2 4
To him for moss and slate	:	:	3 10

The font appears to be of the time of Henry I. It is inaccurately engraved in the Abbotsford edition of *Ivanhoe*, at the end of chap. vi. A better representation is given in Hugall’s *Yorkshire Churches*.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

THE ABBEY CHURCH OF ST. ALBAN, HERTFORDSHIRE. Illustrated by
JAMES NEALE, F.S.A., Architect, London. Folio, 60 plates.

This is truly an admirable work, such as could not have been produced ten years ago; full advantage is taken of all the modern appliances of photo-lithography, by which every stroke and touch of the artist is reproduced in fac-simile, without the possibility of errors, such as used to occur very frequently from the engraver's misunderstanding of the drawings. One of the finest and most remarkable buildings in England is thus thoroughly illustrated in all its parts, and with all its beautiful details, by a careful and clever architectural draughtsman, who has given up his time entirely to the work for several years, and his time has certainly not been wasted. Of course only a young man could have done this; no architect in full employ could possibly have given the time to it, but Mr. Neale has had the advantage of the advice and superintendence of Sir Gilbert Scott and Mr. Street, perhaps the two most competent persons to direct such a work. St. Alban's is commonly said to be the longest building in England; Mr. Neale shows that this is not strictly true, as Winchester is 7 ft. longer, but both being more than 500 ft. long, this slight difference is of no importance; the misfortune is that there is no point of view from which the length of the interior can be seen. The great altar screen introduced in the 15th century, about the middle of the building, entirely blocks up the view of all beyond it.

Notwithstanding its enormous size, and its evident adaptation to the purpose, St. Alban's was only made into a Cathedral in 1877. It was originally a great monastic church, belonging to one of the largest monasteries in England, which was refounded in the time of William the Conqueror for 100 Benedictine Monks, on the basis of an earlier Saxon foundation; it was richly endowed with landed estates, but as there were 100 monks to be fed and supported, and the dignitaries must be kept up in proper state, there was no large sum left for building purposes. They had a great idea of their own importance, and were desirous of having the finest Church in England, and so did not stop to count the cost. It must have been evident to them from the beginning that so great a work could not be completed in a single generation, but they went on in faith, that their successors would complete what they left unfinished; and they boldly laid the foundations on this magnificent scale. The work had been commenced by the last Saxon abbot, who had collected a quantity of materials from the ruins of the Roman city of Verulam, about half a mile off. These consisted principally of Roman bricks or tiles, as it is not a stone district. The balluster shafts for the windows had also probably

been collected before the Conquest, as they are not a Norman feature, but in other respects the Normans no doubt modified the plan, and made the building higher than the Saxons would have done. Some people have fancied that there are traces of a stone vault having been intended, but that is exceedingly improbable. Possibly they may have intended to vault the aisles, but certainly not the central space. We have no instance of a stone vault having been erected over so wide a space before the year 1150, either in England or Normandy.

One of the peculiarities of St. Alban's is, that no one plan at any period was ever completed in this building, owing, no doubt, to the scale being too ambitious in proportion to the funds.

Mr. Neale observes as a peculiarity, that he finds no masons' marks in any part of the building. This probably indicates that the monks were their own masons, or employed their own dependants. Masons' marks mean the marks of each individual mason to show the work that he had done, so that the clerk of the works would have no difficulty in seeing what each mason had to be paid for; the Free Masons (that is the masons of freestone) were always paid by piece-work, and not by time. These masons' marks occur as early as the wall of Servius Tullius in Rome; that is some centuries before the Christian era, and they occur at all periods and everywhere.

Although no one plan of this great building was ever carried out, yet at each successive period, the work is generally some of the most beautiful work we have anywhere of that period, perhaps because the monks were their own masons, and so did not spare time or pains though their zeal could not provide them with sufficient means to complete what they had begun. Mr. Neale shows us the construction, and the details of each period, in the most careful and satisfactory manner, and the work is quite a history of architecture in England for four centuries. It is quite *the* architect's book; no architect's library will in future be complete without it. Mr. Neale gives the outline of all that is known of the history of each period, quite sufficiently for the purpose, and although he professes not to give a history of Saint Alban's, he quietly and unostentatiously exposes the blunders of his predecessors by the satisfactory evidence of the stones themselves.

The early work of Abbot Paul partakes so much of the Saxon character as to show that the Norman Conquest made no immediate change in architecture, although this work went on until 1115. We then have an interval of half a century, during which we have no building recorded, or none remaining, of pure Norman work, until the time of Robert de Gorham, 1155-1166, to whom is attributed a fragment of the cloister, with an intersecting arcade of *transitional* Norman character, which does not look so early as the date to which it is assigned, such work would usually be about 1180.

We next come to the very beautiful work of John de Cella, 1195-1214, some of the richest and most beautiful Early English work to be seen anywhere, admirably illustrated by Mr. Neale in four plates. This work corresponds with that of St. Hugh's choir at Lincoln, of the same period. They are not quite the same, and it would be difficult to decide which is the most beautiful. It seems as if our most beautiful national style had started at once into perfection, but this could hardly have been the case; it seems to have been

rapidly developed in the last twenty years of the 12th century, in the southern part of Yorkshire and north of Lincolnshire.

The eastern part of the small Church of Clee, at the mouth of the Humber, dedicated by St. Hugh in 1192, is almost as much advanced as his own choir begun in that year, and some of the Yorkshire abbeys come very near to it. Canterbury is not so much advanced, but then it is some years earlier (1185).

There is no work in France so much advanced in style as this early part of the west front of Saint Alban's for thirty years afterwards. This question was discussed at Lincoln with some of the best French antiquaries, in comparing St. Hugh's work with their own; and what applied to St. Hugh's work applies equally to this very beautiful Early English work at St. Alban's. The French antiquaries will not allow the truth of the dates of the English buildings, of which there is, in fact, no doubt; but they frankly acknowledge that they have nothing in France of this character earlier than 1230. It had been so customary to consider France as always in advance of England in the progress of architecture, that it seemed to them impossible that at this particular period, when the Gothic style was first fully developed, the reverse of the usual opinion was true. Even Professor Willis had thought that St. Hugh's work at Lincoln must have been the work of a Frenchman, and was probably copied from the very light and elegant Church of Notre Dame at Dijon, but it turned out that the date of that church is 1230, so that the Dijon architect might have copied Lincoln or St. Alban's, but the reverse could not have been the case. There is a certain degree of resemblance in the very light and elegant small arcades in the west front of the church at Dijon with similar work at Lincoln; but the beautiful Early English style was certainly developed in England in the time of Richard I, that is, in the last ten years of the twelfth century.

The next great builder at St. Alban's was William de Trumpington (1214-1235), still in beautiful Early English style, but much plainer than that of its predecessor. He seems to have been alarmed at the extreme richness of the work begun, and to have despaired of being able to carry it out in the same rich manner. He seems to have completed the west end and part of the nave on the north side, and to have begun a vault, but could not carry it out. His successor John de Hertford (1235 to 1260) began at the east end, and we have some fine work of his remaining. This eastern work was carried on by Roger de Norton (1260-1290), to whom the anti-chapel belongs. Of this beautiful eastern part Mr. Neale gives us no less than a dozen plates. We have also two beautiful plates of fac-similes of painted glass of this period: a lamb and an eagle, and some very fine ironwork on another plate.

The Lady Chapel was added by John de Berkhamstede 1291-1301, of which we have five plates of the very beautiful Early Decorated style. His successor, Hugh de Eversdon, greatly altered the former design, when part of the south side fell down. We are indebted to him for part of the south side of the nave and part of the cloister, illustrated in seven plates. The beautiful shrine was erected by Richard de Wallingford 1326 to 1335. This was broken to pieces by the Puritans and used as building stone. These fragments were discovered, collected, and put together with wonderful skill by Sir

G. Scott, and we have here an engraving of it just as if it had never been destroyed. The cloister was continued by Michael de Mentmore 1335-40. The beautiful rood-screen of the church was erected by Thomas De la Mare. This brings us to the Perpendicular style of the fifteenth century, when John De Whethamstede 1420 to 1440, inserted many Perpendicular windows, erected the watching loft, and painted the roof of the sanctuary, of all of which we have engravings. The reredos of the high altar was erected by William de Wallingford 1476 to 1484, which is a fine thing in its way, but sadly impedes the view.

We have said that this splendid book is *the* architect's book *par excellence*, and that no architect's library is now complete without it; but just because it is so extremely useful to an architect from the great number of sections and details, measured and drawn with great care and accurately engraved in outline, we should have thought it not likely to suit the amateur student of architectural history. To make a proper use of it requires more knowledge than he generally possesses; we were therefore agreeably surprised to see a list of more than 200 subscribers, a large proportion of whom are nobleman and gentlemen of property, who can only be amateurs and patrons of the work. This looks well for the profession in the next generation; such patrons will no longer tolerate the ignorant blundering to which we have been too long accustomed: well-informed men are likely to find good employment, and young architects must look carefully to their work, or they will find their employers knowing more about their own profession than they do themselves. This also seems to show that the Archaeological Institute has really succeeded in doing the work it has so long aimed at, from its very foundation, when the Marquis of Northampton, Mr. Albert Way and Professor Willis tried to make the nobility and gentry take a real interest in our old abbeys and castles, in other words, in the history of their country and its civilization, written in stone by the inhabitants of each succeeding generation.

J. H. P.

THUNOR THE THUNDERER, carved on a Scandinavian Font of the year 1000. The first yet found Göttingue of our Scandinavian Forefathers. By Professor DR. GEORGE STEPHENS, ESQ., &c. London: WILLIAMS and NISBETH, Copenhagen: LITSE, 1878.

On the demolition of the old Church of Ötrava in West Gottland, Sweden, in 1813, there was discovered an ancient sculptured font, which is now preserved in the National Museum at Stockholm. A short account of this font was published in 1877 by an eminent Swedish antiquary, the Rev. C. J. Ljungström, from explanations of the sculptures given him by Professor Stephens, who, in the work before us, has given a most poetical and interesting description of this ancient work of Christian art, ancient especially for Sweden, for it is coeval with the conversion of that country to Christianity by English missionaries in the eleventh century.

The learned Professor assumes the character of a Christian priest about to receive a child to baptism, and before the administration of the sacrament takes the opportunity of expounding, in very quaint

and eloquent language, the figures carved on the font, the "Laver of Regeneration." The font or "dipping stone," as he calls it, is circular, the circumference being divided into eight panels, in each of which a subject is sculptured, viz. :—

1. *The Fall*. Exhibits a serpent with an apple in his mouth.

2. *The Restoration—Holy baptism*. A priest uplifting a cross in his right hand and holding the book of the Gospels in his left, on which, and extending to the panel, is the text from S. Mark's Gospel, cap. xvi, v. 16.

3. *Confirmation*. The Bishop seated in his chair, his right hand held in the act of "blessing," and in his left a book.

4. *Heavenly Mysteries*. St. John the Divine above the Rainbow, holding the cross in his hand.

5. *Paradise restored*. Here is represented the Garden of Eden having a wattled gate, and within is seen the tree of life, whilst the four rivers are symbolized as flowing from it.

6. The Scandinavian god, "*Thuner*" or "*Thur*," a bearded figure, represented as the symbol of strength and courage, holding in his right hand the mystic hammer and in his left his steer-oar, and surrounded by monsters which he has vanquished; thus encouraging the beholders to fight, with no less daring, against the world, the flesh, and the devil.

7. *The Vine*. The most ancient symbol of our Lord and His Church. So says Professor Stephens, but we are rather inclined to agree with Pastor Brandt, who, as stated in a note, considers that the figure symbolizes the Lord's Supper, the True Vine.

8. *The Crucifixion*, represented in a very conventional manner.

The sculptures on the font are, with great learning, compared by Dr. Stephens with various Runic inscriptions and other objects of antiquity, and his little work, which is beautifully illustrated, may be highly recommended to all who take an interest either in ancient Christian art or Runic literature.

Archaeological Intelligence.

INSCRIPTION FOUND IN THE VIA DELLA PACE, ROME.—We are indebted to Mr. J. H. Parker for the following curious and interesting inscription found this summer in Rome; the notes upon it have been contributed by Mr. John Wordsworth, and are the more valuable as he has made such matters his special study:—

CRESCENS . AGIT	
FACTIONIS . VEN	
NATIONE . MAVRVS	
ANNORVM . XXII	
QVADRIGA . PRIMVM	5
VICIT . L . VIPSTANIO	
MESSALLA . COS . NATALE	
DIVI . NERVAE . MISS . XXIII	
EQVIS HIS . CIRCIO ACCEP	
TORE DELICATO . COLYNO	10
EX MESSALLA IN CLABRI	
ONEM COS . IN NATALI	
DIVI CLAVDI MISS . OST .	
DCLXXXVI . VICIT . XXXXVII	
INTER SING VIC XIX BINAR	15
XXIII . TERN . V . PRAEMISS . I	
OCCVP VII . ERIPVIT . XXXVIII	
SECVND . TVLIT CCXXX . TERT . CXI	
QVAE . SP . RET . HS LXVILVIII	
CCCCXXXVI	20

Crescens agit(ator) | factionis ven(etæ) | natione Maurus | annorum
xxii | quadriga primum | vicit L. Vipstano | Messalla co(n)s(ule)natale |
Divi Nervæ miss(us) xxiii | equis his Circio Accep | tore Delicato
Colyno (*lege* Cotyno ?). | Ex Messalla in Glabri | onem co(n)s(ule)m
in natali | Divi Claudi miss(us) ost(io) | dclxxxvi, vicit xxxxvii | Inter
sing(ulus) vic(it) xix, binar(um) | xxiii, tern(arum) v . Præmiss(us) i, |
occup(avit) vii, eripuit xxxviii. | Secund(as) tulit ccxxx, tert(ias)
cxi | quæ s(unt) pret(io) ? hs . lx . vi, l . viii, . . . ? cccxxxvi.

“Crescens, charioteer of the blue faction, a Moor by nation, 22 years of age, first conquered in a four-horse chariot in the consulship of L. Vipstanius Messalla (A.D. 115), on the birthday of the Divine Nerva, starting 24 times, with these horses, Circius, Acceptor, Delicatus, and Cotynus. From the consulship of Messalla to that of Glabrio (A.D. 124), on the birthday of the Divine Claudius, he started 686 times, and won the prize 47 times. He was victorious 19 times when each faction had one chariot apiece [*i.e.* when 4 in all were contending], 23 times when they had two apiece, 5 times when they had three apiece. He started first

once, took the lead 7 times, caught up the rest at the finish 38 times. He won the second prize 230 times, the third 111.... He won 6 times when the prize was 60,000 sesterces, 8 times when it was 50,000.... 346 (?)."

Notes.

Line 8. For the substantive *missus*, cp. Suetonius, *Domit.* 4, "Circensium die, quo facilius centum missum peragerentur, singulos a septenis spatiis ad quina corripuit," and *Nero* 22, "multiplicatis missibus."

Line 10. *Cotynus* is the name of a horse in a similar inscription of a more famous charioteer Diocles (Gruter 237, lines 16 and 27; Wilmanns' *Exempla Inscriptionum Latinarum*, No. 2601), who lived exactly at the same date as Crescens, and drove in all four factions in turn. The name may be derived from *κότινος*, the wild olive, out of which crowns were made at the Olympic Games. *Colynus* can hardly be right, being a word apparently of no meaning.

Line 13. *Ostium* is the name for the four doors (one for each faction) out of which the chariots started. Cp. Ausonius, *Epist.* xviii, 11.

Line 14. xxxxvii (not xxxvii) must obviously be read, to make the numbers right, as $19 + 23 + 5 = 47$, and so do $1 + 8 + 38 = 47$.

Line 16. *Præmissus* may possibly mean that he had a start given him; *occupare* is to take the lead soon after starting; *eripere* to win after having fallen behind, to catch up the rest at the finish, and win (as we say) upon the post, which was in old days the most glorious victory. For this sense of *occupare*, cp. the anecdote of the horses who ran by themselves, in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii, 65.

Line 19. The reading of this line seems very uncertain, QVAR. P. RET. = *quarum præmia retulit*, has occurred to me as possible.

Line 20. This number is obscure; ccclxxxviii may be suggested, as giving the whole number of victories, since $47 + 230 + 111 = 388$.

On the whole subject see Friedlaender, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, vol. ii, p. 482 foll., and Inscriptions 2599—2603 in Wilmanns' collection.

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS AT BRECON AND GLOUCESTER.—Mr. W. T. Watkin has been kind enough to communicate the following notices of Roman Inscriptions.—

"A portion of an inscribed Roman tombstone was found last year by a labourer, whilst ploughing in a field about two miles north of the Roman station at the Gaer, near Brecon, and near a Roman road leading from that station to, apparently, Builth. The portion of the inscription visible is—

DIS.I
CAND
NI.FILI
HISP.VET
CLEM.DOM
ANN.XX.STIP.III

Professor Westwood, in the third part of his *Lapidarium Walliæ*, gives the reading as Dis (Manibus) . . . Cand(idi) . . . ni, Fili (Equitis Alae) Hisp(anorum) Vet(tonum) . . . Clem(ens) Dom(itius) . . .

H(eredes) F(ecerunt) Ann(orum) xx . Stip(endiorum) III. This is Dr. Hübner's version.

It evidently commemorates a soldier of the *Ala Hispanorum Vettonum*, a cavalry regiment which, from the Malpas diploma, we know was in Britain in A.D. 104. A tombstone of one of its members has been found at Bath, and in the time of Severus one of its praefects (Valerius Fronto) superintended the restoration of a bath at Bowes (*Lavatrae*) in Yorkshire.

From the rest of the inscription we gather that the deceased's name was Candidus that he lived twenty years and served for three. The name of his father, which has been on the stone, is lost, with the exception of the terminal letters—XL.

This is the first instance which has occurred of the presence of an auxiliary corps in South Wales. Previously only the Second Legion has been traced.

"IN March, 1876 five Roman altars, all more or less shattered, were discovered at Kingsholm, Gloucester; of these, two had borne inscriptions, of which portions remained. One of them had plainly been dedicated to Mars, parts of the words *Deo Marti* remaining thus—

D
MAR

The other has been a considerable puzzle to Britanno-Roman archaeologists. It has been generally read as

DEO
INIOCHVRI
...ORIVENDVS
.....*A*I

Professor Church, of Cirencester, in the museum of which town the altars now are, has recently informed me that the second line he thought *might* end with the letters CVNG.

"I am indebted to Mr. A. D. Berrington, of Pant-y-Goitre, Abergavenny, for a rubbing of the inscription. From this it appears that the letter given as first in the second line is in reality not so, nor is it the letter I, but E, and in front of it there appears the upper portion of the letter G. Again, between the H and the V the letter O plainly occurs. We thus have the words (G)ENIO. CHO, and coupled with DEO in the previous line, the whole should be translated, "To the god, the genius of the cohort." The abbreviation CHO for *Cohortis* is very frequent in epigraphy. But what succeeds CHO? The letters to me seem to be plainly CVXC. Of course my first endeavour was to identify this abbreviation with the nationality of some auxiliary cohort which we know was in Britain. Had the letters been SVXC or TVXC there would have been no difficulty in recognising a cohort of the *Sunuci* or of the *Tungri*, which have left other inscriptions. But the first of these four letters was so plainly C that it became obvious no such cohorts were intended, nor would CVGER, for the first cohort of the *Cugerni*, suit. Under these circumstances I can come to no other conclusion than that the letters CVXC are the first portion of the word *cunctae*, the remainder probably being at the commencement of the next line, or, if not, the four letters stood by themselves as an abbreviation of the word. Thus the full translation of these lines would be, "To the god, the genius of the entire cohort." I need not here say that we have many examples of the dedication of an altar to

the genius of a cohort, as at Lanchester, where an altar to the genius of the First cohort of the *Varduli* was found. At Caerleon there was found a dedication to the genius of the Second Legion, and at Chester to the genius of a company (*centuria*). The Gloucester stone is, however, only the second *existing* example in England of a genius bearing the title of *Deus*. The other was found some three years ago at York, and reads—

DEO
GENIO
LOCI
&c.,

“To the god, the genius of the place.” A third probably was found at Old Carlisle, if Camden’s information be correct.

In the third line, . . . ORIVENDVS seems plain. I take it to be a *eognomen* of the dedicator. It can hardly be a corruption of ORIVNDVS. The remainder of the inscription is, of course, only to be conjectured. The lettering of the existing portion, I think, then, should be—

DEO
GENIOCHOVCVN
...ORIVENDVS
.....*A*I.

Rubbings of these stones were exhibited by Mr. Watkin at the Institute’s monthly meeting, July 5th.

EXCAVATIONS AT IRCHESTER.—The excavations at the *oppidum* at Irchester, which were inspected by the members of the Institute on August 1st, during Northampton Meeting, are still being vigorously prosecuted under the the personal direction of the Rev. R. S. Baker. Among the objects that have been found are a large capital, a mutilated statue, plaster with wall painting, roofing of slate and tile, iron tools and weapons, and a quantity of coins and pottery. A full account of these operations will shortly appear in the *Journal*.

THE REGALIA OF CYRUS THE GREAT.—A somewhat startling discovery was reported in the early part of September from Galicia. It appears that a peasant woman, while working in the fields in the neighbourhood of Michalkov, on the Dniester, dug up several golden objects, including goblets, a staff, brooches with dragons’ heads, and a crown. It has been decided by the local archaeologists that these ornaments belong to the regalia of the elder Cyrus. Nor is it easy to draw any other conclusion under the circumstances, for, it is argued, who but Cyrus ever made his way to the waste shores of the Caspian with such a treasure? It is said that any one who examines the details and style of the ornaments, and then compares the place where they were found with the reports in Greek historians concerning Cyrus’s expedition against the Massagetæ, will at once agree with these conclusions. Unlike Hector and Achilles, Cyrus has almost as fixed a place in history as Alfred or Canute, or even as the great Napoleon. Indeed, his retreat from the Caucasian steppes in 530 B.C. has been compared with that from Moscow in 1812. The tomb of Cyrus has been identified with hardly a shadow of doubt at Pasagadæ, as Professor Rawlinson tells us: “composed of immense blocks of beautiful white marble, rising in steps, stands a structure so closely resembling the description of Arrian that it seems scarcely possible to doubt its being the tomb which in Alexander’s time contained the

body of Cyrus. It stands in an area marked out by pillars, whereon occurs repeatedly the inscription, written both in Persian and the so-called Median, "I am Cyrus the King." It may therefore be asked, why should we not find the treasures of Cyrus? For it must be borne in mind that monarchs of his time sustained their credit upon, and actually carried with them in their expeditions, a large amount of bullion. In this regard the discovery of £10,000 worth of valuables in Galicia is not very extravagant. The researches of Dr. Schliemann have surrendered treasures from the wild plateau of Hissarlik hitherto undreamt of by the most fervid antiquary; yet even stranger things than this have happened before now, and while we consider that "there is no new thing under the sun," we may not perhaps in this particular case entirely forget the sobering aphorism that "seeing is believing."

THE WRITTEN ROCK OF THE GELT.—We grieve to record an act of the most wanton and stupid mischief, by which a famous relic of the Roman occupation of Cumberland has sustained more harm than the tempests and frosts and violence of sixteen centuries have worked upon it. In the lovely valley of the Gelt, seven miles from Carlisle, on the face of a sandstone cliff, are three fine inscriptions, made by Roman workmen in the quarry, one of them dated 207 A.D. It appears that in consequence of a paper read upon this valuable memorial by Mr. R. S. Ferguson some time since the rock has been much visited by idlers, and, as is unfortunately too often the case in this country, largely defaced by these persons writing their names upon it with soft pieces of stone. At the meeting of the Carlisle Scientific Society on 21st October, Mr. Ferguson stated that within the last ten days more serious mischief had been perpetrated by some individuals cutting their names—M. Taylor, H. Taylor, and many initials, with a metal implement, all over the inscription, thus destroying an historical monument which had outlasted sixteen centuries. It is to be hoped that Lord Carlisle's trustees may be induced to cut down the path which leads from the river side to the Written Rock, so as to preserve what remains of the inscription, and place it out of the reach of such ill-conditioned visitors.

We are glad to hear that Mr. E. P. Willins is about to publish a volume of scale drawings, and sketches, illustrating the ruins of Castle Acre Priory, near Swaffham. The valuable aid of photolithography will be employed throughout the book. Subscriptions, five shillings, will be received by the Author, 13 Great James Street, Bedford Row, W.C.

* * Members of the Institute are requested to observe that the day of the Monthly Meetings has been changed from Friday to *Thursday*.

The Archaeological Journal.

SEPTEMBER, 1878.

THE STATES GENERAL OF FRANCE.¹

By the LORD HENLEY.

The subject of this paper is one which should possess some interest for an Englishman. Our ancestors having had the benefit for more than six centuries of representative institutions, and having handed them down to us improved by the experience of ages, we cannot but take some interest in the early attempts of the great nation on the opposite side of the channel to obtain them.

That we have been on the whole more successful than they in the working of these institutions, may perhaps be attributable to the fact, that while we, as a nation, have had our eyes fixed on the material advantages produced by commerce and agriculture, the French have been more eager in their pursuit of military triumphs. The former objects have necessarily led to the advance of the middle and lower classes, and the possession by them of influence in the government of the country, while the pursuit of military glory has from age to age led the French to consolidate and strengthen the monarchy, and to maintain the power of the aristocracy, from whose ranks the officers of the army were almost entirely chosen.

For 300 years, however, from the early part of the 14th to the early part of the 17th century, representative institutions existed in France. During those centuries, the States General were convoked from time to time. At one period they met with great regularity. But after the year 1614, they were allowed for 175 years to fall entirely into desuetude; and to this may be attributed in great measure, the calamities under which France has been suffering ever since the beginning of the Revolution.

¹ Read in the Historical Section at the Northampton Meeting, August 2nd, 1878.

The States General of France consisted of three representative bodies—one for each of the estates of the realm—the Clergy—the Noblesse—and the Tiers Etat.

The Clergy were represented by the Princes of the Church, as well as by the inferior Clergy. It will be remembered by those who are familiar with the history of the Revolution, that some of the latter were the first to obey the invitation of the Tiers Etat to the other two orders to deliberate in common with them.

The Nobility of France was nearly the most ancient and probably the most numerous of any in Europe. The privilege of Peerage, which appears to have been attached in most instances to the possession of particular estates, did not make the Peers a separate body in the States General—they elected and sat with the rest of the Noblesse. Occasionally the Kings of France used to summon great Councils, composed of Peers; and they had also the right of sitting in the Parliament of Paris, and the various Parliaments of the provinces to which they belonged. These bodies, however, were totally distinct from the States General which we are now considering.

It seems doubtful whether the “Tiers Etat,” “The Third Estate,”—“The People,” had formed a part of any National Assembly in France before they were called to attend the States General, convoked by Phillip the Fair, in 1302. The term “Tiers Etat” was not then in use, and did not become so until the year 1484, at the time of the Great States General, held at Tours in that year. Before that the representatives of the people were designated as “les bonnes villes,” “les bourgeois et habitants,” “les communautés,” and “le peuple.” In the records of the States General, of 1484, two commissioners of each order are spoken of as “duos ecclesiasticos,” “duos nobiles et duos tertii status.” This is the first mention in French history of the Tiers Etat.

As to what the Tiers Etat was, it is not necessary for me to say much. Perhaps I may be allowed to borrow M. Guizot’s definition of it :—

“There have,” says he, “been municipal bodies over all Europe. It is in France alone that there has been really a third estate of overwhelming power. It was

during the French Revolution of 1789, the greatest surely that has ever happened, that the third estate of the realm attained its full influence ; and it is in France alone that a man of the highest ability, speaking with a strong feeling of popular pride, has been able to reply to the question : ‘What is the Tiers Etat ?’ It is everything.”

I propose to take a rapid glance at the principal meetings of the States General between their commencement in 1302, and their last meeting in 1614. Their last, that is to say, before the meeting of those memorable States General in 1789, which were the immediate precursors of the Revolution. It is not my purpose to touch upon these, as the consideration of their proceedings would require a paper far longer than that which I have now the honour to lay before you ; and would perhaps lead us into the discussion of modern politics, rather than into that of mediæval history to which I propose strictly to confine myself.

The first convocation then of the States General carries us at once into the midst of one of those quarrels between Pope and King, of which mediæval history is full. The Pope was Boniface VIII., a Pontiff inferior to none in ambition and pride, but although cunning, deficient in sound wisdom and statesmanship. His predecessor, Celestin V., sketched his character in a few strokes : “You attain the Papacy like a fox, you will reign like a lion, and you will die like a dog.”

Phillip the Fair, a grasping, avaricious monarch, quarrelled with him on the usual subject—the collation to benefices and the power of the State to tax the clergy. Phillip convoked the States General, at Paris, for the 28th March, 1302. They met in the Church of Notre Dame. The King was present, the princes of the blood, and the great feudal barons of France. The clergy were but scantily represented. They either feared the Pope, or disliked to take part in an assembly which was convoked expressly to oppose him. The deputies of the people occupied one side of the Church in great numbers. Phillip’s object, however, in allowing them to take part in the Council, was to obtain their support, of which he considered himself certain, in opposing the Pope. He

had no intention of granting to the people the right of taking part in the government of the country by their representatives. The pressure of the people in the great Council of the Nation (which now for the first time was called States General), began on the occasion we are considering. In England the Commons had been called to take their share in the Parliaments some half century before, and Phillip was imitating his neighbours in summoning them. In England the assemblies were continued under the name of Parliaments—in France, under that of States General. The body now convoked supported the King in his quarrel with the Pope, which only ended with the death of the latter in the following year, 1303.

In the year 1317, Phillip the Long convoked the States General for the purpose of declaring the Salic Law, by which females were excluded from the throne—the law of France. From the time of Huques Capet (987), there had been no failure of male heirs to the throne, but the Salic Law had never been formally proclaimed. Louis le Hutin had died in 1316, leaving a single daughter, and his second wife Clemence *enceinte*. It was decided that if she gave birth to a son, Phillip should be Regent for eighteen years; if to a daughter, he should at once become King. A boy, Jean I., was born, who lived but five days, and Phillip was crowned at Reims. He immediately convoked the States General, who declared that “the laws and custom inviolably observed amongst the French, excluded females from the crown.” Phillip died in 1322, leaving only daughters, and was succeeded by his brother Charles, who died in 1328, also leaving only daughters. On his death, Edward the III., of England, put in his claim to the crown of France, as grandson of Phillip the Fair, by his mother Isabella, and this led to the long wars between England and France.

Of the next meeting of the States General, under Phillip VI., but very slight record remains. They voted “that no tax could be levied on the people unless some urgent necessity or evident utility required it.” Phillip was more anxious to govern as a feudal, than as a constitutional monarch, and the necessity for opposing the invasions of Edward III., forced him to seek the assistance of the great feudal barons of the kingdom, who were

in those ages better able to assist him in raising troops, than the representatives of the people.

We now come to the reign of King John, who was forced to make head against the troubles occasioned by the English invasions. Passing over one assembly, of whose proceedings no record remains, we arrive at the period at which the King, unable by the royal power alone to raise either men or money, was obliged to have recourse to the Nation. He assembled the States at Paris, November 30th, 1355. These States represented only the northern provinces of France, and were called those of the *Langue d'Oil*, which was separated by the *Dordogne* and the *Garonne* from the *Langue d'Oc*, which contained the southern provinces. This portion of the kingdom had a distinct assembly of its own.

The assembly which we are considering did not claim for itself the right to govern the nation. It kept two objects in view, the defence of France against the incursions of the English, and the limitation of the power of the crown, the excesses of which had caused much discontent in the country.

The three estates met on the 5th December, 1355, in the great hall of the Parliament at Paris. Pierre de la Forêt, Archbishop of Rouen and Chancellor of France, asked them in the king's name "to deliberate, and to grant the king a subsidy which might suffice for the expenses of the war," the king on his part undertaking to coin good and durable money in place of the debased coin which was then in circulation. The session did not last more than a week. The States voted a levy of 30,000 men yearly, and a subsidy of 5,000,000 francs to be levied on all people of whatever condition, churchmen, nobles and others; and the *Gabelle* or Salt tax over the whole kingdom of France.

Unfortunately at that time representative government was so little understood that it was found easier to vote taxes than to collect them; and the States, after seeing their authority set at nought, and disturbances occasioned by the collection of the taxes in various parts of the kingdom, were obliged to make considerable modifications in the laws which they had at first assented to.

After King John had been taken prisoner at the battle

of Poitiers, his eldest son Charles, who then for the first time assumed the title of Dauphin, on the annexation of Dauphiné to France, convoked the Northern States at Paris. They met on the 17th November, 1356, in the great hall of the Parliament. "Never," says the Chronicle, "had been seen a more numerous assembly or one composed of wiser men." The principal clergy were all present; the noblesse had lost too many of their numbers to admit of their being very fully represented. There were 400 deputies from towns. The whole assembly numbered 800.

The three orders attempted at first to deliberate in separate chambers, but finding this inconvenient they chose commissioners from each order, who were to deliberate in common and report the results to the order which each represented.

They demanded the dismissal of twenty-two of the principal officers of state who were accused of having taken part, for their own benefit, in the abuses then existing in the government, and of having concealed from the king the truth with respect to the sufferings of the people. The dauphin, who was young and inexperienced, was somewhat surprised at the further demand of the States, who required that deputies should be sent through the provinces, under the name of reformers, for the purpose of repressing the malversations of the royal officers, and that twenty-eight delegates, chosen from the three orders, should be constantly placed about the prince "with powers to act and to order everything with respect to the kingdom as if it were the king himself, as well as to appoint publick officers as for other matters." By taking this course the States were seeking to deprive the Crown of the government of the country, and to assume it themselves.

The Dauphin had no resource but to gain time, which he did by asking how much money the States proposed to grant him; and during the delay thus occasioned, he found himself in such straits, that he was obliged to have recourse to an expedient, very common with mediæval sovereigns—that of debasing the coin. This led to the disturbances in Paris, under Etienne Marcel, which continued till his death in 1358.

With regard to the part taken by the States General in these events, I cannot do better than quote the opinion of M. Guizot :—

“One important result was gained to France by the States General of the 14th century ; the principal of the right of the nation to take part in its affairs, and to pass judgment upon its government when led astray, or incapable of performing its functions. Until then, in the 13th and the beginning of the 14th centuries, the States General had only been a momentary expedient, to which royalty had had recourse, for the purpose of resolving some special question, or of escaping from some serious difficulty. From King John’s time, the States General became one of the principles of national right. A principle which did not disappear, although it remained without application, and the *prestige* of which survived even while the principle itself was in abeyance. Faith and hope have a great share in the life of nations, as well as of individuals. Begun in 1355, the States General of France were found still in existence in 1789. I hope that after such a long trial, their checks and their errors will be no more fatal to them in our days than they were in those of which we have been treating.”

To these reflections of M. Guizot we may add the remark, that had the French persevered with their States General, as our ancestors did with their Parliament, and not allowed them to fall into desuetude, as they did for 175 years, from 1614 to 1789, they might have avoided the dreadful catastrophe of the latter year, which was owing in great measure to the fact, that in France some remains of the feudal system, unmitigated by representative institutions, had continued to exist nearly to the end of the 18th century.

Charles V. had recourse three times, once in 1367, and twice in 1369, to the States General. In one of these assemblies, the King himself rose to say that, “If they saw that he had done anything which he ought not to do, they should tell him, and he would correct what he had done, for there was still time to repair it, if he had done too much or too little.”

The object of the assembling of the States on that occasion was, for the King to receive, as suzeraine, the

complaints of the Barons of Aquitaine, respecting the government of the Black Prince, which had become insupportable to them.

In the early part of the 15th century, Charles VII. frequently called together the States General of the two divisions of his kingdom. The object of their meetings being principally to raise men and money, for the purpose of driving the English out of his country, which he eventually succeeded in doing.

In 1468, Louis XI., thrown into difficulties by the intrigues of his great vassal, the Duke of Brittany, called together the States General at Tours. Twenty-eight seigneurs, the representatives of many others who could not attend, and 192 deputies, elected by sixty-four towns, were present. The Chancellor, Juvenal des Ursins, set forth in the presence of the King the objects of their meeting. These were :

1st.—To settle the differences between the King and M. Charles, his brother, as to the Duchy of Normandy, and the apanage of the said M. Charles.

2.—To take into consideration the attacks which the Duke of Brittany had made upon the King, in taking his subjects and his towns, and in making war upon him.

3rd.—To consider the intrigues of the Duke of Brittany with the English, in inviting them to invade France, and in surrendering to them towns in his duchy.

Upon all these points the States supported the Crown. They did not press their constitutional rights in taking part in the government of the country, but they showed patriotism and wisdom in maintaining the integrity of the country against the intrigues of feudal ambition, and in defending it from a foreign enemy.

Anne de Beaujeu, Regent of France during the minority of Charles VIII., called the States General together, in January, 1484, at Tours. They met in the great hall of the Archbishopal palace. Around the throne of the King sat 284 deputies. "For the first time," says M. Picot, "the whole of France was represented. Flanders alone did not send its deputies till the end of the session ; but Provence, Rousillon, Burgundy, and Dauphiné hastened to join their representatives to

those of the provinces which had been longest united to the Crown."

Such was the union which existed between the various estates of the realm at this time, that a difference was observed between the elections for these States General and those for the preceding ones. Formerly each order had chosen deputies from its own ranks—and from its own ranks alone. In these elections, says the same author: "In most of the towns they proceeded in common to the choice of their deputies. The Clergy, the Noblesse, and the Citizens, who arrived at Tours, were not the exclusive representatives of the Clergy, the Noblesse, or the People. They united in the person of each, the summons to any of the three orders."

After having examined the cahiers, the papers on which the requirements and grievances of the constituencies were written, each order appointed a committee of twelve, to deliberate in common with like committees of the other two orders. This united body of thirty-six presented their report by the voice of their President, John Masselin. They kept steadily in view the object of a great political reform—a free, but a legal system of government. The States deliberated on the question of the composition of the King's Council, the most important that could be considered in a country where representative Government so rarely came into action. They then considered the question of taxation. The Crown asked more than the States were willing to grant. At length, after much discussion, they voted the *taille* for two years, resolving to meet again at the end of that time for the purpose of diminishing or increasing it, as occasion might require.

In this the States appeared to take their proper position in the government of the country. It was however attacked by the Court party. The Chancellor, Guillaume de Rochefort, told the States that the sum which they had voted, 1,200,000 francs, was not sufficient for the purposes of the Government, and asked for 300,000 more. He also passed over the limitation of the *taille* to two years. "While the Chancellor was speaking," says the President Masselin, "many of the more independent members interrupted him; and there

was some murmuring heard in the hall, because he appeared to ignore in his speech the power and liberty of the people." At last, after much discussion, the States persisted in their vote of 1,200,000 francs for two years but added to it a single sum of 300,000 francs on the King's accession, and to defray the expenses of his coronation.

After violent debates, and much contention between the King's Council and the States, the latter were at length terminated by an expedient which was attempted with signal ill-success three centuries later :—

"On the 14th of March, the deputies were somewhat surprised, on entering the hall in which they sat, to find it entirely dismantled. Carpets, hangings, benches, writing table, all had been carried away. So fully did the Government look upon the Session as finished." The deputies had not the resolution of their successors in 1789, when in similar circumstances they adjourned to the tennis court, and declared their sittings permanent. They quietly returned to their provinces, praying that their labours might turn out advantageous to the country.

In the year 1506, Louis XII. called the States General together at Tours, and opened the Session himself. Surrounded by the archbishops, all the princes of the blood, and other seigneurs and barons of the kingdom, he ordered the deputies of the States to be admitted.

On their entry, the President, Thomas Bricot, far from setting forth any grievances, contented himself with recounting the benefits which the country had received from the King's government. He ended by conferring upon the King the title of Father of his People. Loud applauses followed these words. A general emotion seized the assembly; even the King himself shed tears on hearing the title which history and posterity would ever attach to his name.

The business of the Assembly was the marriage of the King's only daughter Claude, to Francis of Angoulême, afterwards Francis I. Francis was then twelve and Claude seven years of age.

We now approach the times of the Reformation. In consequence of the troubles which attended this great

religious revolution, Francis II. called together the States General at Meaux.

The elections of the deputies were very stormy. The Guises employed all the powers of the government on behalf of the Catholic party. The Protestants appealed to the love of liberty, to religious feeling, and to the wish for local independence on the part of the constituencies. A royal edict enjoined all provincial authorities to take care that no Protestants were elected. These instructions were in most cases successfully carried out. One morning, however, a courier reached the Duke of Guise with a letter from the Comte de Villars, the governor of Languedoc, informing him that all the deputies of that province belonged to the new religion, or were well disposed to it. The governor was very sorry that he could not prevent their election, but the majority of votes had prevailed. There was not a moment to be lost. "The letter," says M. Picot, "was no sooner received than people were sent to meet those deputies, for the purpose of sending them where they could do neither good nor harm." The deputies fortunately escaped this ambuscade and arrived safe and sound at Orleans, but their cahiers were confiscated, and they themselves kept under supervision until the king's death put an end to their danger.

These States General were continued after the accession of Charles IX., and adjourned to Pontoise, where they confirmed the declaration of the young king, placing the government of France in the hands of his mother, Catherine de Medicis, but without giving her the title of Regent. The king of Navarre was present as lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and twenty-five members of the States were chosen to form the king's Council.

During the troubles occasioned by the accession of Henry IV., he called the States General together at Tours for the month of March 1590, but Cardinal Cajetan, the legate of Pope Sixtus V., forbid their assembly, and excommunicated all bishops who should attend it.

The opponents of the king, the Chiefs of the League, called the States General together on the 26th of January, 1593. They met in the great hall of the Louvre at Paris. They were opened by the Duc de Mayenne, the military Chief of the League, with all the pomp of royalty. He

was however so ill at ease, in the position which he had assumed, that his voice could scarcely be heard in pronouncing the opening speech. 128 deputies had been elected, but only 50 attended the first sitting.

Very violent debates took place upon the question whether any conference should be held between the friends of the king, who was still a Protestant, and the States of the League, who were acting entirely upon the Catholic interest. The three orders deliberated separately. The clergy as a body, both prelates and popular preachers, were for the Spanish section of the league which, headed by Phillip II. of Spain, was for holding no terms with Henry IV., for abolishing the Salic law in France, and for placing Isabella, the daughter of the Spanish king, and Elizabeth, daughter of Henri II. of France, who was to be married to the Duke of Guise, on the throne of France. There were but few nobles in these States General. Most of them were with Henry IV., and says M. Picot, "gained lasting honor by being the first to see in what the future prosperity of France consisted." The Tiers-Etat were divided, some being fanatical leaguers and ready to follow Phillip II., others being attached to what was called the French league, in contradistinction to the Spanish, and prepared to accept Henry IV. as king of France, provided he would become a Catholic. The Duc de Mayenne used every effort, even to personal canvassing, to secure the support of the deputies as they arrived in Paris for the party of the league.

All his exertions, however, even when supported by the money and troops of Phillip, were unavailing to stem the tide which was beginning to run in favour of peace and of legitimacy, as represented by Henry IV. "The wind," says M. Guizot, "blew no longer in the sails of the league." Their partisans gradually fell away, and the citizens of Paris used every effort to obtain peace. Some of the militia talked of raising barricades, and two of the most popular preachers of the league were hooted in the streets of Paris.

Soon after these events, early in the year 1593, Henry determined to secure peace for his country by becoming a Catholic, and on the 25th of July was formally received into the bosom of the Roman Church. Even after this

the Duc de Mayenne attempted to keep up the spirit of the league in the States General. He induced them to adopt the resolutions of the Council of Trent, and on proroguing them, made them promise to re-assemble on the expiry of the truce of three months, which he had made with Henry—a promise which they readily gave as they had been in the receipt of very handsome salaries, both from their own constituencies, and from Phillip of Spain.

The States of the League, however, never re-assembled. Henry succeeded in gaining the hearts of his subjects and in showing himself to be one of the greatest kings who had ever sat on the throne of France. The States General did not meet again until the last occasion, of which we have now to treat, that of the year 1614, when they were called together under the regency of Mary de Medicis, at Sens, on September 16th, to deliberate on the subject of the two proposed Spanish marriages; that of the young king Louis XIII. to Anne of Austria, eldest daughter of Phillip III. of Spain; and that of Phillip Infant of Spain, afterwards Phillip IV. to Elizabeth of France, sister of Louis XIII.

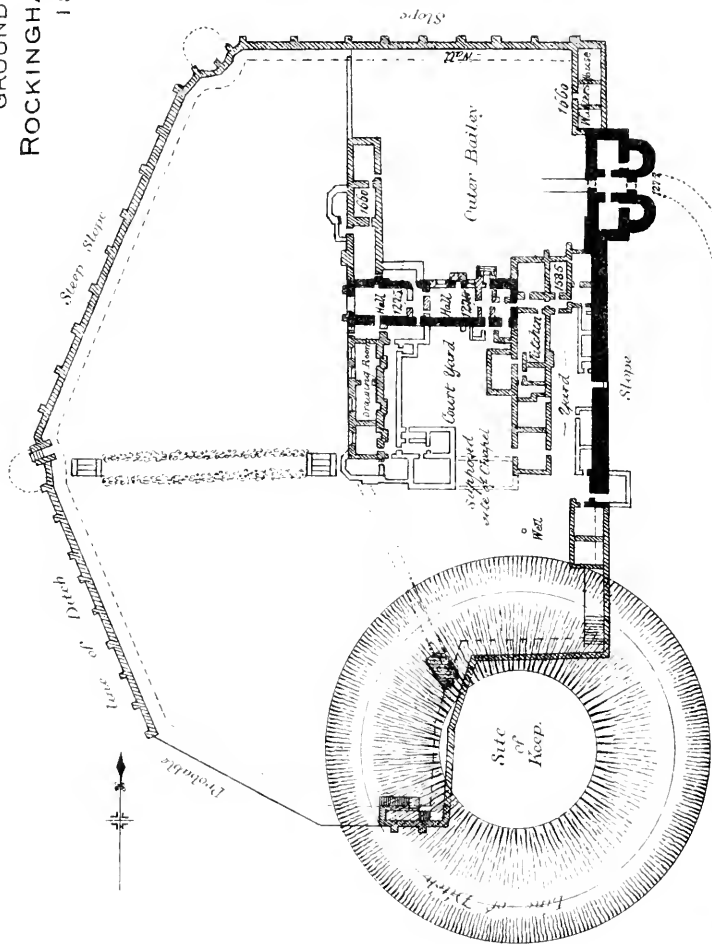
These marriages were not looked upon very favourably by a large party in France, as uniting the country too closely to Spain. The catholicism of the latter country was of a much narrower and more submissive description than that of France, where the liberty and independence of the Gallican Church had always been maintained. The States General were looked upon as the only resource in this difficulty. They met at Sens on the 20th of October, 1614, and were opened by the young king Louis XIII. in person. The clergy sent 140 members, the noblesse 132, the Tiers-Etat 192.

These States have left but little mark in history. The principal fact in connection with them was the entry into public life for the first time of a man destined for some years to bear on his own shoulders the whole weight of the government, and to contribute in a great degree to rendering the monarchy of France absolute. Armand Jean du Plessis de Richelieu, Bishop of Luçon, was at this time aged only twenty-eight years. He was doubly returned to the States General of 1614, being

elected as their representative, both by the clergy of Loudon and by that of Poitou. In his administration of the affairs of France, he dispensed entirely with States General. This policy was copied by his successors for 175 years, dating from 1614, and they were never again convoked. The country was governed entirely by the king and by the local parliaments, servile bodies in which no traces of popular representation existed. I do not propose, for the reason which I have before stated, to enter into the history of the States General of 1789.

We have glanced at the States General from their first institution in 1302, to their cessation in 1614. We have seen them taking part in quarrels between the Pope and King, in feudal strifes between the King and his vassals, in the internal government of the country and in its defence against foreign invaders. We have watched their action while the country was agitated by the convulsion of the reformation, and while it was torn by civil war. We have always found the great council of the nation loyal, patriotic, and economical—let us hope that the great nation whose history we have been considering may, at length, after many changes and misfortunes, have found a representative system, by means of which the many good qualities which belong to her national character, may produce their proper effect in her actions, both as an important member of the European family of nations, and as one of the leading countries of the civilized world.

GROUND PLAN OF ROCKINGHAM CASTLE 1872



Scale of feet 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140

Walls thus
1275
1535-1660
Modern

ROCKINGHAM.

BY G. T. CLARK.

Within the north-eastern border of Northamptonshire, abutted upon by the shires of Leicester, Rutland, and Lincoln to the north and east, and by that of Huntingdon to the south, is a large tract of rather elevated land known as the Forest of Rockingham. Its natural limits are the vallies of the Nen and the Welland, whose general parallelism is continued in their course across the Holland fen to their common termination in the Wash. Towards the west this platform is further cut off by the Ise, which rises about four miles from the Welland and falls into the Nen by Wellingborough. The tract thus marked out by Nature and long known as the Forest extends east and west twenty-four miles from Oxendon bridge to that of Stamford, and is at its widest between Rockingham and Thrapston, about twelve miles. The position, when the meads of the Nen and the Welland were marshes, and the fens scarcely navigable, was one of great strength, and occupied at an early period by invaders and colonists of Danish blood, whose traces are largely preserved in the topographical nomenclature of the district. The soil, chiefly derived from the subjacent oolite, is not naturally fertile, and long remained as forest, which even now, though cultivation has made immense progress, is represented by large patches of woodland, such as the well timbered parks of Rockingham, Boughton, Blatherwick, Burleigh, Drayton, and Dene; the wilds of Morehay and Sulehay; the Bedford purlieus; and the chase of Geddington.

Rockingham, which gave name to the forest and to a much smaller tract of land still known as the Shire, is

placed upon the right or south bank of the Welland, just above the point where the influx of the Eye brook marks the meeting of the counties of Northampton, Leicester, and Rutland. The village stands on ground rising from the river, and above and to its south, immediately over the parish church, is the Castle. The castle is a marked feature in the landscape, as it is placed upon a sort of promontory which juts out from the table land of the forest towards the Welland, and is protected on each side by a deep ravine, two of many by which the steep margin of the valley is intersected. South-west of the castle, and divided from it by the larger ravine, is the Park, a very ancient enclosure, at one time containing red deer, which however had disappeared before Leland's visit; and behind, and south of the castle and the park, is the tract of recently enclosed land called the Shire.

Rockingham seems to be a name of English formation, purely descriptive. The castle stands on the "Rock;" between it and the Welland is the broad and fertile "Ing," or meadow; and the "Ham" represents the village, whether enclosed by bank, ditch, or hedge. Nevertheless, ancient and home-born as is the name, and important as must ever have been the position, the place is not to be found in any record previous to the Conquest, though a similar name occurs in Kent as Roegringham, in a charter by Coenulf of Mercia, A.D. 811. It may be that the name is found elsewhere, for among the followers of Archduke Philip at his meeting with Henry VII in 1500 occurs "le Sieur de Rockingham de Flanders" (*Letters of Henry VII*, p. 88). The earliest mention of the place is in Domesday, where it is stated that the King holds Rockingham. Bovi held it in the time of King Edward with sac and soc. It was waste when King William ordered a castle to be made. No doubt here, as generally elsewhere, William's decision was guided by the existence of an earlier work. It is evident, from an inspection of the remaining earthworks, and from a comparison of them with others, such, for example, as Brinklow, that they belong to the class of moated mounds, and consequently are far older than the Conquest. Bovi no doubt dwelt here, and it was his strong dwelling that the Conqueror ordered to be converted into a castle.

Enough remains to shew that the earthworks were composed of a conical flat-topped mound or donjon, with a base court attached on one side. The mound seems to have been about 100 feet diameter on the top and not less than thirty feet high. It was circumscribed by its proper ditch, which, to judge from indications on the south side, must have been broad and deep. To the north of the mound was the base court, of an irregular but rounded figure, covering about three and a half acres. The outline of this court corresponded generally with the contour of the ground, the slope of which formed a part of the defence. The court abutted upon the north face of the mound, outside its ditch, and covered about one third or five-twelfths of its circumference. Thus the greater part of the mound, as at Brinklow and Earls Barton, was outside the general line of defence, of which it formed a part. Also it was posted on the side of the work opposite the high ground, between the heads of the ravines, and naturally, as at Brinklow, the weakest side. In advance of the mound, at some yards distance, is a bank and ditch crossing the approach, and again in advance, about a furlong from the keep, is a second ditch, even now containing water, and dividing the castle precinct from the Shire. Probably these outworks are of later date than the keep. There are also other works to the east, beyond the ravine, and especially one large bank which now forms the central line of an avenue of lime trees. These works are irregular, and were possibly thrown up when the castle has been besieged. On this side are also some small tumuli, placed two and two, said to cover the remains of cottages.

The changes made by the Norman builders, and by those who in their turn destroyed the Norman walls, have much effaced the traces of the early fortress. The bank, which no doubt encircled the court, has been thrown back so as to raise and level up the interior platform, and for the main ditch has been substituted a scarped revetment about eight feet high, surmounted by a parapet, which represents the curtain wall. At the foot of this are the remains of the ditch, and lower down the hill certain terraces, which look as though they had been defended by lines of stockade for musketeers during the

Parliamentary siege. These irregularities of the surface have been thought to represent a British camp, for which the situation is, no doubt, suitable. Of the mound there remains only a semilunar bank, which formed its northern edge. The central and southern parts have been removed and thrown into the ditch, the line of which is indicated by a slight but clear and broad depression. This was evidently done when the Parliament obtained the place, to render it indefensible. It is also evident that the base court was subdivided, as at Brinklow. This is shewn by the levels of the different parts. One division ran north and south, cutting off on the east the entrance ward with the lodgings. The other ran east and west, and subdivided the western ward. The three courts are on different levels, the entrance court the lowest by six or eight feet.

Whether the Conqueror built a work in masonry or merely strengthened the existing defences is unknown. There is no masonry extant of that century. But he or his successors certainly placed a shell keep upon the mound, and built a wall round the court. This wall seems to have had six faces, and to have occupied a circuit of about 490 yards. It still commences at the top of the keep mound, descends the slope, crosses the ditch and runs 134 yards in a straight line, forming the east front of the castle. The lower courses of this wall, which is nine feet thick, may be Late Norman. The upper part, twenty-five to thirty feet high, is probably Decorated, as is the gate house, which is in this front. Towards the north-east angle the wall has been rebuilt and supports a seventeenth century building. At this, at a right angle, the wall is replaced by a revetment of late date, and runs westward for eighty-three yards, having the church, &c., below and in front of it. The direction of the wall then changes to the south-west at an angle of about 160° , which was capped by a round mural tower, of which the foundations remain. This face is ninety-four yards long, and ends in an angle of 130° , where no doubt was another drum tower. Then follows a side of sixty-four yards, ending in an angle of 140° , followed by a side of forty yards, then by an angle of 150° and a short side of twenty-five yards, which ends in the keep mound in a

mass of masonry, which, if not wholly original, is so in part, and formed of old material. Thus the whole circuit of the court wall from one side of the keep to the other is about 440 yards. The two western faces rise directly over the ravine. The two to the south-west are some way from its edge, and here are no traces of a revetment ; and there was no doubt a ditch. The wall is now removed, but indications of its foundation are seen on the turf in dry weather. The distance from one end of the wall to the other, measured across the keep, is fifty yards, which thus complete the circuit of the court.

Between the two masses of masonry which mark the abutment of the two ends of the outer wall upon the keep, is a third which points north-west, and shews the line of a cross wall which divides the entrance from the western wards. The line is followed by the later buildings and by the western end of the castle hall. The place of the cross wall branching westward from this is indicated by a double yew-tree hedge, and a step of about four feet.

The gate house is composed of two half round towers, twenty-six feet diameter, flanking a gateway of ten feet opening. The towers spring from a block sixty feet broad and thirty feet deep, having no internal projection, so that the towers and a part of the block stand out from the wall forty-seven feet, giving a fine bold character to the entrance. The towers are of two stages, divided outside by a string-course, and crowned above by a plain embattled parapet resting upon a second string. The gateway has a low pointed arch over which the string is continued and raised so as to form a square head. The entrance passage, ten feet broad, is thirty feet deep. Within the portal is a portcullis grove, rounded and narrow, as for an iron grate, and behind it a rebate for folding doors. At the other end of the passage is a second portal, also with gates. Each portal has had a bold internal drip, now cut flat. A plain cornice shews that the original roof was of timber, and flat. The present and new beams have by an oversight been laid lengthways. On each side is a small heavily moulded door, with an equilateral head, in very excellent style. The north tower contains two chambers, one sixteen feet

by eighteen feet, with a loop into the court yard, and from which a small decorated doorway opens into a front half round chamber of twelve feet span, having three loops to the front beneath deep arched recesses. In the south tower are also two chambers. That in front has two loops only. The other chamber has a door into a guardrobe in the south wall. The roofs were all of timber, and the internal doorways heavy but excellent decorated. The gatehouse has been much repaired. The plinth is new. The exterior has been chisel drafted, and the jamb mouldings of the portal apparently recut. The towers had till lately conical roofs which however were not original, and the parapet, though in excellent taste, is modern. The loops are cruciform with short cross limbs, and oilets below. The late Rev. T. James attributed this gateway to the year 1200.

Upon the curtain wall, a few yards south of the gate house, is a door, and near it a loop, both of decorated date, and which evidently belonged to a mural tower now replaced by a modern larder.

Entering the castle by the gateway, on the left and in front are the lodgings, buildings of very various dates. The entrance to the house on the left is however older than any other part of the front. It is an original door of decorated date, and in a good style, and opens into what was once the hall or an antichamber leading into it. Opposite is a corresponding door, of the same age, which opens into a yard or court set round with buildings of all ages. The hall has long been converted into two floors, and is traversed by two partition walls, but the lateral or exterior walls are original, and contain two fireplaces now covered up, but indicated by broad exterior buttresses, and several windows, no longer in use, and but partially seen. The place of the west window is occupied by a large Tudor or Stuart insertion. This is the only part of the present house that can be certainly shewn to have belonged to the ancient castle, and it was probably begun about 1275.

The space within the ancient walls from the doors to the west end measures about twenty feet by eighty-five feet, too long for the proportions of a hall, so that it is probable that the actual hall was confined to the western

portion of it, which contains one of the fireplaces and the jambs of four of the original windows.

Between the east end of the hall and the curtain wall is a fine pile of building bearing date 1585, the work no doubt of Edward Watson. This contains the kitchen and various offices, and probably includes parts of the ancient building. Another building on the north east side of the court, and a long line of buildings facing the west, and containing the end of the hall, are dated 1660. A building on the curtain wall between the gate house and the keep is dated 1669.

The present cellars lie between the hall and the keep, and are conjectured, though modern, to occupy the place of the castle chapel, and near them is the well, though it is doubtful, from an old plan, whether there was not also a well in the keep.

With the exception of the lower part of the eastern curtain wall there is no masonry visible that can by any possibility be of the eleventh, and probably none of the twelfth century. In the church yard are some fragments in the Norman style, but they are not supposed to have come from the castle. Over the inner portal a stone carved in a sort of cable moulding has been inserted, but this does not appear to be Norman, and in any case has only lately been placed there.

The works of Henry III and Edward I are represented by the upper part of the curtain, the gate house, and the doors, walls, and windows of the hall, and probably by the three blocks of masonry that abut upon the keep mound, though two of these may be in substance earlier. All the rest of the castle is the work of the several grantees, and mainly, if not wholly, of the ancestors of the present owner. The general result of the mixture of buildings of so many styles and ages is exceedingly happy. The rooms, though not lofty, are comfortable and picturesque, and filled with fittings and furniture in harmony with their age and dimensions, and also with modern appliances. The walls, of the stone of the country, have a venerable aspect and are covered with climbing plants, and the platforms of the several wards, and interior of the keep mound, are laid out in lawns and

flower gardens, whence the view over the village and beyond the Welland is very extensive.

Leland, who visited the castle in the reign of Henry VIII, while it was yet a military building, has left a description of it, and what he then saw :—"The castelle of Rockingham standith on the toppe of an hille, right stately, and hath a mighty dicke, and bullewarks agayne without the dicke. The utter waulles of it yet stond. The kepe is exceeding fair and strong, and in the waulles be certain strong towers. The lodgings that were within the area of the castelle be discovered and faul to ruine. One thing in the waulles of this castelle is much to be noted, that is that they be embattelid on booth the sides, so that if the area of the castelle were won by cumming in at either of the two greate gates of the castelle, yet the keepers of the waulles might defende the castelle. I marked that there is a stronge tower in the area of the castelle, and from it over the dungeon dike is a drawbridge to the dungeon toure."—*Itin.*, i, 14.

The mighty ditch and bulwarks beyond it refer probably to the keep and the ground to its south, where alone a ditch was needed. The keep was, of course, a circular or polygonal shell upon the mound. The strong towers on the walls were no doubt drums like those of the gate house, capping the angles of the curtain wall. The double parapet was not unusual, and with a wall nine feet thick by no means impracticable. Where the strong tower stood is unknown, but it must have been within the court, north of the keep, and beyond the ditch of the keep or donjon, to which its drawbridge gave access. Of the second great gate no tradition is preserved, but it could not possibly have been any where save to the south, as on the other sides is no practicable approach. The latest works are two towers by Mr. Salvin, one plain, square, and solid, near the keep, the other octagonal, light and lofty, placed near the end of the hall. They are a great and judicious addition to the building.

It so happens that there exists a still later evidence for the condition of the keep in a plan probably representing the temporary works thrown up during the Parliamentary attack, for the defence of the keep from an attack on the outer or south front. This shews the summit of the keep

covered with buildings arranged in a polygon eighty feet diameter, with an open court in the centre. Outside these, along the edge of the mount, is a line of stockade, 180 feet long, resting on the walls of the court, and strengthened by two bastions of timber. The bottom of the ditch forms a covered way, and along the counter-scarp is placed a second line of stockades, 240 feet long, and also resting at each end on the walls. The ends of the curtain and of the intermediate wall abutting on the keep are also shewn. On the south margin of the keep is a well. This plan is specially interesting, as it not only shews that there was a building upon the mound, but lays down a plan of defence which in all probability is precisely what the Conqueror found here in use when he ordered a castle to be made.

Among the Fabric rolls in the Public Record Office are several entries relating to Rockingham Castle, from which the following extracts were made by the late Mr. Burtt.

A small roll, 4th Edward I, of masons' and carpenters' work, amounting to £37 6s. 6½d.

A fragment of a roll, undated, but early in the same reign: Expenses of a mason "*circa turrem faciendam et murum turris ex parte meridionali punctuandum et petras in muro debiles et fractos extrahendas et alias petras ibi ponendas et petras ad eundem murum scapulandas.*" A carpenter was employed "*circa chevrones ad lardarium faciendas et fenestras ad celarium (the cellar) sub oriole reparandas et faciendas.*" Two masons are employed upon "*murum castri ex parte orientali porte facientes;*" and others upon the walls generally. There was also a payment "*plumbariis facientibus et cooperatoribus parvam cloacam super murum castri versus ecclesiam Rok'*," that is, on the north curtain.

Another roll, 4th-5th Edward I, contains in two membranes a record of the expenses "*ad petram liberam frangendam apud Pukesalter;*" also of two men "*operantes super gradus aule Regine;*" and of a carpenter "*ad garderobam Regine carpentandam ad tascam et cendulandam, 40s.*"

5th-6th Edward I are three entries: a mason and other men were employed "*circa novum oriolum ad*

hostium magne camere et veteram aulam erigendam." Others were engaged "circa mantellam magni turris faciendam et erigendam;" and others "circa cumilum parve camere juxta le viz et fenestram et alia in garde-roba Regis facienda."

5th-8th Edward I is an incomplete roll of five membranes, written, but not closely, on the front and back. The entries relate to works upon the walls, the chimney, and other parts of a chamber "ultra volticium (draw-bridge) circa crestos ad murum versus mantell' (mantlet) turris." Also repairs of the "porta de Durr'." Also to windows, &c., of the same, carpenters' work, and the door of the new turret. To masons, "ad novam cameram faciendam de veteri aula;" to carpenters for doors of the great cellar and new turret. The stone was quarried and conveyed from Weldon. Masons, &c, were engaged "circa cameram magnam Regis corrigendam;" and carpenters "circa claustrum faciendum et porcheam camere Regine co-operiendam." At the end of the dorse of one of the membranes is the pious valediction addressed either to the accounts or the building, "Dens te comburet vel Diabolus!" something in the style of "Deil pike out the een," said to have been invoked by old Q upon those who examined into the building accounts of Drumlamrig.

6th Edward I, a roll of three membranes, mentions men engaged "ad veterem aulam faciendam et emendam."

6th-7th Edward I is a roll of five membranes, closely written on the face and partly so on the back. The entries are "circa novum turriolum faciendum;" "circa coquinam faciendam." Carpenters' work about "unam januam ad barbecanum et unam januam ad mantellum versus turriolum juxta magnam turrem." Masons were engaged "circa cameram Regine faciendam," and cutting stones, "ad circularem fenestram in magna camera Regis." The expenses appear of Master Ralph the painter "circa parvas cameras juxta cameram Regine dealbandas" (white washing); also masons engaged "circa chimineum in magna camera Regis et muros ad cameram ultra volticium faciendos." Again, the expenses of Ralph the painter "circa cameram Regis dealbandam," and "circa cameram Regine dealbandam." A car-

penter was employed "*circa claustrum et hostiam ad camere Regine faciendas.*" Master Richard "*circa cameram ultra volticium faciendam et terram juxta coquinam removendam.*" Of stores there were, "*In iiij libras ære et dimidiam empt' ad opus cement' confectis cum thure code et pictivæ ad cementum faciendum.*" More stone from Weldon; slates from Haringworth; "*In vitreis fenestris emptis ad cameram Regine, 10s.*"

7th Edward I is a roll of two membranes. The expenses of a mason "*in magno horre crestando;*" of men "*fodientes petras in quarrerìa juxta castellum ad fundamentum aule cohoperiendum.*" Masons "*ad muris aule, solarii, capelle, et garderobe cohoperiend' et super fundamentum stabule per ij dies;*" also a mason "*ad capellam prosternendam in turre.*"

Another roll of the same date contains the trades of the workmen employed. One master mason, four cissores (trimmers or dressers of stone); four cubitores (bedders); six servitores (helpers); two quarrymen at Rockingham; six carpenters; two makers of boards and laths; and two sawyers.

8th-9th Edward I, six membranes. A complete roll of works for the year, Michaelmas to Michaelmas, naming however but few places; only the tower, the chamber, near the new chapel; men engaged "*circa capellam et cameram domini Regis faciendam;*" also "*circa murum aule et fundamentum celarii.*" The stone came from Weldon and Haverne.

9th-10th Edward relates to small works only.

13th-14th Edward I, a full roll, Michaelmas to Michaelmas: Masons are busy "*super capellam;*" "*super kernellos;*" carpenters, "*super magnam capellam Regis;*" masons, "*circa fenestram Reginæ inter duos turiolos erigendam,*" and "*circa murum et fenestram celarii reficiendam*" and "*circa unum baterat intrantem magnam cameram et circa dictum murum et fenestram;*" also "*circa gabulam capelle et circa turiolum,*" and "*super turiolum et murum versus magnam portam juxta boveriam;*" also a carpenter was engaged "*super sedem Regine ad capellam.*" The total thus expended by and according to this roll was £103. 0s. 12d.

15th-16th Edward I, also a full roll, Michaelmas to

Michaelmas. Masons engaged "circa novum turiolum juxta coquinam," a carpenter, making "gistas ad turriolum de Holebrooke;" a mason "cooperiens ij turiolos, muros aule, et in aliis locis emendans coloperturam murorum." Two masons "perimplentes warderobam Regine et viam de aula usque cameram Regis et domum Lawyte' juxta capellam, et facientes astr' (astra are fire-places or hearths) in v caminis in turri et iiii caminis in castello ad tascham 8s.' circa murum versus turrin erigendam et turridum versus turrin."

Mention is made of "stagnum," or tin, for solder. The gables of the solar or upper floor, next the sun. "Cyntles or cindules" are shingles for roofing. "Viz," from "vis," a screw, is a spiral staircase. "Vertevellis" are hinges, and "gumphis," the big hooks on which they turned. Gudgeon and pintle.

The above entries shew much attention to the lodging of the King and Queen, and but little to those of any one else, or to the fortifications. The old hall is probably that which preceded the present structure, and was no doubt Norman. The cellar under the oriel is mentioned. The magna turris was probably the keep, and the drawbridge that which crossed the keep ditch. The barbican was no doubt a timber structure outside one of the two outer gates. The old chapel, probably that in which the council met, was destroyed, and a new one erected. The new hall seems to have been in progress 8th-9th Edward I.

The history of Rockingham is closely bound up with that of the forest, of which its constables or castellans were almost always seneschals. It has been shewn that the Conqueror here ordered a castle to be made, and probably therefore he visited the spot. In 1095 it was selected by Rufus as the place of meeting for the nobles and prelates of the realm to discuss with Archbishop Anselm the important question, "Utrum salvâ reverentiâ et obedientiâ Sedis apostolicæ posset Archiepiscopus fidem terreno Regi servare, annon?" When the King arrived from Normandy, 29th December 1094, he found Anselm about to accept his pall from Urban II, whom the king had not acknowledged as pope, and the question arose whether the recognition of Urban was consistent

with fidelity to the crown. The meeting took place at Rockingham on the fifth Sunday in Lent, 11th March 1095. They met in the chapel, when Anselm called on the prelates for their advice. The prelates inclined to the feudal rather than the ecclesiastical view of the question, which they rather avoided, and decided that Anselm had treated the king with disrespect. The meeting was adjourned to the Monday, when the prelates agreed that the assembly was one of vassals of the crown, and not a synod, and they and the nobles advised Anselm to submit himself to the king. On the Tuesday a deputation of the prelates met Anselm. They persisted in regarding the difference from the secular point of view only, offering an opinion that as a vassal of the crown the Archbishop was in the wrong, but declining to go further, or to pass any censure upon their ecclesiastical superior. The meeting then broke up, Anselm refusing to give way. Soon afterwards the king acknowledged Urban and received his legate, but without consulting or informing Anselm. All this shews that Rockingham was then an important place. The chapel must have been more than a mere oratory in the keep like those of Arundel or Lincoln, and there must have been some sort of accommodation for the assembly, composed as it was of laymen of high rank and of bishops, in an age when men of that order were not remarkable for asceticism.

The forest is said anciently to have extended to Northampton, but the boundaries, as fixed by various perambulations from Edward I to Charles I, limit it to Oxendon and Stamford bridges. It was divided into the Bailliewicks of Rockingham, Clive or Clyffe, and Brigstoke, each under a bailiff and verdurers, and in each of which was a forest lodge, kept in repair by the crown. At Geddington on the Isle was a larger residence, often visited by the sovereigns, where a great Curia Regis was once held, and where still remains one, the most perfect, of the memorial crosses set up by Edward I to his Queen. Many manors also were held of the castle by the tenure of castle-guard. There is no regular list of these, but it is known that among them were Little Billing, Cottingham, Aldwinkle, Cogenhoe, Harwedon, Hanington, Horton, Isham, Uphall, Wotton, and the

Barony of Clipping-Warden, which itself was served by similar tenures. Also an inquisition, 18th February, 18th Edward I, shews that the Manor of Wahul was held of the king per Baroniam by the service of one knight's fee, and sixty-nine shillings each Michaelmas for the Ward of Rokingham Castle. The sums for which the service was commuted ranged from twenty pence to seventy-five shillings annually, and were assessed at five shillings for a knight's fee. The collection of these sums was the business of a special officer who held half a virgate of land by this tenure, besides hous-bote and hey-bote in Cottingham wood, a right to grass his horse in the Abbot of Peterborough's meadows at Eston, and his diet when the king or his constable were in residence. He seems to have been called the castle bailiff, and in Henry III's time, when Geoffrey de Rokingham held it, the office was hereditary. There was also a weyte or watchman, who mounted guard at night, and held the weyte fee by the tenure of castle-weyte. Simon de (or le) Weyte held the office 36th Henry III.

In 1137 we are told in the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* that the Abbot of Peterborough, under its indomitable abbot Martin, that "good monk and good man," recovered from William Malduit, who held the Castle of Rockingham, the lands of Cottingham and Easton. Malduit was only constable, but in the lawless reign of Stephen, the keeper of so strong a place must have exercised very independent powers. The castle, however, was never actually alienated from the crown, and was frequently visited by the kings, together with Brigstoke and Geddington, and forest laws were very strictly enforced, through the Justice "in itinere forestarum." In 1139-40 (5th Stephen) the king had a vinedresser at Rockingham, for whose livery was allowed thirty shillings, and twenty shillings were spent in procuring necessities for the vineyard. In 1188, 11th February, a great assembly, 'Curia Regis,' was held at Geddington to discuss the question of a crusade. In 1189-90 the Sheriff of Northamptonshire accounted for one hundred shillings for the rent of Rockingham.

In 1194 King Richard was here.

Henry II and Richard I allowed £4 11s. 3d. for the

castle porter and two watchmen. The custos or constable purchased his office. In 1157-8 Fulk de Lisoriis accounted for twenty pounds for the old rent of the forests of Rockingham and Selveston, and a similar sum was accounted for as the new rent of the same forests. In 1199 Robert Mauduit paid for it one hundred pounds by four quarterly payments. He had already held it. King John was here at least fourteen times between 1204 and 1216, and dated many instruments from hence. In 1204, 5th May, the county of Rutland and the vill of Rockingham had been settled in dower by John on Queen Isabella. He probably retained the castle. In this settlement he followed precedent, for in 1209 Pope Innocent called upon him to restore to Berengaria, Richard's queen, her goods, among which is specified "*In Nordhantonscire Rokingham cum pertinenciis ejus*" (Rymer). The dower was confirmed 5th May, 1215. In 1204 the Patent Roll shews that King John granted to Samson Wascelin, "our clerk," the church of Rockingham with the attached chapel of Manneton, in free alms for life. In 1205, Scogernel, a king's messenger, had ninepence for going to Rockingham. In October, 1207, Earl David (of Huntingdon) had paid the king in his chamber at Rockingham, by the hand of Peter de Stoke, £100 due on an imprest, and in 1208 Hugh de Nevil was to be prepaid his outlay, estimated by competent persons, on the king's houses at Roginham and Clyve.

In 1209 and 1210 occur divers entries in the Mise Roll concerning William Aquarius, who provided the king's bath. Of eight baths, he had made one at Northampton. There is no bath at Rockingham. There are payments for the "*rancini*" of Thomas Marescal staying at Northampton and Rokingham for six days with the royal wardrobe, while the king wandered [*'spatiatum'*] among the forests and rivers. He thus visited Geddington and Clyve, where he lost 4s. 10d. at tables with the Earl of Salisbury, and afterwards 4s. 11d. Also the keep of twenty-nine horses and twenty-four valets (*garçiones*) for three days at Rockingham, with a workshop (*fabrica*) cost 24s. 5d.

The frequency of the royal visits was in some measure due to the necessity for supporting the household from

the local resources ; wine however, notwithstanding the vineyard, was imported and kept in store, especially at Southampton, and there delivered to the king when needed. Thus in 1212, sixteen casks of wine were imported of which five went to Rockingham, three to Clyffe, and four to Geddington ; and John while here, 10th July, acknowledges the receipt of a coat of mail which had belonged to the constable of Chester. Here also, according to the Mise Roll, John ordered 100 marcs given him by the burgesses of Nottingham to be expended in making a tower "in mota de Notingham."

The castle was also a prison. In 1213, Gilbert de Gartington was to be set free from thence, with his chattels, on bail ; also Robert de Mara, taken at Carricfergus, was freed at the request of the legate. In 1214, the chancellor was directed to purchase five dolia of the best wine in London and to send them to Clyffe, Geddington, Rockingham, and Selveston. In this year £127 8s. 6d. was allowed for works on the new tower and chamber in the castle, and Peter de Barr and Nicholas de Hugevill foot crossbowmen were sent to be employed in the defence of the castle, at six pence per day each. In January, 1215, the chancellor was to send more red wine. In March the king has restored to William Earl of Albemarle the manor of Rockingham, which had belonged to Alice his paternal aunt (amitæ suæ). This may be either Alice de Romeli his mother's mother, or Alice Mareschal his sister. He is to have "homines, res, terras, et omnes possessiones." In May, William de Harcourt is to be well received at the castle if he needs hospitality. It appears that the late custos had been enclosing, for the king gives to Roger de Nevil the whole assart of Rockingham which Hugh de Nevil had assarted or cleared, and adds common of pasture in the vill for his stock, by the tenure of a pair of gilt spurs annually.

1216, 4th March, of the prisoners sent by Lady Nichole de Haya to Nottingham four are to be transferred to Rockingham. The custos of the castle seems to have been trespassing on the powers of the sheriff, which the king sets right. Probably there had been a disturbance at Rockingham for John directs the constable of Nottingham

to liberate on a fine a prisoner taken there. Later in the year the garrison must have been discontented, for the custos is ordered at once to pay their arrears of livery to the men who garrison the castles of Northampton and Rockingham, so that they may have no excuse for desertion. The constable is to retain for the use of the castle the manors of Geddington, Cliff, Brigstock, and Corby. He is to act as escheater in order to give seizin of Blaston and Weston to Ralph Fitz Peter. This is one of the first orders made in the new reign, and is tested by the Earl marshal "teste Comite." Henry the III was probably at Rockingham many times, certainly in 1220, 1226, and 1229.

1217, the abbot of Peterborough asks not to be distrained for his castle guards. This is granted, but the knights who hold the abbot's fees are to do the service. In 1218 Richard Trussell was fined for taking his dogs through the forest. In 1219 to Hugh de Nevil is restored the bailliage of the forest and of Clyve, Gettington, and Brigstoke. The offices being connected with land the constable is to give seizin. 25th June the king sent his huntsman, Richard de la Hunt, to chase in the forest, and during his stay the sheriff is to provide for him and his two horses, two valets, a bearward (bernarius), a whipper in (veltarius), four greyhounds, and fourteen chiens de meute (canes de mota necessaria). He is also to have salt for salting the venison which he may take, and a carriage to convey it to the king as needed. Occasionally an order is given to allow some great man to take three or four bucks or does, but it is evident the number named are not to be exceeded. 19th July, Walter de Preston is sent to take forty bucks for the king's larder. In November, William Earl of Albemarle, in charge of the castles of Rockingham, Sauvey, and Biham, had refused to give them up, on which the sheriffs are warned that he had been excommunicated by the legate and no person is to aid him in holding the castles. The earl, however, resisted, and this castle was actually besieged and taken by surprise 28th June, 1220 (*Hist. Anglor*, ii, 242). Henry was here in person, and allowed William de Albini three and William de Insula two bucks. William de Preston and Richard

de Watervill are also allowed twenty each, probably for the king's use. A little before this, in May, 1220, Isabel, the king's mother, wrote to inform him that on his account rather than her own she had married the Comte de la March, and requested that her husband might be allowed her dower, which included Rockingham Castle (*Letters of Henry III*, i, 115). In July the bailliaiges were returned to Hugh de Nevil who had a charter from King John, and in November, Fulk de Breaute had one hundred pounds for his expenses during the siege, which he seems to have conducted. Sauvey and Rockingham when taken were found to be utterly bare of provisions, not three loaves of bread being found in the two.

Henry seems at first to have granted his mother's request, but 2nd September, 1221, Richard de Ripariis had the custody of the whole land which the Comte de la Marche had held in England of his wife's dower, and the good men of Rockingham were to answer to Richard for the rent of the vill, as they had done to the earl and his wife.

Other entries relate to the same year. The constable is allowed large timber for the repairs of the king's houses and the "turris" of Rockingham, and the sheriff is to allow twenty marcs for the same. Also Hugh de Nevile is to take a forest verdurer and good men "de visiñeto" (from the "venue" or place whence the jury came) of Cottingham and Carlton, and measure the assart which the Abbot of Peterborough had licence from King John to make. If 100 acres or less the abbot is to be left in peace, if above that area Hugh is to take possession and report.

16th April, 1222, the men of Rockingham are informed that Queen Isabel and her husband are again allowed the dower lands. In May the Earl of Albemarle had made his peace, and under King John's charter, touching the lands of Hawise, his mother, he is acquitted of relief and other charges for his farm of the manors of Rockingham, Clyffe, and Brigstoke, from the day on which he took charge of the castle to the 18th November, 1219. In this month the king sent ten marcs for the repairs of his

houses and the same for the castle, to be applied as far as it would go.

1223, the abbot is not to be distrained in time of peace for more than four shillings, castle guard, according to the tenor of the charter of Richard I. 13th September, it appears that Alianor, the king's aunt (grandmother), formerly Queen of England, had the fair of Rockingham as part of her dower, and she being dead Isabel and the Comte de la March are to have it with all the dues. 31st October, the custos has five marcs from the sheriff for the repairs of the gutter of the king's chamber. 1224, in this year ten casks of wine were sent to Rockingham, and the carriage from Southampton to be paid by the sheriff, and later on ten dolia more. Walter the Miller has an oak for the repair of the bridge, one conveniently situated is to be chosen. In 1225, the sheriff was to take with him proper men, skilled in carpentry and masonry, and see to the repairs of the king's chamber in the castle, and for this sufficient timber was to be allowed. The Bishop of Ely had an order for ten bucks from an Essex forest, but because they were hard to take he had a similar order on Rockingham, to be used should the first attempt fail. A certain Ivo de Dyen taken in the forest had fined to King John eight marcs and a palfrey for his freedom, and paid it to the constable, for which he now has a quittance. William de Cantilupe has two bucks and two does from the forest to put into his park at Eston. Martin de Patishull has ten bucks. Some timber allowed for the castle is to be selected by the foresters and verdurers, who are to take a receipt (talliam) for it from the sheriff.

In 1226 ten dolia of wine were sent to the castle. In this year Ralph de Troublevill was to have timber from some convenient spot where the forest would not be injured, for the bay of the king's vivary at Brigestoke and the repair of his houses. The custos has twenty marks from the sheriff for works at the chapel and other parts of the castle. The sheriff of Beds is also to supply twenty marcs for these works; a load of lead is ordered for the gutters of the roof. 15th August, the constable is to have two bucks in season [in horis]. 24th July, 1227, the constable is to pay over his receipts for the

past and present year from Rockingham fair to Thomas de Cyrene, or his bailiff of that vill. and he is to leave them with him in future. William de Cantilupe is allowed to take two bucks in season. In 1230 three casks of wine were sent to the castle from Boston.

After some lapse of time an inquisition of the 34th Henry III, 1249-50, states that the castle was left ruinous by Sir Robert Basselewe, the last constable. It mentions the tower, the walls, and their battlements. The chapel was destitute of fittings for divine service.

1250, Geoffrey de Rokingham, who probably held the Weyte fee in capite under the castle, had died, and his executors were allowed administration on giving security for the debts due to the king. 1284-6, the estate was not wound up, and Master Hy. Sampson brought before the Barons of the Exchequer the pieces of a tally for £4 levied by the Sheriff of Rutland, which tally was by mischance broken. Sampson seems to have been an executor. 1251, the sheriff is allowed 8s. 2d. for the carriage of the king's venison from Rockingham to Westminster, and Elias de Hanvill is to take sixty oaks from the king's woods of Clyve, Brigstoke, and Cottingham for works at the castle.

In 1253-4 Ernald de Bosco, justice of the forests south of Trent, had charge of Rockingham forest between the bridges of Stamford and Oxendon, excepting the castle and its appendages; and he was directed to make "Trencheyns" where it seemed most expedient in the forests of Rockingham and Clyve. Two years later Hugh de Goldingham had the same charge, and four men were imprisoned in the castle for trespass. They paid two marcs to be allowed bail until the advent of the Justice in eyre.

1260-1, the king committed to Alan la Zouch the castle and the forest from bridge to bridge, and John de Oxinden and Walter le Batiller were his attorneys to account for the issues of the county and forest to the king.

1269-70, Henry Engayne had license to impark ten acres of forest, probably near Blatherwick. In 1271, at the close of Henry's reign, Edward Earl of Cornwall his

nephew had the manor of Rockingham, and obtained a grant for the town of a Friday market.

Edward I was at Rockingham in 1275, 1279, 1290, and 1300, on the last occasion for eight days in April.

3rd Edward I, 1274-5, the jurors of the Hundred found that when the king came to Rockingham and staid there, he used to have grass (herbagium) in grazing time for all his horses in the Abbot of Peterborough's meadows on the Welland, and the constable claimed the same, but it appeared that since the time of Abbot de Cauz these rights had been lost, as well as a right to take large timber for the repairs of the castle, and wood to burn and for fences from the Abbot's wood of Cottingham. Also, about twenty-five years before, the abbot by "pourpres-ture," or unlawful enclosure, had encroached upon the king's common of pasture in Estiburg, to what extent was not known. Also Robert Oliver had appropriated a slice of the king's meadow, 20 rods by 2 feet, to enlarge his millrace, and Geoffrey Fitz Peter had built a wall in the king's highway in Rockingham, and enclosed land 80 ft. by 8 ft. Another entry states that the abbot, who held the manor of Cottingham in capite, had enclosed an assart there, on which was formerly common of pasture attached to the castle, and worth 40s. per acre. Also for three years Berenger le Moyne and the men of Henington had ceased to do suit in the Hundred court of Polebroke, worth 7s. 4d. per annum, and castle guard 20s. It appears also from the same Hundred rolls that it had been the custom from ancient times to celebrate divine services in the chapel within the castle, for which 50s. was allowed annually by the sheriff. The celebration had ceased for eight years before 1268. The vill of Rockingham had been in the hands of the king's predecessors, and was given by King Henry to the King of the Romans, whose son Edmund Earl of Cornwall inherited it, and had the manor. The advowson of the parish church of St. Leonard was wont to be in the Crown, but the jurors were ignorant, "*Utram data esset domino Regi Alim' cum manerio de Rokingham an non.*" Manton chapel was attached to the manor, and Henry had given it to the last pastor who was still alive. The abbot, on his side, but half a century

later, had counter-complaint to make." (*Pet. in Parl.*, ii, 22).

1276-7, the Abbot of Pipewell was relieved from the toll for chiminage, or right of way through the forest. Thomas de Blatherstone had 9d. for his expenses with the king's greyhounds and 2d. for bread for them, and another 5½d. for bread when Master Richard de Holbroc staid at Rokingham, and for the greyhounds of the Abbot of Laund for nineteen days 19d, in all 8s. 6½d. for greyhounds.

In the year 1279 was an outlay on the castle, the details of which are preserved.

1279-80, Lawrence de Preston, one of a family who held Gretton manor, complained of Roger de Hollande, constable, for "estovers," or wood for the use of the house, taken from the woods of the Abbot of Peterborough in Cottingham, from William de Latimer in Corby, and from Preston's own wood at Gretton "pro nimia oppressione," in taking more than were due to him. Ralph Basset was allowed to assart and cultivate 38 acres in Weldon in the forest.

1280-1, the king granted to Robert Fitz-Roger of Wanton that part of the bailliewick of Bulay in the forest which is in the king's hands, and the charge of the wood of Fernes for life, saving to the king the rights of vert and venison. 1281, 8s. 2d. are allowed the sheriff for carriage of the king's venison from Rockingham to Westminster. 1282, Richard de Holebroke has the custodship of the castle and seneschalship of the forest, with the king's rents of Whytele and the manors of Saham, Oveston, and Silveston, for three years, and 1285 Holebroke is again constable and has £637 17s 8½d. for monies expended by him in repairs of the castle during the past seven years. It is therefore probable that Holebroke held office before 1282. As he was by far the most active person who held the office, and as most of the older part of the castle is his work, it will be convenient here to quote from the Miscellaneous Rolls for the 9th and 10th of Edward I, a translation of the instrument by which Holebroke was appointed constable, which may be taken as the general form for all, and may thus be rendered :

“Concerning the Castle of Rokingham and the office of the seneschalcy of the forests and the divers manors committed.

“The king commits to Richard de Holebroke the custody of the king’s castle of Rokingham and the office of the seneschalcy of the king’s forests, between the bridges of Oxon and Staunfford, with the king’s rent from Whitele, and with the king’s manors of Saham, Oneston, and Silveston, to be held with all their appurtenances from the feast of St. Michael in the year of the king’s reign the 9th, until the end of the three complete years next following, unless in the meantime the king should be induced to order otherwise concerning the aforesaid castle. Rendering thence to the king annually at the king’s exchequer from the issues of the aforesaid castle and seneschalcy 80 pounds. From the manor of Saham 56 pounds, and from the manor of Selveston 15 pounds, that is to say, one moiety at the feast of the Holy Trinity, and the other moiety at the feast of St. Martin next following. So however that the aforesaid Richard shall take nothing in the aforesaid forests or in the king’s park of Silveston, except a reasonable estorvery (what is necessary) for constructing the houses of the aforesaid castle and for maintaining those and other houses which are in the king’s aforesaid manors, and should it be necessary, for repairing them. And he may have herbage in the aforesaid park, preserving sufficient pasture for the king’s beasts there. And should it happen that in the meantime the king should retake that castle into the king’s hand, he shall preserve the aforesaid Richard without loss. In witness, &c. Witness the king at Westminster the 16th day of November” [1282].

1288-9, Walter de Langton was allowed to impark his wood of Ashley and twelve contiguous acres, all in the forest. 1289-90, Holbroke, still constable, was allowed £8 11s. 11¼d. for the expenses of the funeral of Walter de Levy, one of the suite of John de Brabant, who died at the castle and was buried at Pipwell. His bowels, however, were left at Rockingham, and there was a feast at his funeral. 1290-1, Elias de Hamul succeeded Holbroke, paying the same rental. In this year great com-

plaints were made to the king of Holebroke's conduct, Wm. de Latimer, who held Corby and a wood in capite at 10s. per annum, complained that Holebroke had cut down great oaks without number, destroying his wood, taking cart loads of underwood and branches, and had quartered charcoal burners upon it for six years at £10 per annum each. Also that he had kept about 80 swine and 100 goats there for a year in all seasons and contrary to the charter. Lawrence Preston of Gretton made a similar complaint. Both accused him of converting public funds into his private property. Holbroke denied the charges, and the king promised an enquiry. (Plac. in Parl. 1, 36)

1291-2, Thos. de Lodington was allowed to impark five acres in Maleswood in the forest. 1293-4, Elias de Hamul was sent to Germany, and Thomas de Hamul appointed in his room. 1295-6, the constable is to take charge of William, son of Sir John de Moravia, Herbert de Mirham, Alex. de Fitz-Gley, and Gregory Fitz-Owen, prisoners taken in Dunbar castle. Money is allowed for their sustenance. 1296-7, W. Beauchamp Earl of Warwick holds the castle and forest during pleasure, and, 1298-9, is succeeded by Adam de Welles.

In July 1299 Edward I settled the dowers of Margaret the sister, and Isabella the daughter, of the King of France, on the marriages of himself and his son, and in the places settled on the latter occur "Geytington, Eston, Torpeyl, Brikstok, Clyve, and the castle and vill of Rokingham, with its forests, etc.," and the schedule gives the following interesting particulars of their value. Geytington, farm of the vill, £48; of the market, 6 mares, total £52. Eston, £40. Torpel, £100. Brikstok, with park and wood, £104 13s. 4d. Clyve, with the forest, £110 6s. 3d. C. and V. of Rokingham, with forest, etc., £80, being the farm of the castle and seneschalship between Oxon and Stamford bridges. (Mise roll, 27 Edw. 1.) Queen Eleanor's dower settled on her marriage was £4,500 per annum. (Cal. rot. Chartarum.)

1301, John, son and heir of Richard de Holebroc, was allowed £614 10s. 6d. for extensive repairs to the castle in his father's time.

The entries during the reign of Edward II are also

tolerably numerous. 1307-8, Baldwin de Manners became constable on the same terms as Welles, as did Alan la Zouch 1311-12. In the next year Roger de Norwich had the vill of Rockingham and the manor of Little Weldon. 1313, Aymer de Valence Earl of Pembroke was custos, &c. on the usual terms, and Richard Edward had Little Weldon. De Valence himself, or by his deputy, was to provide munition for the castle out of the issues of his custodship.

1314-15, the Abbot of Pipewell was allowed 5a 3r. 10p., at a perch of twenty feet, for ever, from the king's waste in the forest, at a rent of 2s. 11d. 1315, the king being lord of the manor of Rockingham, the Saturday market was confirmed. 1319-20, John Gifford, clerk, had a grant of 85a. 3r. 9½p. in the forest in fee at the south side, in Tottenhowe, to be cleared and built upon. Also he has "common" for his animals. 1323-4, beside a number of castles, the vill of Rockingham is committed to Humphrey de Walden and Richard de Iken, and next year to Iken and Richard de Wynfarthing. 1324-5, John de Mosteyn was constable. Edward III is known to have been at Rockingham four times, and he here tested a score of documents, many of which are diplomatic instruments of great importance, and drawn up with much care. Queen Philippa probably had the castle in settlement on her marriage in 1327, for in 1329 Edward granted her 60 acres in the forest, in aid of the repairs of the castle then a ruin. William la Zouch was allowed to make a "saltatorium" or deer-leap within his manor of Haringworth in the forest, and next year Simon de Drayton had leave to impark Elsdale, Neusdale, and Lappe, containing 60 acres, also Wynescross of 10 acres, the latter outside the forest. Drayton was also constable and seneschal, paying yearly £80. He was of Drayton, now one of the best preserved and charming old manor places in the forest, and which has never been sold or alienated. An order was issued for enquiry into the oppressions done by Robert de Veer while constable, and the Bishop of Lincoln had leave to add 60 acres to his park of Luddington, county Rutland, but within the forest, and to enclose the same within a stone wall. 1335-6, Master William de Nassington had a pardon and

fined a mare for "pour presture" and encroachment of 13a. 3r. at Kaluhey, occupied by John of Kyngeswood, parson of Hakebourn. 1336-7, Walter de Basley, the king's clerk, had a grant of two oaks in the forest from the queen, and had taken four, for which he is in prison. John de Verdon, constable, is to release him on bail. Verdon held office by the queen's grant for life, paying £80 per annum to the king's consort when alive, and on her death to the king. 1338-9, the king took the homage of Hugh, son and heir of Margery de Nevill, deceased, for 6 acres of arable, 1 of meadow and pasture, and 20s. rent in Medbourne, held by the service of giving a barbed arrow whenever the king came to the castle.

1339-40, the forest wastes were to be measured; and two years later were to be enquired into in the forests of Rockingham, Saley, and Whichwood. 1345-6, Thomas Wake of Blisworth had license to assart 250 acres of land and pasture within the forest for which the præpositus and brethren, chaplain of John Gifford's Chantry in Cotterstock and their successors are to pay annually 1d. per acre. They also pay a fine of £5. The lands are "nuper arentatis." 1347, the Lieutenant of the Tower of London is to send 10 Scots prisoners to John de Verdon constable of Rockingham, or his deputy Thomas Stone. 1348-9, Simon Simeon has leave to enclose his wood of Grafton in the forest with a little ditch and a low hedge, and five years later he has permission to inpark it.

20th Edward III, 1346-7, the king, in aid of the repairs of the castle, "*qui noviter dirutus est et prostratus*" grants to the queen 60 acres of wood in his park of Bukelestrode within the forest on lease for her life. (Abb. Rot. Orig.) The queen however had it not all her own way, for 1356-7 is a memorandum for staying her assarts in the forest. In this year the Abbot of Pipewell has the advowson of Geddington, and is to restore to the king in fee his lands in Benefield.

1371-2, and again in 1375-6, the king confirms the queen's grant to Walter de Wright of pannage, herbage, dead wood, "*coprneo*," brushwood (*cablicio*), bullrushes (*cirpos*), and all fallen branches, within the park of Brigstoke, and the bailliewicks of Geddington and Bulay,

within the forest of Rockingham, also timber for the park pales for life, at £10 per annum. 1371-2, Henry Mulso has a lease for five years, at £42 per annum, of all the king's "rentes d'assart" in the forest. 1375-6, Almaric de St. Amand, chivaler, has the castle and forest at the old rent of £80. 24th August, 1375, the truce of Bruges between England and France was confirmed by Edward, "Don' a nostre chastel de Rockingham."

In 1381, Sir John de Clyfton claimed to hold the manors of Rockingham and Wymundham by the service of butler at coronations, which service he complains had been usurped by the Earl of Arundel.

The importance of the castle and the exclusive jealousy of encroachment on forest rights were now on the decline. Encroachments were made upon the woodlands both for private parks and for cultivation, and the castle was neglected. The forest offices were however still coveted, and continued to be so for some centuries. 1387, Sir William de Thorpe had the bailliewicks of Brikestone, Gettington, and Bulay for life. 1396, William Brancepath has the charge of the lordship of Rockingham for twelve years at £4 2s. 1d. At this time it was under the Duchy of Cornwall.

The reign of Henry IV opens upon Rockingham with a grant of the charge of the park of Clyve for life, and early in that of Henry V is an appointment of itinerant judges to hear pleas in Rockingham forest.

1439-40, Henry VI granted to the master of the College of Fotheringay 20 acres of waste in Shortwood, near Southwick, in Kingscliff bailliewick for 3s. 4d., with permission to assart. In 1440, the vineyard mentioned in the reign of Henry I was extant, and worth 4s. per annum; and 1442-3, Sir Robert Ross, one of the king's carvers (*trencheatorum*), and much employed in diplomacy, has a grant in tail male of the castle and lordship of Rockingham, and the seneschalship of the forest from Stamford to Oxendon bridges, the supervisorship of the parish of Brigstock, pannage, etc., at £75 16s. 8d. per annum, which was held by Henry his son in 1450. 1445 the tenants of Southwick manor are allowed common of pasture in the forest. 1450, Richard Duke

of York is constituted justice in eyre of the southern forests, and of Rockingham between the bridges, and of the king's parks of Cliffe and Brigstoke for life. An entry in the "*Inquisitiones ad quod damnum*" shews that between 1448-55, the "men and tenants" of the town of Northampton held the office of king's escheator. In the long list of crown revenues enumerated in the proceedings of Parliament, 28th Henry VI., 1450, the farms, rents, pasture and profits of assarts in Rockingham forest are set down at £26 3s. per annum. In 1454, Henry settled upon Queen Margaret, with much other property, the castle, lordship, manor, and forest of Rockingham, with its assarts, rents, etc., the vill of Brigstoke, and the bailliewicks of Brigstock and Clyffe, etc.

Edward IV first appears in the forest by a concession in 1462-3 to the tenants of his vill of Nassington and Yarewell of an annual tax called Woodhallmare exacted by the officers of the forest; he also granted them free common for their beasts in Seveley and generally in the forest.

1462-3, the king made an ample grant to William Lord Hastings and Ralph Hastings, Esq., to be constables of the castle and forest of Rockingham and bailiffs of Clyve and Brigstoke &c. for their lives; Lord Hastings also had the manor of Stoke d'Albini. 1467-8, Edward settled the manor upon his queen, Elizabeth Widville, with the castle and forest, for life.

One of the old forest laws forbade those who held woods of their own within the forest boundary from enclosing them after felling the timber, for the protection of the rising wood, for more than three years. The king in Parliament, 1482, 22nd Edward IV, extended this time to seven years.

Henry VII, soon after his accession, confirmed to John Lord Welles the office of constable and steward of the castle, lordship and manor of Rockingham, and of master forester of all the parks within the forest. He seems however, 4th March, 1498, to have settled the whole upon Elizabeth his queen for life. In the schedule attached to the king's declaration, *pro hospitio Regis*, 1485, 1st Henry VII, the revenues of Cliffe, Brigstocke,

Geddington, the Forest, Corby, and Gretton, are set down at £208.

Edward VI, 1551-2, granted the manor, as part of the Duchy of Cornwall, to Edward Lord Clinton. 27th June, 1553, occurs a grant to Lord Robert Dudley and William Glaseour of tenements in Rockingham, and in Eston, co. Leicester, late parcel of the lands of the late William Lord Parr, and late in the occupation of Edward Watson. This was Sir Edward Watson who had the manor of Rockingham, 28th Henry VIII, and was father of Henry Watson, æt. 16, 16th Henry VIII. Probably, however, that was a sub- or mesne-manor, for the castle and manor of Rockingham were in the crown in the reign of Philip and Mary.

In 1570, 21st April, the Earl of Northampton informs Cecil that Edward Watson of Rockingham has been required by the Council to contribute 100 mares to the loan. Probably this should be 1000, or £337 10s., for he adds that in his opinion not more than £50 should be required of him. (*State Papers, Dom.*)

In 1571 Sir Walter Mildmay has a grant of forest land, probably near Apethorpe.

In 1592 the Lord Treasurer Burghley has the keepership of the forest for life, excepting Great and Little Brigstock parks, as the late Lord Chancellor had it. When Lord Burghley died the keeper or wardship was given, 1598, to his son. From this time the grants of bailliewicks, forest walks, lands, and forest offices are very numerous.

In 1601, 23rd December, Elizabeth granted the forest in free socage to be held of the manor of Hampton Court to Edward Watson and William Whitock, for £96 1s. 4d. What this grant meant is uncertain: not the whole forest, for the keepership of this was granted to Lord Burghley, Sir William Cecil, and Lord Roos, with survivorship.

26th October, 1604, the deer had become scarce, and Lord Burghley was restrained from killing any for three years. In this year an inquisition was directed into the forest lands held by the king's tenants, the crown interests having evidently been much neglected.

In January, 1605, notice was given that James inten-

ded to visit Rockingham, and commissioners sat, probably to check abuses, before whom, 14th June, Sir Thomas Tresham was summoned for his discourses on the misgovernment of the forest under Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth, matters which he hoped James would reform.

In 1609 the commissioners were prepared to agree to compositions from the holders of assarted lands, excepting however in Clyffe and probably some other parts of the forest. They were also selling the woods, but as the game had been diminished by unlawful hunting it was ordered that for three years no claims for deer should be allowed save under the sign manual. At that time Sir C. Hatton was keeper of the Launde of Benyfield in the forest.

29th October, 1609, Sir Edward Watson wrote to Lord Salisbury that the king's tenants in Cotingham and Middleton desired to purchase these lands, and he himself offers to purchase his court leet and view of frankpledge.

2nd June, 1610, John Browne has £170 0s. 4d. for the repairs of the lodges of Geddington, Morehay and Gretton woods.

In 1611, 19th September, Sir Lewis Watson of Rockingham had license to travel.

1615, 12th June, Sir Robert Lane was proceeded against by the Attorney-General for encroachment on the forest.

1616, Sir Edward Watson, whose effigy is seen in the church, became possessed of the manor of Rockingham. 1619, 20th June, George Marquis of Buckingham had a grant of Rockingham park, which, in the same year, he conveyed to Sir Lewis Watson; and 1621, 23rd March, Buckingham, then Lord High Admiral, had a grant of 200 oaks from Westhay walk, to be selected by himself. 1624, 14th May, the Earl of Exeter, then Lord Warden of the forest, mentions the land of Murie as one of the prime walks. The verdurers seem to have been country gentlemen of consideration in the neighbourhood; Sir Thomas Tresham was one. 20th July, Robert Lane, who had been displaced by the Montague interest with the Earl of Exeter, asks Lord Salisbury to replace him as keeper of Geddington woods. In 1625, 23rd March a

warrant is issued for the repairs of the chief lodge in Corby woods, and £16 and 10 tons of timber are allowed.

1628, 29th January, John Lord Mordaunt has the forestership of Farming woods at £10 per annum, with a fine of £1150, and Edward Lord Montague has that of Geddington at £10, with a fine of £850. Soon after he purchased the timber, and is mentioned as having the revenue of Rockingham bailliewick. Nicholas Pay and others had a grant from Lords Peterborough and Westmoreland of all timber trees in the walks of Morehay, Westhay, and Farming woods for £2000, and Lord Montague that of Geddington walk for £1000. He also had a grant of the office of master forester and keeper of Rockingham bailliewick for three lives. These two lords seem to have been in favour with Charles I, and on the death of the Earl of Exeter in 1629 to have managed the forest in their own interests. In 1630-1 Mary Countess of Westmoreland seeks to have her son made justice in eyre for the forest, of which it will give her the command. In 1635 Sir Christopher Hatton claims Gretton and Weldon woods in the Forest Court, by grant from Queen Elizabeth, as does Sir W. Tresham Geddington by grant from James I. In this year, 11th Charles I, was held an "eyre" for Rockingham forest. Certain tenants claimed "Suite-Thornes," by the custom of the manor, in addition to house-bote, hedge-bote, gate-bote, and common of pasture.

In 1637-8, 13th Charles I, a new perambulation was ordered, to settle the bounds, which were finally agreed to as those of 20th James I, and made the subject of an Act of Parliament 17th Charles I. Deefforestation was allowed on reasonable composition, only the Surveyor General was to set out the bailliewick of Rockingham, Clyffe, and Brigstock, to be retained for the king's sport. Lord Treasurer Juxon was president of the new commission, which met in London, at London House, in 1638. At that time Henry Earl of Holland was justice in eyre, and seems to have had much to do. Richard Lane was his deputy. In 1638 Sir C. Hatton applied for leave to fell a coppice. The verdurers are to certify the acreage to the chief justice, and whether the wood may be felled without injury to the game. The certifiers

are Sir Lewis Watson and Charles Cockayn. Thomas Dove, a verdurer, has leave from the chief justice to hawk in moderation. There are great complaints of poaching. In this year William Earl of Salisbury had a release for two fines of £1400 and £6000 inflicted by the justice, probably for serious encroachments, and his park at Brigstock, which had been laid open, is to be re-parked. 1638-9, John Norwich of Brampton pays £400 for encroachments and Brampton is disafforested.

In 1639 the troubles had commenced, and 29th June the manor of Rockingham was confirmed to Sir Lewis Watson, who held the castle for the king. In 1643 the tide of civil war flowed towards Northamptonshire. 5th April, the castle had been besieged and taken, and Lord Grey of Groby was in command for the Parliament. He fortified it strongly with palisades, and therein sheltered his troops and certain of the disaffected clergy. 7th May, the castle contained a strong garrison and was used to preserve the peace of the district. 19th May, Sir Lewis Watson was captured by Colonel Hastings and taken to Stoke Albini. The colonel was active throughout the forest. 5th June, Sir John Norwich was the parliamentary governor of the castle, and had engaged and routed the king's guards. 9th June, 500 horse appeared before the castle, and a party blockaded it while the rest rode to Weldon. The garrison, however, were too strong, and captured nine or ten of the king's chief officers who came that way from Oxford. 29th December, Lord Grey proposed to dismiss Colonel Horsman, then in charge of the castle, but the Parliament upheld him.

In 1645 Norwich was in command, and took many prisoners, lodging them in the castle. Sir Lewis probably distinguished himself in the field, for 1st June he was created Baron Rockingham of Rockingham Castle. 7th June, the king marched from Harborough to Daventry, and on the 14th the battle of Naseby was fought, whence many prisoners were sent to the castle.

In August, 1660, with the restoration, Lord Rockingham appears, and finding a scarcity of deer, begs the usual warrants may be restrained. In 1661, at the coronation, Edward Lord Rockingham, as tenant in capite of Little Weldon, claimed to be keeper of the king's dogs.

This was referred to the king. The manor was held by the service of keeping twenty-four buckhounds and six harriers. With the civil war the value of the castle as a place of strength ceased, and it became the residence of the Watson family, as it has since remained.

Some years ago the late Mr. Hartshorne drew up an account of the castle, which, with copious notices of its descent, and of its connexion with the forest was printed in the first volume of the *Transactions* of the Institute. Since then, the Rev. H. J. Bigge, for many years rector of Rockingham, has paid much attention to the subject, and has made collections concerning it, for the use of which the present writer is much indebted.

ON THE MEDIEVAL SEPULCHRAL ANTIQUITIES
OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.¹

By MATTHEW HOLBECHE BLOXAM.

“The Laborious Journey and Serche of Johan Lelande for Englandes Antiquities, geven of hym as a Newe yeares Gyfte to King Henry the VIII in the XXXVII yeare of his Raygne,” (A.D. 1548) was begun about the year 1538, and the space of time occupied by him in traversing over great part of the kingdom appears to have been some nine or ten years in duration. He took notice of the churches he visited, and especially of the sepulchral monuments therein, but without much entering into details. His work is, however, a most valuable one for reference, and we may well esteem his memory, as of one of the earliest and most painstaking of our English antiquaries.

The Ancient Funeral Monuments of John Weever, published in 1631, is perhaps the earliest work of a comprehensive kind, relating to the subject, we possess. But, with the exception of a few rude woodcuts, this work is not illustrated. It may, however, have stimulated Sir William Dugdale in his admirable work on “The Antiquities of Warwickshire” to note and give engravings of many of the funeral monuments in that county; but though he employed Wencelaus Hollar, one of the most eminent engravers of his day, the drawings the latter had to copy were extremely faulty, and are not to be relied upon.

Most of the English county histories which have been published in the last century and half have been more or less illustrated with representations of sepulchral memorials, representations however which, until the present century, hardly gave satisfaction, when we regard accuracy of detail as important.

¹ Read in the ‘Section of Antiquities, at the Annual Meeting at Northampton, August 2nd, 1878.

The History of Northamptonshire by Bridges, a county gentleman, who, in the early part of the last century, collected materials for a county history, was not published till the close of that century, and the embellishments relating to the sepulchral memorials were few and unimportant.

Yet Northamptonshire contains in its churches as large and varied a series of sepulchral monuments, sculptured effigies, and incised brasses, as perhaps of any of our English counties, and these have been well and admirably illustrated by a few praiseworthy individuals.

In the year 1817 Mr. W. H. Hyett, a gentleman employed for twelve years or more in the execution of a portion of the general survey of the kingdom carried on by the Board of Ordnance, was stationed in this county, and being an admirable draughtsman was in the habit of making sketches of various monumental remains contained in different churches and churchyards. He published a work entitled "Sepulchral Memorials, consisting of engravings from the altar tombs, effigies, and monuments contained within the county of Northampton." These, engraved by W. Radcliffe from pen and ink drawings by Mr. Hyett, appeared in three numbers, containing representations of about twenty monuments and effigies. The drawings appear to have been very carefully made, and to a certain extent well illustrated the county history of Bridges, but the work was left incomplete, perhaps on account of the expense attending the engravings and publication, and the want of sufficient patronage to meet that expense.

There was one species of monumental relics which Mr. Hyett left untouched, and these were the incised brasses, of which, though many as in all parts of the kingdom have been abstracted from the leiger stones in which they were inlaid, the county of Northampton still retains a more numerous class than those we find most of our counties to possess, and it is to this class I would now direct attention.

Mr. Thomas Orton Gery, now deceased, a solicitor at Daventry in this county, commenced to make, upwards of fifty years ago, a collection of rubbings of the Northamptonshire brasses, and I believe his collection was

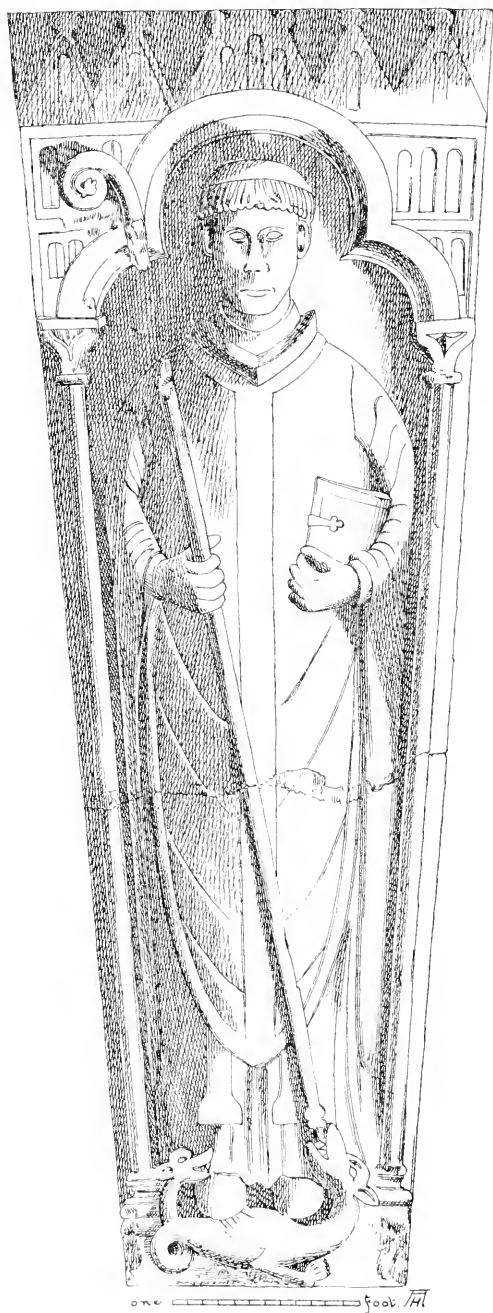
nearly complete. That collection is now in my possession. In 1840 the late Mr. Hartshorne published "An Endeavour to classify the Sepulchral remains in Northamptonshire," with illustrations from monumental brasses.

In the year 1853 copies in tinted lithography and bronze of the sepulchral brasses in Northamptonshire appeared in a quarto volume edited by Mr. Frank Hudson, a member of the medical profession, residing at Braunston near Daventry. Mr. Hudson died shortly before the publication of his valuable work, which comprises upwards of ninety illustrations. For some portion of the letterpress accompanying these brasses I am responsible.

From 1867 to 1876 appeared in parts Mr. Albert Hartshorne's valuable work on "The Recumbent Monumental Effigies in Northamptonshire, from 128 scale drawings." This is one of the most important illustrative works belonging to a single county we possess, and although it is not altogether complete owing to obstacles encountered by Mr. Hartshorne, by which he was prevented making drawings of the effigies in Stanford Church, near the north western boundary of the county, his work merits no slight degree of attention and commendation from his talents as a draughtsman and his accurate knowledge of detail, both as respecting armour and costume, and of the latter both ecclesiastical and lay, which appears not only in the representations but also in the descriptive accounts with which the engravings are accompanied.

One desideratum is still left, viz. representations of the architectural features and sculptures which enrich the monuments, exclusive of the sculptured effigies or incised brasses thereon; features which, in fact, are simply characteristic of the monuments themselves. This want has to a small extent been supplied, partly by Mr. Hyett, and partly by engravings in Baker's unfinished History of Northamptonshire, representing the interiors of the churches of Great Brington and Fawsley, with the sepulchral monuments therein. But yet a sufficiency of material left unnoticed has to be supplied.

Confining myself to sepulchral effigies, both sculptured



ABBOT BENEDICT. (DIED 1193.)

and incised in brass, out of upwards of two hundred examples, I must necessarily limit myself to a few which I consider to be of the greatest interest, and these again require to be subdivided into classes, viz., of ecclesiastics, of legal personages, of knights and others clad in armour, of laymen in civil costume, and of ladies.

Of the effigies in Peterborough Cathedral I treat but little, inasmuch as when the Royal Archaeological Institute met in that city in 1861, I then fully descanted upon them. I make however an exception. In the very interesting series of the sepulchral effigies of the abbots of that fine Benedictine church, effigies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and later, I may notice the earliest, that of Abbot Benedict, who died at the close of the twelfth century, A.D. 1193. This is one of the very few sepulchral effigies we meet with in our churches of so early a period as the twelfth century. This effigy is of grey marble, executed in relief, and is very perfect. It represents the abbot, not in his cowl or monastic costume, but vested for the eucharistic rite. The vestments consist of the amice, alb, stole, chesible, and maniple. These vestments are very simply arranged; the chesible is long in front, the head is bare and exhibits the tonsure, whilst the upper lip and chin are—contrary to the usual practise of those times—close shaven. The pastoral staff, with the simple crook turned outwards, is held carried in the right hand, and the stem crosses the body diagonally, the ferule being thrust into the jaws of a dragon, on whose body the feet of the effigy rests, in allusion to that verse in the Psalms, “Thou shalt tread upon the lion and the adder, the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under thy feet.” (Ps. xci.) In the left hand is held a book. This effigy is within a horizontal circular trefoil headed canopy, an architectural feature of the latter part of the twelfth century.

Although not one of the effigies of abbots in Peterborough Cathedral represents the abbot arrayed in monastic costume, there is in a niche of the gateway to, I think, the Bishop’s palace, south-west of the cathedral, the effigy, larger than life, of a Benedictine in his monastic habit or cowl. This effigy, which is of the thirteenth century, represents, I have little doubt, not

any particular abbot or monk, but St. Benedict himself, the founder of the great Benedictine order.¹

The Benedictine church at Peterborough was converted into a cathedral by Henry VIII, A.D. 1541. John Chambers, the last abbot, was the first bishop. He died in 1556. He had erected for himself a monument and effigy in the cathedral. These were destroyed in 1643.

Thomas Dove was bishop of this see from A.D. 1601 to A.D. 1630. Gunton, who published his history of this cathedral in 1684, writes as follows—"In the north isle of the church there was a stately tomb in memory of Bishop Dove, who had been 30 years Bishop of the place. He lay there in portraicture in his episcopal robes on a large bed under a fair table of black marble, with a Library of books about him. These men (the Parliamentary souldiers) that were such enemies to the name and office of Bishop, and much more to his person, hack and hew the poor innocent statue in pieces, and soon destroyed all the tomb, so that in a short space, all that fair and curious monument was buried in its own rubbish and ruins."

We have indeed, now, no sepulchral effigy in this county of a bishop. In Stene Church there is but a mural monument to Nathaniel Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, who died A.D. 1721, at the advanced age of eighty-eight, and was there buried; but the communion table, in that church, of marble bears the inscription, "The gift of Nathaniel Lord Crewe, Lord Bishop of Durham, 1720."

Leland, in treating of Northampton, tells us of an archbishop who was buried under a flat stone in the Quier of St. Andrea's, a monastery of Blake Monks, which stood in the north part of the town, hard by the north gate; but he omits to give the name of that archbishop.

Next to the sculptured effigies of the Abbots of Peter-

¹ A cast of this effigy is in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham; it is there said to be a representation of St. Luke or St. Philip. There are but few sepulchral effigies of Benedictines in the monastic habit. There is one at Hexham, that of

Prior Richard, with the hood of the cowl drawn over the face, and one in the ruins of Dundrennan Abbey, Kirkcudbrightshire, of an abbot of the Cistercian order in his cowl.



O. JEWELL DEL. & SC

Archdeacon Sponne.

borough is the very interesting sculptured effigy in Towcester Church of Archdeacon Sponne, who died A.D. 1448. He is represented as wearing a very long and scarlet coloured cassock, *toga talaris coccinea*, over which is worn a surplice with wide sleeves, and about his neck appears the *almucium* or fur tippet, and on his head is worn the *biretum* or scull cap. In the will of an archdeacon in 1418, the following bequest appears, "my best cassock with the worst almuze and surplice I am wearing."

Of the sculptured effigies of priests, beneath those of canonical rank, represented in the usual eucharistic vestments, viz., amice, alb, stole, chesible, and maniple, may be noticed that of John de Ardele, circa A.D. 1350, in the Church of Aston le Walls.

The effigy in Yelvertoft Church, sculptured in alabaster, of John Dycson, who died A.D. 1445, is somewhat remarkable, as besides the usual eucharistic vestments of a priest, amice, alb, stole, chesible, and maniple, he is represented as wearing the dalmatic under the chesible. What the wearing of this particular vestment, the dalmatic, implied, I am unable to explain.

There are sundry incised brasses representing priests in the usual eucharistic vestments, as at Newton Bromshold, Woodford, Higham Ferrers, and Chipping Warden.

At Sudborough we have, in a group in incised brass, the representation of a priest vested simply in the alb and stole, but shewing how the stole was worn over the alb priestwise and crossed in front with the extremities hanging down on each side.

At Ashby St. Ledgers the incised brass effigy of William Smyght, rector, A.D. 1510, represents him simply in a cassock with full sleeves and a tippet worn over the shoulder.

Of priests, not represented in the usual eucharistic vestments, but in the choral, processional, or canonical habit, we have at Higham Ferrers the incised brass effigy of Richard Wylleys, warden of the college there, who died in the latter part of the fifteenth century. He is represented in his cassock, over which is worn the surplice with the aumasse or furred tippet, and over all appears the cope.

At Castle Ashby is the incised brass of a priest, somewhat similar to that at Higham Ferrers.

The best and earliest incised effigy of this class is, perhaps, that in Rothwell Church, said to represent William de Rothwell, who died circa A.D. 1220, but which effigy I take to be of a much later period, viz., of the fourteenth century. The personage represented appears in a cassock, surplice, aumasse or furred tippet, and cope.

At Cotterstock Church we have the incised brass effigy of Robert Wyntryham, provost of the college there, circa A.D. 1420. He is represented in the processional habit, the surplice with sleeves, aumasse, and cope.

Of post-reformation divines we have but few representations under the rank of dean. That, an incised brass, of Richard Lightfoot, rector of Stoke Bruerne, who died A.D. 1625, represents him kneeling before a faldstool in a Geneva gown with hanging sleeves, whilst the incised brass of William Proctor, rector of Boddington, who died A.D. 1627, represents him attired in the Geneva gown, with long demi-cannon sleeves.

Of dignitaries of the Law of judicial rank we have representations of no less than five. One of these, an incised brass, in Wappenham Church, represents Thomas Billyng, Knight, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who died A.D. 1487. He wears the coif or close fitting cap, and is robed in a gown somewhat close fitting, with the tippet about his neck. The official robes of judges, as worn in the fifteenth century, are described by Sir John Fortescue, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench in the reign of Henry VI, who, in his work *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, setting forth the formality in making a judge, points out the particulars in which he should thenceforth change his habit, "for being a serjeant at the law, he is clothed in a long priest-like robe, with a furred cape about his shoulders, and thereupon a hood with two labels, with their coyf. But being made a justice, instead of his hood he must wear a cloak, closed upon his right shoulder, all the other ornaments of a serjeant still remaining, saving that his vesture shall not be party-coloured as a serjeant's may, and his cape furred with minever, whereas the serjeant's cape is ever furred with white lamb."

The four sculptured effigies of judges are the effigy in

Dene Church of Chief Justice Robert Brudenell, Knight, who died A.D. 1531. He is represented in the coif and judicial square cap, scarlet gown, and mantle with the collar of SS.

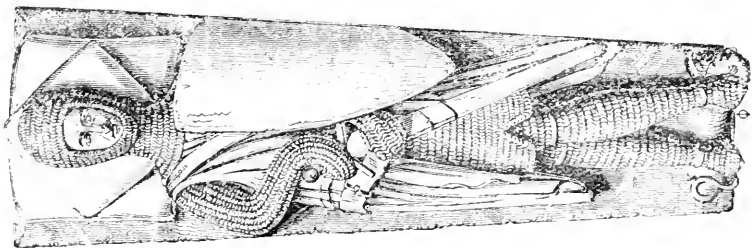
The effigy in Weekley Church of Sir Edward Montagu, Knight, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who died A.D. 1557, represents him in his judicial robes, coif, and square cornered cap, tippet, gown, and mantle, the latter fastened on the right shoulder.

The effigy of Sir Christopher Yelverton, Judge of the King's Bench, who died A.D. 1612, is in Easton Manduit Church. He appears with a coif on his head, over which is worn the judicial cornered cap. His robes consist of the scarlet gown tied about the waist, with wide sleeves faced with fur, or miniver, tippet covering the breast and shoulders, and mantle over the gown. Round the neck appears a ruff.

The effigy, also in Easton Manduit Church of Sir Henry Yelverton, Knight, who died A.D. 1629, and who was a Judge of the Common Pleas, represents him robed in the same judicial costume as that of his father, Sir Christopher Yelverton. He appears reclining on his right side, a not unusual attitude for sepulchral effigies in the latter part of the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth century.

The effigy in Stene Church of Sir Thomas Crewe, Serjeant at Law, who died A.D. 1633, is of white marble, well sculptured, possibly the work of Nicholas Stone, though not mentioned in the catalogue, apparently an imperfect one, of his works. He is represented in the legal costume of his rank, the gown and coif.

Of effigies in armour there is a large and wonderful



variety, from that in Castle Ashby Church, of Sir David de

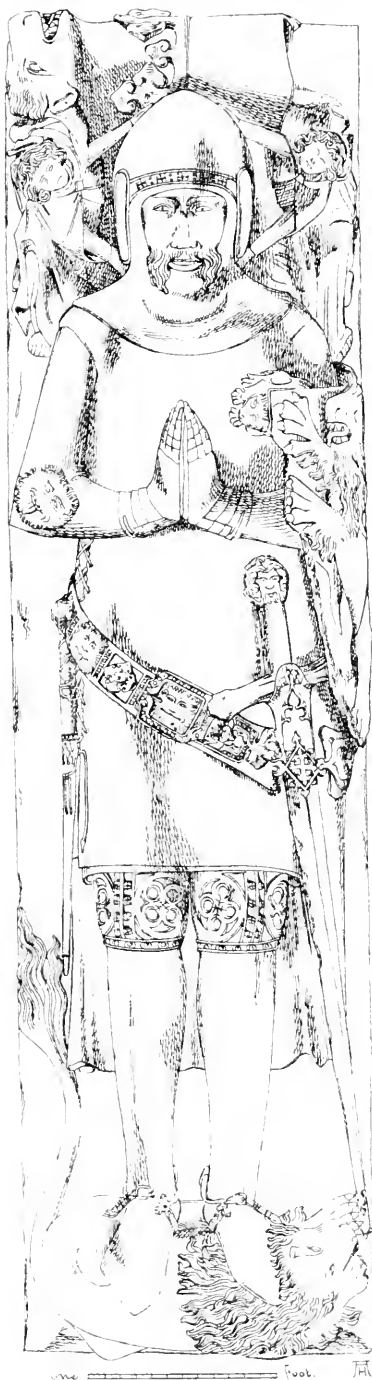
Esseby, who died previous to 1268, to that in Lowick Church representing Sir John Germaine, Bart., who died in 1718. The first is represented in a hooded hawberk and chausses of mail, without any admixture of plate, and with a sleeveless surcoat over the hawberk, a heater shaped shield being affixed to the left arm. The latter is represented in a complete but somewhat fanciful suit of plate armour, which was however in practical disuse before and at the time of his decease.

Between the periods of these two effigies, viz., from the middle of the thirteenth to the early part of the eighteenth century we have a gradual change from armour entirely of mail to that entirely of plate, the effigies in Northamptonshire, of themselves forming illustrations of every age.

We have banded mail armour exemplified by the effigy in Dodford Church of Sir Robert de Keynes, who died A.D. 1305, and the *cyclas*, that peculiar garment, shorter in front of the body than behind, which succeeded to the surcoat, and preceded the *jupon*, which latter was close fitting, exhibited by the effigy in Paulesbury Church of Sir Lawrence de Pavely, living in 1329, that in Hinton Church of Sir Wilham de Hinton, living in 1346, and that in Warkwork Church of Sir John de Lyons, living in 1346. This exterior garment, the *cyclas*, was in fashion during a limited period only, in the early half of the fourteenth century, and the effigies all over the kingdom represented with it are far from numerous.

There are no less than ten of the sepulchral effigies in Northamptonshire which are carved in wood, of these three are of ladies and seven are of knights in armour. All these appear to have been executed in the first half of the fourteenth century, and indeed we rarely meet with wooden effigies of a later period, though there are some few exceptions, as in Goudhurst Church, Kent, where there is an effigy of the fifteenth century, and in the Priory Church, Brecon, South Wales, where there is a late wooden effigy of a lady, apparently of the middle of the sixteenth century.

The wooden effigies of Northamptonshire are as follows: those in Woodford Church of Sir Walter Treylli, Knight,



one foot.

SIR JOHN DE LYONS. LIVING. 1346.

who died A.D. 1290, and Alianora Dame Treylli, his widow, who died A.D. 1316. Those in Paulerspury Church of Sir Lawrence de Pavely, Knight, who died A.D. 1349, and Dame de Pavely, his widow, who died circa A.D. 1350.

In Dodford Church, of Hawise de Keynes, living in 1329. In Gayton Church of Sir Philip de Gayton, Knight, who died A.D. 1316. In Ashton Church of Sir Philip le Lou, Knight, living in 1315. In Alderton Church of Sir William de Combermartyn, Knight, who died A.D. 1318. In Cold Higham Church of Sir John de Patishall, Knight, who died A.D. 1350. Lastly, in Braybrook Church of Sir Thomas le Latymer, Knight, who died A.D. 1334. This latter effigy is much elongated, being upwards of seven feet in length. This elongation I have observed elsewhere in sepulchral effigies carved in wood, and this appears to have originated from the bole or trunk of the tree, out of which the effigy was carved, being insufficient in thickness in comparison with length.

In the latter part of the fifteenth century the emblazoned tabard, at a later period known in heraldic achievements as "the cote armour," fragments of which we occasionally meet with in our churches hung up aloft and forming part of the funeral achievements, was worn over the body armour; this succeeded to the jupon, which superceded the cyclas, which succeeded to the surcoat. The tabard, which is still worn on state occasions by the heralds, occurs very frequently on armed effigies in this county, both sculptured and incised on brass. A somewhat late instance occurs in the sculptured effigy in Great Brington Church of Sir John Spencer, who died A.D. 1586. About this effigy also there is this peculiarity, to the left arm is attached the targe, the oval or circular heraldic shield, no longer a portion of defensive armour, but carried in funeral processions and hung up as part of the achievement. I attribute the representation of this as affixed to the effigy to be purely the conceit of the sculptor. After, or rather during the fourteenth century, the shield affixed to the left arm, as a defensive guard, fell into disuse.

An early instance of the tabard worn over the armour appears in Lowick Church, in the incised brass effigy of

Henry Green, who died A.D. 1467 ; another in the incised brass effigy in the church of Ashby St. Ledgers, of Sir William Catesby, who died A.D. 1484.

The effigy in Great Brington Church of Robert Baron Spencer, who died A.D. 1627, represents him in a fanciful helme with a bever up, a richly worked corslet and pauldrons ; to the skirt of the corslet is attached an emblazoned apron or tabard, a very unusual position, and the conceit of this effigy I attribute to the fancifml whim of the sculptor.

Of male effigies in lay costume as civilians, we have only one sculptured effigy of so early a date as the fourteenth century, and this, though much abraised and defaced, is a rare specimen and worthy of attention. It is the effigy in Glington Church of a forester, with his horn slung by his side. He appears clad in the tunic and supertunic, but the effigy is so defaced that it is difficult to make out details. There are indeed but few effigies of this class to be met with. In Wadworth Church, Yorkshire, is the sculptured effigy of a forester in good preservation ; this is of the fourteenth century ; and in the churchyard of Newland, Gloucestershire, is a high tomb with the sculptured effigy thereon of a forester ; this is of the fifteenth century, of the date 1457.

There are a few more sculptured lay effigies in this county. The effigy in Great Brington Church of William Baron Spencer, who died A.D. 1636, executed by Richard Hargrave under the superintendence of Nicholas Stone, represents him bareheaded with a falling ruff, attired in his robes of estate, the surcote and mantle faced with minever.

The effigy in Cottesbrook Church of Sir John Langham, Knight and Baronet, who died A.D. 1671, appears to have been executed long anterior to his death, as he is represented as of middle age, whereas he was eighty-eight at his death. As an alderman of the city of London he is represented in his civic robes, the alderman's gown faced with fur. The high tomb on which this effigy lies is of black and white marble, and the whole monument strikes us as the composition and sculpture of Nicholas Stone, though not mentioned in the list of his works preserved by Horace Walpole.

The sculptured effigy in Maidwell Church of Edward Gorges, Baron Dundalk, who died in the early part of the seventeenth century, represents him bareheaded, with a falling band about his neck, clad in a doublet with slashed sleeves, trunk hose, stockings and boots.

There are more of incised brass effigies of civilians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than there are of those which are sculptured.

In Hemington Church is the incised brass effigy of Thomas Montagu, who died A.D. 1517. His head is bare and his hair clubbed. He is clad in a long side gown, faced or purfled with fur, and wide but not hanging sleeves.

In Ashton Church is the incised brass effigy, of the middle of the sixteenth century, temp. Elizabeth, of Robert Marriott, yeoman. He is habited in a doublet and a long side gown faced with lambs' wool or fur, and with hanging sleeves. The title of yeoman in the reign of Elizabeth would be equivalent to that of gentleman at the present day.

The incised brass effigy in Chipping Warden Church of Richard Makepeace, yeoman, who died A.D. 1584, represents him as clad in a doublet and short cloak.

The incised brass in the Church of Aston le Walls of Albert Butler, who died A.D. 1609, represents him habited in a doublet and furred gown.

The interesting effigy, an incised brass in St. Sepulchre's Church, Northampton, of George Coles, who died A.D. 1640, represents him with a falling collar, in a doublet, hose, stockings and shoes, with a short cloak.

The sculptured effigy in Stamford Baron Church, Stamford, of Cecil Lord Burleigh, the famous minister of Queen Elizabeth, who died A.D. 1599, represents him clad in a suit of rich armour, which he probably never wore, and over this is the mantle of the Order of the Garter. He carries in his hand the rod or staff of office.

The emaciated effigy, which hardly appears earlier than the fifteenth century, we find in Towcester Church beneath the effigy of Archdeacon Sponne. To this succeeded mostly in the sixteenth century the skeleton figure, "the lively figure of death." An incised brass of this description is in the Church of Church Brampton.

This is of the date 1585. In Burton Latimer Church we have represented in incised brass shrouded effigies, of a class by no means uncommon in the seventeenth century.

Representations of the Trinity in incised brass are preserved in the churches of Chacombe and Floore. These representations are not numerous.

Of the sculptured effigies of ladies we have an interesting series from the latter part of the thirteenth century circa A.D. 1285, to an early period in the eighteenth century; commencing with that in Gayton Church of Scolastica de Gayton, living A.D. 1284, and ending with that in Lowick Church of Lady Mary Mor-daunt, who died A.D. 1705. Those few of a later date I do not comment on. It is impossible to enumerate in detail, without going beyond due limits in a paper of this kind, the variations of fashion in female attire, which in succession appeared and passed away. A few observations must suffice. The effigy of Scholastica de Gayton, as it is perhaps the earliest in chronological order, so it is also one of the most beautiful and chaste in the arrangement of drapery. It must be confessed that in the latter part of the thirteenth and early half of the fourteenth century, the school of sculpture in this country surpassed generally subsequent ages in the pose, freedom, and beauty of design. The effigy of Scholastica de Gayton represents her attired in a close fitting cap, wimple round the neck and veil, the latter falling on the shoulders on each side. The body vesture consists of a plain loose robe or gown with the folds admirably adjusted, with close fitting sleeves buttoned from the elbows to the wrists, *manicæ botonatæ*, over this is worn a mantle, open in front, and attached by a cordon from a lozenge-shaped fermail on either side. This is most gracefully disposed, the folds of the mantle being gathered up under the left arm.

The sculptured effigy in Barnack Church of a lady of the De Bernak family, about the commencement of the fourteenth century, exhibits the loose bodied gown, and mantle worn over the gown, equally gracefully disposed; the wimple is worn about the neck, whilst on the head appears the reticulated head dress, an early example, with the veil over.

The wooden effigy in Woodford Church of Alianora Dame Treylli, who died A.D. 1316, exhibits a like arrangement, though the material hardly allows to the same extent of the same graceful arrangement of the drapery.

The wooden effigy in Paulerspury Church of Dame Pavely, circa A.D. 1330, represents her attired in the wimple veil, loose gown and mantle, and exhibits as far as is compatible with the material, a like graceful arrangement.

Arriving at the fifteenth century, the change of fashion is great. In the effigy in Lowick Church of Isabella Green, who died A.D. 1419, we find the costly reticulated head dress, and may notice the absence of the wimple, the neck being bare; we meet with the close fitting *cote hardi* or gown, open at the sides so as to disclose the inner vest, and the mantle worn over attached by a cordon to a jewelled fermail on either side. Though well executed, we discern an absence of the graceful disposition of the drapery prevalent in the sculptured effigies of the preceding century.

Next, in the sixteenth century, we find on more than one effigy that peculiar feature which prevailed in the latter part of the reign of Henry VII and early part of that of Henry VIII, viz.: the *pedimental* head dress. This is exemplified in the effigy in Great Brington Church of Isabel Dame Spencer, who died circa A.D. 1530; and on that, in Fawsley Church, of Joan Dame Knightley, who died A.D. 1539; and on that, in Horton Church, of Mary Lady Parr, who died A.D. 1555. All these three ladies appear in gowns, opening square at the neck and breast, with puckered sleeves. Gold chains are worn round the neck, and mantles over the gowns, attached in front by cordons. Hanging down in front of the body of the effigy of Dame Spencer is a "*Par precum*," or set of praying beads.

A diversity of head-dress of the Marian type of cap appears on the effigies in Charwelton Church of Catherine Dame Andrew, who died A.D. 1554, and of Mary Dame Andrew, living in 1565. These appear in gowns with full puckered sleeves and mantles worn over.

The effigy in Great Brington Church of Katherine

Dame Spencer, who died circa A.D. 1580-1584, exhibits her wearing as head-dress the French hood ; a falling ruff is worn about the neck.

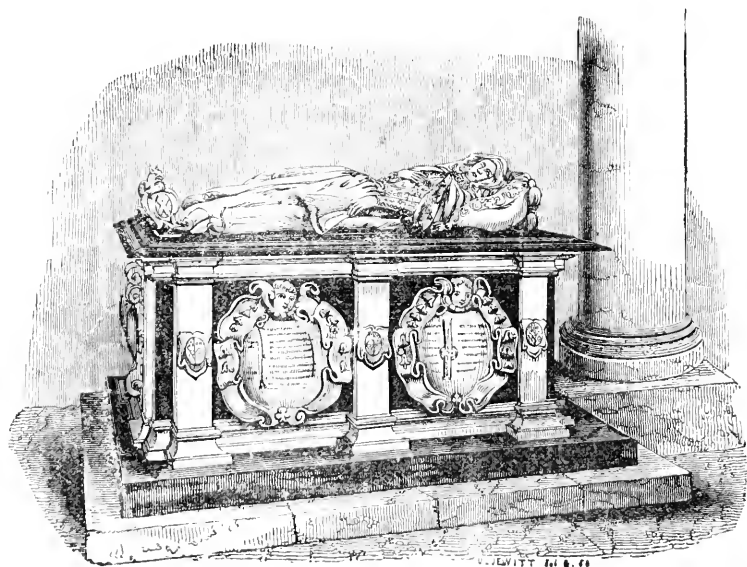
In Edgcott Church, the effigies of Bridget Dame Chaucy, who died A.D. 1579, and of Elizabeth Dame Chaucy, living in 1595, exhibit both attired in a close fitting cap, gown open in front down to the waist, falling ruff round the neck, and a pomander or scent box hanging.

The effigy in Norton Church of Lady Elizabeth Seymour, who died A.D. 1602, represents her in a cap with a ruff round the neck, a rich gown and a mantle faced with ermine or minever.

In Easton Manduit Church the effigy of Mary Dame Yelverton, who died A.D. 1611, represents her attired with a ruff round her neck, a French hood on her head, and in a bodiced gown with ample skirts.

That in Weekly Church of Elizabeth Dame Montagu, who died A.D. 1618, exhibits her attired in a plain cap, a ruff round her neck, and in a bodiced gown.

The remarkably fine effigy in Stowe Church of the Honorable Elizabeth Dame Carey, who died A.D. 1630, represents her attired in a richly ornamented bodiced



gown, with ample skirts; over this she wears a mantle faced with minever, a kerchief about the head and a ruff round the neck. This is perhaps the most celebrated work of Nicholas Stone, the eminent English sculptor, who flourished in the early part of the seventeenth century, and who died in 1647. For this effigy at Stowe and the high tomb of black and white marble on which it is placed he received £220.

The effigy in Great Brington Church of Penelope Baroness Spencer, who died A.D. 1667, is likewise by Nicholas Stone. She is represented with a kerchief on her head, a full gown with sleeves vandyked at the wrists, and mantle of estate. This was executed after the death of her husband in 1636, and set up in 1638. For the two effigies and tomb Nicholas Stone received £600.

The effigy in Lowick Church of Lady Mary Mordaunt, who died A.D. 1705, represents her fancifully attired, without any head-dress, in loose drapery belted round the waist, with bare arms and bare feet, reclining on her right side, her right elbow resting on a cushion, beneath which is a skull.

To the latter part of the seventeenth century we may attribute the introduction of sepulchral effigies, attired, not in the dress of the day, but in Roman and fanciful costume.

The incised brasses of Northamptonshire exhibit many and varied specimens of female costume. Of these I shall allude to one brass only, that in St. Sepulchre's Church in Northampton of George Coles, who died A.D. 1640, and whose effigy I have already described, represented between his two wives, Sarah and Eleanor. They appear habited in bodiced gowns, with the skirts open in front, so as to disclose the petticoat. Round the neck of each is a ruff, a late example, and on the head of each is a high crowned hat, such as we meet with in the present day as forming part of the female apparel in some parts of South Wales.

The erect effigies, sculptured in white marble, in Carlton Church of Sir Geoffrey Palmer, Baronet, who died A.D. 1656, and of his Lady, exhibit them in loose drapery, or grave clothes; the heads of both are uncovered. This kind of representation was in vogue in the seventeenth century.

In the lifetime of Dr. Donne, his sepulchral effigy, afterwards placed in St. Paul's Cathedral, was thus designed and executed by Nicholas Stone, and although not included in the list of his works given us by Horace Walpole, it is not at all unlikely that these effigies may be the production of his hands.

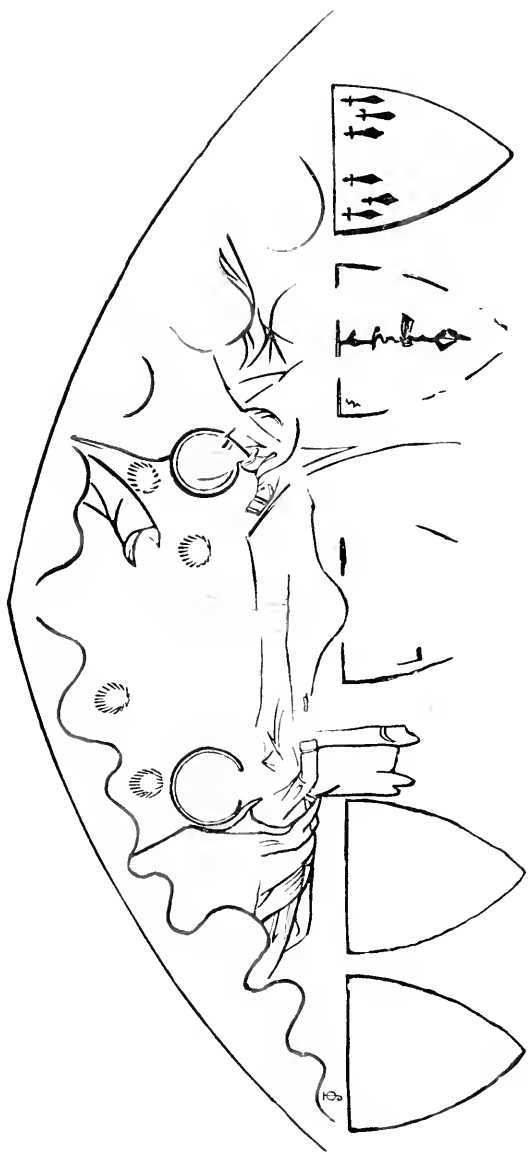
I do not know of any effigy in Northamptonshire executed by Rysbrack. A bust in Edgcott Church of Richard Chauncy, who died A.D. 1760, is said to be by him, and I think the two busts on the north side of the chancel in Whiston Church are also the productions of his chisel. Of the far fetched allegorical conceits of Roubiliac we have that in Warkton Church representing the Parcæ or Fates, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos spinning and cutting the thread of life.

In Rockingham Church, the effigy of Lewis first Earl of Rockingham who died A.D. 1723, is represented in a Roman habit.

Amongst the churches, each of which contains a series of family monuments, may be enumerated those of Ashby St. Ledgers, Cottesbrook, Deane, Easton Neston, Fawsley, Lowick, Marholme, Rockingham, Stanford and Warkton.

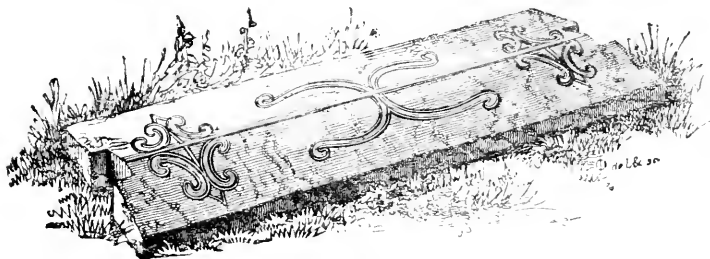
The painting of effigies and monuments in colour, prevailed from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, and traces of paint still exist on those of the earlier period. Not only so, but the walls against which tombs were placed were also occasionally thus decorated, as at the back of a tomb in Dodford Church, where angels are portrayed conveying a soul to heaven in a winding sheet. This was a conventional mode of representation which prevailed from the twelfth to the early part of the sixteenth century, and it is thus alluded to by Becon, one of our early Reformers, in his treatise "The Acts of Christ and of Antichrist," A.D. 1564.—"Christ was buried in a poor monument sepulchre or grave without any funeral pomp." "Antichrist is buried in a glorious tomb, well gilt, and very gorgeously set out, with many torches and great solemnity, and with angels gloriously portured that bear his soul to heaven."

Of churchyard monuments we have some high tombs, as Leland designates that class perhaps better known as altar tombs or table monuments. Of these, delineations



Painting at the back of a tomb in Dodford Church.

have been given of some by Hyett, as of that in Corby Churchyard, where is a high tomb with a coped lid, the sides and ends being ornamented with sunk quatrefoils. This is apparently of the fourteenth century. In the churchyard at Rothwell is a high tomb with a certain degree of ornamentation, this is also noticed by Hyett, and is apparently of the sixteenth century. In Thrapston churchyard is a high tomb panelled on the sides, which has not been noticed by Hyett. This appears to be of the fifteenth century. Sepulchral slabs with crosses thereon in many a varied device, from the thirteenth century downwards, are more numerous. Many of these however have been displaced from their original position. One of these, apparently of the thirteenth century, was a few years ago to be seen in the churchyard at Cotterstock: it bore a peculiar kind of ornamentation, not at all uncommon at this period, and one probably emblematic, but of which I have been unable to divine the meaning.



Bridges, or his editor, treating of Bainton, a chapel of ease to Ufford, and within two miles distant of Helpstone, observes: "Several old grave stones, with crosses on them, lie as coping on the churchyard wall." And of Helpstone: "The churchyard gate is of stone and embattled, and the walls (meaning those of the churchyard) coped with several old grave stones with crosses on them." Of Etton, distant little more than a mile from Helpstone, he says: "The wall of the churchyard, as at Maney and Baddington (Bainton?) is coped with oblong lids of old stone coffins with crosses on them. In several churchyards of the neighbouring parishes stone coffins are frequently dug up, the tops and covers of which are used for coping. They are often of a prodigious weight,

and one particularly as heavy as six men could carry. The bodies are generally quite consumed, and a hole for that purpose at the bottom of the coffin."

In the year 1865, on the demolition of the two upper stages of the tower of Helpstone Church, numerous sepulchral slabs, both entire and in a fragmental state, were found forming part of the masonry. In consequence of information received by me from the Rev. J. A. L. Campbell, then the Incumbent of Helpstone, I proceeded on the 25th of September in that year to examine them. They consisted, with few exceptions, of grave or body stones, that is of slabs which covered, or were intended so to do, the entire length of the grave. Of the ancient coffin shape form, prevalent in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, they gradually diminished in width from the head to the foot. They were not flat on the surface, but slightly raised in the centre, or ridged shaped in a very obtuse angle. They were of different sizes, from that of the full grown adult to that of the infant. One measured only one foot nine inches long, one foot wide at the head, diminishing in width gradually to seven and a half inches at the foot. Another two feet six inches long, was fourteen inches wide at the top; another two feet two inches long, was eleven inches wide at the top, and eight inches at the foot. All these sepulchral slabs were uninscribed, but had upon them crosses raised in low relief, and of these there were varieties. The globical cross pattée with a stem, and sometimes a stepped or graduated base, was a common pattern; on some I found a St. Cuthbert's cross,¹ on some a plain cross flory. On not a few, about the centre of the stem of the cross, I found that common description of ornamentation which I can only liken to the iron hinges on ancient doors, an ornament so frequent on sepulchral slabs of the thirteenth century, that I cannot but think it had an esoteric meaning, which as yet I have been unable to solve.² Only two or three circular headstone crosses were found. These were twenty-two inches in diameter, and about three inches thick, with short stems about

¹ A cross resembling in design the pectoral cross of Anglo-Saxon workmanship found, with the remains of St. Cuthbert, in the Cathedral of Durham.

² This species of ornamentation appears in the engraving of the sepulchral slab at Cotterstock.

six inches wide; one of them besides the stem had a tenon below it for insertion in a mortice at the head of a sepulchral slab or body stone. I found, however, no stone morticed for that purpose, but the sepulchral slab at Cotterstock, which I have described, is morticed at the head and foot for the insertion of an upright cross or head stone, and a foot stone. The other circular head stone had a short shaft but no tenon. Two of these circular head stone crosses were sculptured alike, or nearly so, with a floriated cross on each side, but on one side the spandrels were partly filled in with ornamentation, whilst on the other side the spandrels or spaces between the arms of the cross were left bare or plain. In all cases the crosses and ornamentation were in relief. In not a single case did I find an incised slab. All these sepulchral slabs and crosses, with the exception of one circular head stone bearing a St. Cuthbert cross of perhaps the eleventh, certainly not later than the first half of the twelfth century, appeared to me to be of one age or period, viz. of the thirteenth century.

But how came these numerous uninscribed sepulchral slabs and fragments to be worked up in the walls of the tower within a century from their execution? Was the churchyard thus early despoiled of its monuments, almost all of the thirteenth century, for materials to be used in the rebuilding of the church only a century later? In favour of such a practical conclusion I may state that old churches are rarely demolished without finding embedded in the walls as building material fragments of churchyard monuments of an earlier date. Such was the case in taking down a few years ago the Church of Braunston in this county, a structure of the fourteenth century, when fragments both of sepulchral slabs and of circular head stone crosses of the thirteenth century were found. I could enumerate many other like instances.

But another conclusion may be drawn to account for these remains at Helpstone than that from the spoliation of the churchyard. Helpstone is within three miles of the once celebrated quarries at Barnack. Could these sepulchral slabs and crosses have formed part of the undisposed stock-in trade of some adventurous stone mason,

and the fashion for such articles having changed, were they on that account worked up simply as material ready at hand? I do not profess to solve the question; but the slabs and headstone crosses appeared to me to have been but little worn by attrition, or abraded by exposure to the weather.

Lastly, the study of our medieval sepulchral antiquities is, in fact, to a great extent, the study of the history of our country—ecclesiastical, military and civil. It exemplifies the progress, with sometimes an occasional retrogression, of the arts which illustrate such study at different and distinct periods. It requires indeed a knowledge of detail to appreciate and follow the gradual and almost imperceptible changes of fashion in ecclesiastical costume, in armour, and apparel, as also those in architectural design, embodying, as it were, the feelings of each successive age in the advance to a more perfect state of civilization. And to what do all these feelings tend? They point to a future, they remind us that we are not as the beasts which perish.

ADDRESS TO THE ANTIQUARIAN SECTION OF THE
MEETING OF THE INSTITUTE AT NORTHAMPTON, 1878.¹

BY JOHN EVANS, D.C.L., F.R.S.

It is not the first time that the Royal Archæological Institute has held one of its annual meetings in this interesting county of Northampton, although on the occasion of its former visit, its headquarters were in the ecclesiastical capital of the county at Peterborough, and not in the ancient borough in which we are now assembled—the civil capital of the shire to which it gives its name. When I speak of Northampton as ancient, I am not unmindful of the fact that it has more than once been rebuilt,² first under an Act of Parliament in the twenty-seventh year of Henry VIII., and again after the great fire of 1675, when it was almost entirely burnt down, and a sum of £25,000 was raised by brief and by the royal bounty, towards its rebuilding,

When Stukeley visited Northampton in 1721, he says that it had been wholly burnt down, but was rebuilt with great regularity and beauty, so as to be the most elegant town in England. The present Northampton, however, which now numbers some 50,000 inhabitants, can hardly boast this elegance. It has its fine market place and its handsome Billing Road studded with villas of well-to-do inhabitants; but the stately town mansions of the county gentry of a former time are either demolished or partly converted into shops. In Marefair, however, still stands the old town-house of the Hazleriggs (now of Leicestershire) dating from the time of Henry VII. Here lived during the present century, Baker the historian of the county, and subsequently, his sister and zealous helper, Miss Baker, the author of the *Glossary of Northamptonshire Words and Phrases*. In this same

¹ Delivered July 30th, 1878.

house also, died in 1839, William Smith the "Father of English Geology," a man whose name will ever be had in remembrance wherever the claims of genius are recognized.

I was, however, speaking of the former visit of the Institute to this county, and it is a subject which I cannot forget, for on that occasion, in 1861, the Rev. Thomas James delivered an introductory address on the Archæology of Northamptonshire, of so an exhaustive a character, that there would not be much left for anyone, however well acquainted with the county, to add to it on the present occasion, had he to enlarge upon the same theme. How little then can there be on which a comparative stranger to the county like myself can hope to say anything that shall either have an appearance of freshness, or be at all worthy of your attention.

I shall however venture in the first place to give you a short abstract of the topics enlarged on by Mr. James, and subsequently to seek whether there may not be one or two phases in the history and archæology of this town and county, on which I may say a few words without danger of repetition.

Mr. James has described the general shape of the county, with its central boss at Naseby, and the numerous Roman and British camps which can still be traced on so many eminences. He has mentioned the Watling Street, and the Ermine Street, and the quasi-basilican church of Brixworth, as evidences of the Roman occupation of this part of England. He has called attention to Earls Barton and Barnack churches as relics of Saxon times; while the foundation of the Castle, now unfortunately about to be demolished to make place for a railway station, and the great priory of St. Andrew's, of Northampton, by Simon de St. Liz, or Senlis, testified to the influence of the Norman Conquest upon the fortunes of this place. The round church of the Holy Sepulchre, the festivals of Henry I., the councils of Stephen, the summons of Thomas á Becket, the visits of King John, the memorials to Queen Eleanor, the battle of Northampton, the courtship of Edward IV. and Elizabeth Woodville, the two unfortunate queens of Fotheringhay, Catherine of Arragon and Mary of Scotland, the various

castles and seats of our ancient nobility, the field of Naseby, and all the many gifts of nature and art to this pure English-speaking county, have already been each and all duly heralded to this Institute seventeen years ago.

I feel myself, therefore, debarred from touching upon any of these very interesting subjects, and am driven to see whether there may not be some other topics, either of antiquities belonging to pre-Saxon times, or of other branches of archæology not touched on by Mr. James, on which I may detain you a few minutes.

To begin with the beginning, that is to say, with the earliest traces of man as yet known in Britain, have we in this county any of those implements which are found in the old river-gravels, and which are so often associated with the remains of strange animals, such as the woolly-haired rhinoceros, the mammoth, the hippopotamus, and other beasts now either absolutely extinct, or no longer living in this country? I think that the answer must be in the affirmative. I possess a well-marked palæolithic implement which, though I found it in Hertfordshire, I have some reason for supposing to have been dug up in a ballast pit in the valley of the Nene, near Oundle. I believe also that I am right in stating that farther down the valley, at Little Orton, near Peterborough—a spot visited by Professor Prestwich and myself, in search of these instruments nineteen years ago—some of them have now been found which are in the collection of the Marchioness of Huntley. It is true that the gravel at that place is on the Huntingdonshire side of the river Nene, so that Northamptonshire cannot fairly claim them. I call attention, however, to the probability of the old gravels which fringe the valley of the Nene, though now far above the reach of its waters, containing these early relics of the human race, in the hope that such of my hearers as have the opportunity, may prosecute farther researches, which there is all reasonable probability will eventually be rewarded.

Of the Neolithic, or second Stone Period, many relics have been found in this county. Flint celts have been discovered at Northampton itself, at Guilsborough, Towcester, Finedon Hill, Houghton, and other places; and

arrow heads near Oundle. In this department many more discoveries would result from careful researches.

A beautifully worked arrow head of flint was found a few years ago in the baring of the Duston ironstone quarries, and is exhibited in the Museum with the Duston antiquities.

For the following notice of burials belonging to the Neolithic Period, I am indebted to Mr. Samuel Sharp, F.S.A., F.G.S.

In 1872, upon high ground at Houghton ($3\frac{1}{2}$ miles S.E. of Northampton) was found, in the surface soil, a cist, having about the dimensions of three feet each way, which contained a skeleton in a squatting or contracted posture. No pottery or celts were found with this skeleton, which is now in the Museum at Oxford.

A later neolithic burial was discovered in 1862, in the grounds of the late Beriah Botfield, Esq., at Norton, near Daventry. In this case, the skeleton was in a recumbent or extended position. With the skeleton was an earthen vessel (which, as Mr. Botfield wrote to Mr. Sharp at the time, "was broken by the labourer, who thought it was a clod like himself"), and a beautiful spear head or dagger, of the thin type, like figure 264 in my "Ancient Stone Implements." This is in the Northampton Museum; the skeleton was scrupulously buried in the Norton churchyard.

An interesting case of early urn burial was discovered about forty years ago near Wansford Paper Mills. A cist of about the capacity of a bushel, and composed of four large unhewn fire-marked stones, with a rough slab at top, only a few inches below the surface, contained in its centre a partially burnt urn, surrounded to the depth of some inches with ashes and partially charred bones: the urn itself contained similar materials. Among the bones was a partially calcined *unworn* crown of a human molar tooth—a curious evidence of the youthfulness of the individual whose ashes were here deposited. The urn is in the Museum of the Stamford Institute. Photographs of the urn, and the tooth itself are in the Northampton Museum.

Of the Bronze Age, not very many discoveries are recorded in connection with this county, but I have heard

of a bronze sword found at Brixworth, and have notes of socketed celts found at Castor, Eye near Peterborough, and near Stamford. A large hoard was found a few years ago at Wymington, near Higham Ferrers, just outside the boundary of the county, in Bedfordshire.

Of megalithic monuments in this county, I cannot cite any examples, but a rivulet dividing Nether Heyford from Bugbroke is called the Hoar Stone Brook, and falls into the Nen at Lower Marstone or Hoar Stone meadow. It might be worth while to make some further investigation near the spot.

Of the numerous camps which exist in this county, one of which¹ we visited to-day, some mention has already been made. Many of them, no doubt, belong to pre-Roman as well as to Roman and possibly subsequent times, but researches in them, such as those carried on by General Lane Fox in some of the encampments in our southern counties, are necessary before any positive determination as to age can be arrived at, where there is no absolute guide in the form of the entrenchment. Roman urns, however, have been found in the camp at Borough Hill.

The important camps of Chesterton, Irchester, Towcester, and Borough Hill, together with many intermediate minor camps, all on the southern side of the Nene valley, are presumed to mark the frontier line of the Roman territory in Britain, as established by Ostorius Scapula in the reign of Claudius; and which, after traversing almost the whole length of Northamptonshire, passed westwards to the banks of the Severn.

At Irchester camp, exploring excavations are being carried on by a committee, under the direction of the Rev. R. S. Baker, for the purposes of this meeting—the expense being met by a subscription amounting to about £100.

I may add that eight perforated bronze vessels, discovered at Irchester in 1874, have been described by the Rev. R. S. Baker in vol. xiii. of *Reports and Papers of Associated Architectural Societies*, and in papers read before the Society of Antiquaries in 1876.

During the period of the Roman occupation of this country, one of the principal sites for the manufacture

¹ Danes Camp, Huntsbury Hill.

of pottery was situated in the valley of the Nene. All English antiquaries must of course be acquainted with the work of the late Mr. Artis on the *Durobrivæ of Antoninus*, and there are rarely excavations upon Roman sites carried on within fifty miles of Castor, without some fragments of pottery, such as may with some show of reason be referred to its kilns, being discovered. The spirited hunting scenes and the flowing designs in white slip speak well for the Northamptonshire potters of those early times. They were not, however, the sole producers of that kind of ware to which the name of Castor ware is so often applied, for in other potteries, as for instance at Colchester and Lincoln, in the New Forest, and in the valley of the Thames, pottery of much the same character was manufactured, though each locality seems to have had in addition its own distinctive products.

Upon the site of the present Wansford railway station at Sibson (merely an extension of the Castor area) was found in 1844 one of the most perfect Roman pottery ovens hitherto discovered; its description is quoted from Artis, and a drawing of it is given at page 215 of Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*. Upon the same site, in the following year, a group of statuary was discovered, consisting of a statue of Hercules, larger than human size, and others of Apollo and Minerva Custos upon a smaller scale. In the previous year, two mutilated figures, originally about three feet high, were found in the Duke of Bedford's "Purlieu," near Wansford, associated with Samian and Castor pottery. These statues were described by the late Rev. C. H. Hartshorne in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii, 1847. They were carved in stone from the quarries at Barnack, near Stamford ("Barnack Rag");? of which stone, in medieval times, many cathedrals, churches, and other important buildings (including the famous Norman keep at Castle Hedingham, Essex) were built. These quarries were exhausted in the fifteenth century; but the rough ground of their site still yields many a Roman coin.

Much Roman walling remains at this time in the village of Castor.

A collection of Castor Roman antiquities (belonging to Mr. Sharp) is exhibited in the Northampton Museum.

The same gentleman, to whom I am indebted for many of the facts just mentioned, has in his account of the Roman remains found at Duston near this town recognized what may possibly be Upchurch, Lincoln, and Salopian ware, in addition to the Durobrivian or Castor ware, of which consisted by far the larger proportion of the relics found. The glazed "Samian ware" was not improbably imported from Gaul. To those who are interested in the Roman antiquities of this county I beg to commend Mr. Sharp's paper, which will be found in the 43rd Volume of the *Archæologia*. His collection of Roman remains, from Duston, may be seen in the Museum, together with a series of urns and other objects, the property of Earl Cowper, the owner of the site. Mr. Tite's collection from the Roman Camp at Towcester, and the collection of Northamptonshire antiquities of the British, Roman, and Saxon periods, chiefly formed by Baker, and now the property of Sir Henry Dryden, also deserve notice.

Of other Roman antiquities, the remains of a villa with tessellated pavements—one of them very fine, discovered near Apethorpe, in 1859, may be cited. They have been described in the Reports of Papers of the *Associated Architectural Societies*, volume v.

During the Roman period, iron-ore was dug in very numerous places all over Northern Northamptonshire; "slag," throughout that area being constantly found, associated with Roman pottery and coins. Among the chief places where these have been recognized, are:—King's Cliff, Oundle, Laxton, Rockingham, Kettering, and Irchester. Iron-smelting seems to have dwindled during Saxon and Norman ages, although Domesday Book mentions "ferraria," at Gretton and Corby, in Edward the Confessor's reign; and it is recorded that royal furnaces were in work at Geddington, from the time of Henry II. to that of Henry III. These last, however, may have been only manufacturing smithies. After this the practice of smelting ceased in the county. The very presence of iron ore, as such, although exposed upon the surface in innumerable places throughout the county, became unknown, and was not re-discovered until about thirty years ago. In this interval, it has

become one of the most valuable sources of production in the county, as is shown by a statement obtained from the Government Mining Record Office, that during 1874, the iron ore raised in Northamptonshire amounted to no less than 1,056,478 tons, of the value as ore of £189,156 14s. 0d., and yielding of metallic iron about 400,000 tons.

Of Saxon remains found in this county, I may mention, besides those in Sir H. Dryden's collection, the series of objects found in 1876, at Desborough. They consist of a necklace of gold beads, with numerous pendant discs and pendants set with garnets, and a small gold cross, together with two glass bowls, a spoon, and some other articles which are now preserved in the British Museum. Numerous brooches and other articles have also been discovered near Peterborough.

Saxon coins, including a sceatta from Chesterton, and an unique Offa from Newton Bromswold have also been found, and indeed some Saxon coins were struck in this county. The two coins mentioned are in the collection of Mr. S. Sharp.

This mention of coins suggests to me that some notice of the mint at Northampton and of the numismatic records of the county generally would not be out of place in the present address, and would have some advantage in respect of novelty.

Beginning with the coins of the ancient Britons which were in use before the Roman occupation, it is hard to say whether there are any of the uninscribed series which can be regarded as peculiar to this district. One of the debased imitations of the Philippus was found near Kettering, and I have met with a later imitation of that prototype such as would date from a period somewhat antecedent to Tasciovanus the father of Cunobeline, which was found at Farthinghoe, near Brackley. Another small uninscribed gold coin of much the same date was found near Earl's Barton. Coins of these types have also been found in Essex, Cambridge, Oxfordshire, and Leicestershire, so that all that can be said of them is that they belong to what I have termed the central district.

Of inscribed coins, one in gold of Antedrigus was

found at Brackley, but must be regarded as having strayed from its home further west. This part of Britain during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius seems to have been under the rule of Tasciovanus, whose capital was at Verulam or St. Albans, and subsequently under Cunobeline his son, whose capital was at Camulodunum or Colchester.

Of Tasciovanus, gold coins have been found at Thrapstone and Oundle ; silver coins at Gayton near Blisworth ; and copper coins at Chipping Warden. Gold coins of Cunobeline have been found at Weston near Loys Weedon, and Oundle ; and copper coins at Oundle, Duston, Chipping Warden, and Irchester.

A gold coin of Andocomius, who was probably a contemporary of Tasciovanus, was found at Ecton. As his coins have been found nowhere else than in the counties of Oxford, Beds, Bucks, and Northampton, it seems possible that a part of this county was comprised within his dominions.

Of the somewhat later silver coins struck by the Iceni, a specimen was found at Castor, but must be regarded as a stray visitant. A gold coin of Addedomaros, found at Great Houghton, and now in the cabinet of Mr. Samuel Sharp, comes under the same category. Such are the numismatic traces of the British occupation of this county. It seems, however, very doubtful whether there was any actual mint in this district.

Though no Roman mint is known to have existed in Northampton, yet the instruments of the forgers of Roman coins have been found here on more than one occasion. Artis has described some coin moulds of clay found at Castor, of about the time of Severus ; and Mr. Sharp has published an account of some moulds of larger size for coins of Diocletian and his contemporaries.—*Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S., vol. xi., p. 28.

Roman coins have been found in abundance at Castor, and less frequently at Barnack, King's Cliff, Oundle, Rockingham, Weekley and Isham, near Kettering, Thrapstone and Irchester—all in the Northern Division. In the Southern : at Duston, Gayton, Towcester, Chipping Warden, Newbottle, and Daventry. A large hoard of about 3000 coins of the period of Diocletian was found

about twelve years ago at Eversley, near Brackley, and a hoard of the Constantine period at Wootton, near Northampton. I have a beautiful gold coin of Antonia, also found in this county.

Mr. Sharp described the coins found at Duston. His account is printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.¹

In Saxon times, the great mint for this part of England was at Stamford, and though the town itself was in Lincolnshire, the mint was in this county, being on the south side of the Welland, at Stamford Baron, or, as it is now called, Saint Martin's. It was established in the thirteenth year of Eadgar, 972, and seems to have ceased to exist early in the reign of Henry II. Mr. Sharp, who has formed an extensive series of the coins issued from this mint, has catalogued 600 varieties—all pennies, struck there during the reigns of thirteen monarchs. For details I must refer you to his papers.²

Since his monograph was published, he has catalogued eighty-six additional coins of the Stamford mint. These consist principally of fourteen coins (two of Ethelred II. and twelve of Cnut), from a find at Barrowby, near Grantham (about 1872), of some hundreds of Anglo-Saxon pennies (chiefly of Cnut's reign), enclosed in the shin-bone of an ox, and buried; and of sixty-two Anglo-Saxon pennies (one of Ethelred II., and sixty-one of Edward the Confessor), part of a great hoard of some 7,000 Anglo-Saxon coins (chiefly Edward the Confessor), found in 1872 in the City of London; 2,872 of these coins have been described by Mr. E. H. Willett, F.S.A., in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1876.

These 86 coins raise the total number of coins of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman mint of Stamford at present known to Mr. Sharp to 686, and present 56 additional varieties. They furnish 6 new names of moneyers of this mint, raising the number of these to 143; a strong evidence of the activity and importance of the Stamford mint in Anglo-Saxon times. The total number of coins known to have been struck there after the Conquest is only 58, and upon these the names of 24 moneyers only occur, an evidence of the decadence of this mint in Norman times.

The mint at Northampton was not constituted until

¹ Vol. ix, p. 167.

² Num. Chron. N.S., vol. ix., 327.

after the Norman conquest. Indeed the earliest coins ascribed to it are some of Henry I. The name of one of the moneyers under this king appears to have been WULNOD. Under Stephen also a few coins were minted, but the only one with which I am acquainted has been so badly struck by the moneyer that his name is utterly illegible. Under Henry II. this mint was more active. Among the 5700 coins of the early part of his reign which were found at Tealby in Lincolnshire, there were several struck at NORHA or NORAM, and four moneyers' names appear, of which only those of INGERAS and PIRES are legible. After the reformation of the coinage by Henry II. in 1180, Northampton became the principal mint for the county and neighbourhood, and that at Stamford was abolished. Four pairs of dies were allowed to be worked here, the names of the first moneyers being FILIP, HUGO, RAVL, and WALTER. The same moneyers with the exception of Philip continued striking under Richard I., SIMUN having taken Philip's place, and in the 10th year of Richard, Geoffry Fitz Walter accounted for forty shillings to the exchequer in respect of the mint. In the 7th year of King John, 1205, Peter de Stokes paid sixty marks for the liberty of working four stamps for the space of a year, and in 1208 the moneyers of Northampton were summoned to Westminster by King John, together with those from fifteen other towns to a "conference" on the coinage. On the coins subsequently struck we find the names of ROBERT T., ROBERD, and ADAM.

The author of the *Annals of Waverley* relates, that when John was at Northampton in 1212, a priest (among other culprits) was brought before him, convicted of forging the coin of the realm; and "him he ordered to be hanged forthwith;" but, for the sake of the demonstrative exercise of ecclesiastical authority, the papal Nuncio Pandulph interposed, and the rogue was saved. It is curious that about 1864, a Henry "short-cross" penny was found upon the site of Northampton Castle, which is of iron, plated with silver. This coin passed into the hands of the late Mr. Pretty, and is now in the Maidstone Museum.

During the early part of the reign of Henry III., the

mint appears to have been again silent, though in 1229, the townsmen accounted for sixty shillings arising out of the profits of the coinage, and for thirty-six pounds which had been unpaid for some years past. I may add that all these coins, whether of Henry II., Richard I., John or Henry III., have the same legend on the obverse, that of *Henricus Rex*, and that the circumstantial evidence on which coins bearing the name of Henry are nevertheless attributed to Richard and John, is in part derived from the Northampton mint.

After the introduction of what is known as the "long cross" type in 1247 or 1248, under Henry III., the Northampton mint was again set to work, and the names of THOMAS and WILLIAM appear as moneyers; but at the great re-coinage of 1279 under Edward I., Northampton does not appear as a mint, and would seem to have ceased its work before the close of the reign of Henry III. Not even in the troublous times of Charles I., when so many country mints were again called into existence, did it revive. And yet shortly after that time, when the country became more settled and the want of small change was universally felt, there were in this as in other counties numbers of those tradesmen's tokens issued which are often of so much interest to the local antiquary.

For particulars I must refer to the pages of Boyne, but I may mention that among the tokens issued in this town are those of more than one of the town bailiffs and mayors, including among them John Twisden who, in 1666, found himself in the custody of the serjeant at arms, charged with making a false return of members to serve in Parliament, his motto of *Crede sed cave* notwithstanding. The George Inn issued tokens as early as 1650.

Such are a few of the numismatic details connected with this county. On more general archaeological subjects I have intentionally been silent, as I thought they would be rather out of place in a mere sectional address.

You will, during the course of this meeting, no doubt, have opportunities of visiting many of the objects of antiquarian interest in this county, and we may hope to hear more than one communication of importance relating to them.

THE MURAL AND DECORATIVE PAINTINGS WHICH ARE
NOW EXISTING, OR WHICH HAVE BEEN IN EXIST-
ENCE, DURING THE PRESENT CENTURY AT CANTER-
BURY CATHEDRAL.

By C. E. KEYSER, M.A.

The architecture and history of Canterbury Cathedral are well known to archaeologists, and many books have been published in recent times which deal generally with the most interesting features of this noble fane; but, so far as I am aware, no work has been brought out which treats only or specially of the Mural and Decorative Paintings which are now in existence or which have been recorded as existing during the present century. I now therefore venture to endeavour to supply this deficiency, and to mention as concisely as possible, and in regular routine, the various examples in this most interesting series of paintings which are still to be seen, or of whose recent existence I have been enabled to obtain certain information.

There is perhaps no building about which so much has been written as the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, and we have contemporary records for the execution of most of the important works in connection with it. The earliest mention of any paintings here—and this is, I believe, the earliest mention of any painting in the churches of England—is that by William de Malmesbury, who, writing of Conrad's choir, says:—"It was so glorious that nothing comparable to it was to be seen in England, whether we make our observations on the transparency of the glass windows, the brightness of the marble pavement below, or the admirable beauty and elegance of the paintings which drew the eyes of all beholders to the roof above."¹ Gervase, the monk of Canterbury, also an eye-witness, mentions the roof as "a sky finely painted;" and we know that this roof was flat and similar to the one still existing at Peterborough Cathedral.

In comparatively modern times, besides the volume by Somner, from which we have just quoted, we have a work by Dart with an engraving of the paintings in the Chapel of St. John the Baptist (as it is commonly called) in the crypt, published in 1725, another by Dumeombe in 1787, two editions of Hasted's *History of Canterbury* in 1799 and 1801, *A Walk in and about Canterbury*, by W. Gostling, in 1825, besides several later works, which all make some mention of the paintings, which I will now endeavour, without further preface, to describe.

¹ William Somner's *Antiquities of Canterbury*, the second edition, revised and enlarged by Nicolas Battely in the year 1703.

Before I commence with the cathedral, I must mention very considerable remains of colouring on the canopies of the arches at the east end of the Chapter-house; there are also traces of painting on the wall within the arcade, and some fragments of enamelled work in the central canopy. This is in all probability coeval with the stone work, and may therefore be assigned to the middle of the fourteenth century.

On entering the cathedral from the cloisters by the north transept door, one's attention is at once attracted to the beautiful canopied monument of Archbishop Peckham, who died in 1292. The canopy still retains traces of elaborate painting and gilding.

On some tabernacle work and cornices at the east end of the Chapel of the Virgin, more commonly called the Dean's Chapel, leading out of the transept, are remains of decorative colouring of the fifteenth century.

Passing by the north choir aisle for the present, let us enter the choir, where on the north side is the monument of Archbishop Chicheley, which is kept in repair by All Souls' College, Oxford, of which the Archbishop was the founder. The colouring has been recently restored by the college.

On the south side of the choir, close to the altar steps, being the position of a former altar to St. Dunstan, and incorporated with the screen erected by Prior de Estria in 1304, is some very beautiful decorated carving and painting,¹ namely, in the upper part the space is filled in with elaborate diaper work, composed of a series of hexagons, each containing a six-leaved flower, and round it six trefoils with points between the cusps, of the character known as Kentish tracery. All the flowers and trefoils are coloured a pale red, while the wavy line surrounding them is blue. Above and below are a line of painted quatrefoils white on a dark green ground with a blue bordering, and below this again is an arcade with trefoils between the arches; these and the panels of the arcades are painted a dark red, and dark olive green alternately.

"Behind the existing woodwork of the return stalls, Sir Gilbert Scott found that the middle space of Prior Eastry's screen had been panelled with painted oak (between the tops of the stalls and the string course beneath the traceried openings). The pattern painted upon this oak panelling was simply formed of gilt rosettes upon a green ground, but it was surmounted by a handsome border, formed of gilded lions and lilies alternating in a horizontal band. In this Canterbury border there is not, as at Rochester, any marked allusion to the French flag, both lions and lilies being on one uniformly red ground. Yet there may be in them some allusion to the marriage of Edward II in 1308 to Isabella of France. Sir Gilbert Scott believes this decoration at Canterbury to be original work of the fourteenth century."²

On a projection above St. Michael's or the Warrior's Chapel were, until recently, paintings on panels of SS. Gregory and Augustine. There were, according to Gostling, originally four paintings, and there can be little doubt that the other two portrayed, SS. Ambrose and

¹ An engraving of the diaper work is to be found in Rickman's *Gothic Architecture*, 5th edition, page 173.

² *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. x, 72. To the writer of the paper quoted from, on the decorative painting of the choir at Rochester Cathedral, viz.: the Rev. W. J.

Scott Robertson, as well as to the Rev. Dr. Blore and Mr. Gordon of the King's School, Canterbury, I am much indebted for valuable assistance given in duly appropriating and dating the various subjects.

Jerome, the two other doctors of the church. The projection has however been taken away. The paintings were probably of the fifteenth century. On the ceiling of the chapel above are considerable remains of colouring on the bosses and groining.

On the south side of the south choir aisle are the monuments of Archbishops Walter Reynolds and Hubert Walter, on which were remains of colour on the shields, &c., but these are now scarcely visible.

On entering the retro-choir or Trinity Chapel, we first notice the beautiful monument of Edward the Black Prince. The effigy itself still contains traces of the gilding with which it was once overlaid. On the canopy above are remains of painting, and gilding on the parapet and on the shields; and on the under side is a subject which it is somewhat difficult now to make out. Gostling mentions this subject as representing our Saviour in the centre, and the four Evangelists within medallions in the corners, all very faint. There can be little doubt, however, that the painting in the centre represents the Blessed Trinity, as usually portrayed, namely: the Almighty with the crucified Saviour in His lap, and the Holy Ghost as a star at the head. It is thus described by Mr. Blore in his *Monumental Remains*, and also in Stothard's *Monuments*. The only part which can now be distinguished, is a portion of a large figure clothed in an ermine robe. The four Evangelists within medallions at the corners are more distinct. The subject of the Blessed Trinity is not a very common one in mural paintings. There is an example which has recently been discovered, on one of the Norman piers on the north side of the choir of St. Alban's Cathedral.

On the opposite or north side of the chapel is the tomb of King Henry IV and his second wife, Joan of Navarre, also with a flat canopy above, which has the word "Soverayne" repeated along the southern half of the parapet, while the words "A temperance" are repeated on the northern, there are also considerable remains of painting and gilding. On the under side of the canopy are three shields, that on the west bearing the arms of England and France, quarterly; that in the centre the arms of England and France impaling Evreux and Navarre; and that on the east the arms of Evreux and Navarre, quarterly; the groundwork is diapered with "eagles volant," and the word "Soverayne" as the king's device and motto; and ermines collared chained with the words "a temperance" for that of the queen.¹ As on the parapet the king's device and motto covers the southern half of the canopy which is above the effigy of the queen, while the queen's device and motto covers the remaining portion above the effigy of the king. The space between the diagonal lines are diapered with small sprigs, terminating in flowers.²

At the foot of the tomb is a tablet, with the painting now rather indistinct of an angel bearing a shield with the same achievements emblazoned on it, as are on the central shield on the canopy, if this is correctly delineated by Dart. What can be made out now seems not to tally with this description, and there appears to be a crescent on which the Virgin was perhaps supported. It is highly probable that here and on the canopy there have been two distinct series of paintings.

Very similar to this monument and that of Edward the Black Prince,

¹ Gostling, page 275, New Edition (1825.)

² See also Mr. Blore's *Monumental Remains*.

and a connecting link between them, is the monument of Richard II, at Westminster Abbey, this also has a canopy, the under side of which is painted in four compartments; in two are angels holding shields, and in the other two representations of our Lord with the Virgin and our Lord in glory.

At the head of Henry IV's tomb is another tablet on which the painting is now almost obliterated. We have however ample evidence to prove that this was a representation of the martyrdom of Thomas-à-Becket. The date of these paintings will, I think, be correctly placed at about the year 1437, immediately after the death of Queen Joan of Navarre.

As the martyrdom of Thomas-à-Becket, in the year 1170, was not only the most important event in the history of Canterbury, but probably also the most important episode in the ecclesiastical history of England prior to the Reformation, it will not, I think, be deemed uninteresting for me to state here such other examples of the mural paintings representing the figure or martyrdom of the Saint of which I have been enabled to collect information. Considering the extraordinary popularity which the Saint acquired in England, we should expect to find him often portrayed among the numerous mural paintings in our churches of which any notice has been given; but though I have endeavoured to obtain information from all available sources, I can only give the few following instances of paintings on this subject which are now existing, or which are known to have been in existence during the present century.

At Hadleigh Church in Essex¹ is a portrait of the Saint, with the words "Beatus Tomas" above. This has by some been supposed to have been painted between the years 1170 and 1173, the dates of the martyrdom and canonization of the Saint.

At Stow Church in Lincolnshire, in a recess in the north transept, another portrait of the Saint has been recently discovered. There was another subject on each side, now almost entirely obliterated, viz., on one side the Saint dining with ecclesiastics, and on the other his martyrdom. This probably was painted in the thirteenth century.

Another early representation is to be found at Hauxton Church, Cambridgeshire. Of this painting a tradition is still extant in the village that in the time of Cromwell an order was sent down to Hauxton, as elsewhere, to destroy all Popish pictures, and that the parishioners, who even at this period held the Saint in special veneration, bricked up the arched recess, within which the painting was, before the arrival of the commissioners, while they left all the other paintings to their fate. An account of the discovery of this painting during the restoration of the church is to be found in the *Ecclesiologist*,² where, however, a different reason is assigned for the walling up of the recess. The painting probably dates from the latter half of the thirteenth century.

Other portraits of the Saint remain on a panel of the screen at Stalham in Norfolk, in the chantry of Master Wotton at Maidstone Church,³ and at Stoke Charity in Hampshire.⁴

Examples of the martyrdom of the thirteenth century are, or were, to be seen at Bramley, Hampshire, recently discovered; at Preston, near

¹ Murray's *Handbook of Essex*.

⁴ Archaeological Association *Journal*,

² Vol. xxii (xix, new series), page 383. x, 74.

³ Weale's *Quarterly Papers*, vol. iv; Murray's *Handbook of Kent*.

Brighton, in Sussex;¹ and at St. John's Church, Winchester;² of the fourteenth century, at Easton;³ and Burlingham St. Edmund's;⁴ Norfolk; and at Whaddon,⁵ Bucks: of the fifteenth century, at Eaton, Norfolk;⁶ and at the Guild of the Holy Ghost Chapel, Stratford-on-Avon, Warwickshire;⁷ and of unascertained date at Brereton, Cheshire; Hingham, Norfolk;⁸ Wotton Bassett, Wiltshire;⁹ Stoke d'Abernou, Surrey;¹⁰ and at Faversham, Kent.¹¹ This list can probably be very considerably augmented, as it only includes six portraits of the Saint and fifteen representations of his martyrdom. As, however, the Saint was expunged from the calendar almost immediately after the Reformation, and a special crusade ordered against every memorial of him, it is highly probable that most of the paintings of his martyrdom, &c., were entirely destroyed, and in several instances, where a series of paintings have been discovered in our churches, this special subject has been found to have been almost entirely effaced, whilst the others have been simply whitewashed over. In the example at Canterbury the whole panel is scratched over, evidently with the intention of defacing the painting. There are, of course, many churches dedicated to this Saint in England. It is said that at the time of the completion of the present choir the cathedral was re-dedicated in his honour,¹² and we find him as the patron saint of the parish church at Portsmouth, founded very shortly after his martyrdom, also of Winchelsea in Sussex, and of other fine churches. A curious example of the popularity which the Saint immediately acquired exists in the fact of the great abbey of Aberbrothwick or Arbroath on the east coast of Scotland being dedicated in his honour. This abbey was founded by William the Lion in the year 1178, and in return for the tribute of respect to England, as this dedication was deemed to be, the town of Arbroath was allowed many special privileges of trade with all the ports of England, London only being excepted.

But to return to the cathedral. On the north side of Becket's crown were traces of curious paintings of two angels holding a Cardinal's hat; these were part of the decoration above the monument of Cardinal Pole, who died in 1558, and who was the last Roman Catholic Archbishop interred in the cathedral. On the south wall was a large St. Christopher carrying our Saviour over the water, as he is usually depicted, and round the walls were numerous paintings of a Phoenix rising from the flames, probably intended to illustrate the many occasions on which the cathedral had been destroyed by fire, only to be built each time in a style of increased grandeur; these were visible fifty years ago, but have now entirely disappeared.

The Chapel of St. Andrew, under St. Andrew's tower, and opening out of the north choir aisle, contains a considerable amount of painting of a much earlier character than any that has yet been described. On the four vaulting ribs of Norman architecture are painted stripes of black

¹ *Archæologia*, xxiii, 311.

² *Archæol. Assoc. Journal*, ix, 1, x, 53 and 80.

³ *Archæological Journal*, xviii, 259.

⁴ *Norfolk Archæologia*, v, 185.

⁵ *Norfolk Archæologia*, vi, 167; *Archæological Journal*, xxiii, 78; *Buckinghamshire Archæologia*, iii, 272.

⁶ *Norfolk Archæologia*, vi, 161.

⁷ Smith's *County of Warwick*, p. 262.

⁸ *Buckinghamshire Archæol.*, iii, 273.

⁹ *Norfolk Archæol.*, vi, 167.

¹⁰ Kelly's *Postal Directory of Wiltshire*.

¹¹ *Buckinghamshire Archæol.*, iii, 273.

¹² *Notes on the Churches of Kent* (Glynne), p. 15.

¹³ Hasted's *History of Canterbury*, 2nd edition, vol. i, p. 332.

and white alternately, and on the ceiling between them is an early foliated pattern. On the arch opening into the choir aisle, which has several plain roll mouldings, are painted the cable, rose, indented, and other ornaments of the Norman period. On the north wall, where the arrangements of the windows, most of which are blocked, is very curious, there is a pattern of broad bands of purple and white alternately, with a powdering of stars; there is also colouring on three corbels, supporting a projection on the north wall, and also round the semicircular heads of the windows. On each side high up on the wall, that on the south being above the arch opening into the choir aisle, is the monogram "IHC" within a plaited wreath, which may be intended to represent the Crown of Thorns. It is very difficult to assign a certain date to early paintings, and I have ventured to think that the dates often assigned to the early paintings in our churches are later than the styles of ornament, &c., would naturally suggest. No mention is made by Gervase of any painting in Conrad's choir, except that on the ceiling, as already quoted, but as this chapel seems to have entirely escaped the great fire in 1174, the painting was probably executed shortly before that date.

Covering the whole space within a blocked up window on the north side of the north choir aisle is a large subject, which has not, I believe, up to the present time been satisfactorily made out, and the only mention of it which I can find is in Murray's *Handbook of Kent*, where it is described as the conversion of St. Hubert. There can be no doubt that it is intended to represent scenes in the life of St. Eustace. The various scenes seem to have been somewhat mixed up, and without the knowledge of the legend it would be almost impossible to make out the various scenes. In the lower portion, on the left side, can be seen a fragment of a castle, and what appears to be a portion of the trappings of a horse; in the centre are two dogs lying down, and a figure carrying a horn; and on the right hand side is a large white stag with a noble pair of antlers, and a crucifix bearing the crucified Saviour between them, turned towards the figure in the centre. There can be no doubt from the attitude of the various figures, that this scene represents the conversion of the Saint, as described in the popular legend. On the tier above can be indistinctly made out the figure of the Saint also carrying a horn, and as portions of small feet can be seen, this scene probably refers to that part of the legend where the Saint is about to carry his two children across a river to a place of safety, a series of wavy lines being apparently intended for water. Above again can be seen a large figure of the Saint, sufficiently distinct to enable one to make out the costume as being that of a warrior. He is in the middle of the wavy lines, on either side of him are the hinder parts of an animal, and above him a portion of a ship. This, no doubt, represents that part of the legend where St. Eustace having carried one of his children across the river is in mid stream on his return to fetch the other, when suddenly a wild animal appears from the wood on either side and carries each of the children away; while to add to his misery he finds on his return home that during his absence his wife has been kidnapped by pirates. In the upper portion of the arch is the Saint's martyrdom. In the centre is a large brazen bull open at the top, and with a furnace burning fiercely beneath. The executioner can be seen on the right forcing the saint into the opening in the bull, and on the left at the head of the bull is a crowned figure in ermine, probably intended for the

Roman emperor. Above are clouds, &c., and perhaps a representation of the soul of the Saint being received into heaven. The early histories of SS. Hubert and Eustace are very similar, though the period of their conversions was nearly 600 years apart. Both saints were of noble birth and passionately devoted to the chase, and both were converted by an encounter with a milk white stag, bearing the crucifix between its horns. In the case of St. Eustace a voice actually proceeded from the crucifix, informing him of the trials and temptations which awaited him, and the support which would be accorded him. A most interesting account of the lives of these saints will be found in Mrs. Jameson's *Poetry of Sacred and Legendary Art*, pages 732 and 792 respectively.

In pictures and early paintings both saints are represented with their hounds and a stag bearing the crucifix between its horns, but I believe there is this invariable and certain distinction, namely that St. Eustace is always portrayed as a warrior, while St. Hubert has the habit of a hunter or the vestments of a bishop, and carries a horn which has been designated his special and characteristic emblem, and it is doubtless owing to the fact that the figure in the lower parts of the series is seen to be carrying a horn, that this painting has been erroneously supposed to represent the conversion of St. Hubert, which is now a more popular subject, and one better known than the conversion of St. Eustace.

We find on the authority of Mr. Parker in his work entitled the *Calendar of the Anglican Church*, and also in a work called *Emblems of Saints*, that St. Eustace was also sometimes represented carrying a horn, and this is, I think, all we require to prove that these paintings refer entirely to St. Eustace, and have nothing to do with St. Hubert.

It may be worth mention that there are no churches in England dedicated to St. Hubert, and only three to St. Eustace, viz., at Tavistock, Devonshire; Ibberton, Dorsetshire; and Hoo, in Suffolk. I have not been able to discover any other mural paintings representing St. Eustace, while there are at least two instances, which are called scenes in the life of St. Hubert, one, the well known painting of St. Hubert hunting, at the back of the monument of St. Oliver de Ingham, in Ingham Church, Norfolk, which was still visible when Stothard made his drawing of the monument, but of which no vestiges now remain. The other at the chapel of Idsworth, near Petersfield, in Hampshire, is supposed to represent the saint raising a Lycanthrope.¹ It is however very questionable whether either of these examples refer to St. Hubert at all.

Having, I trust, now described all the recorded and existing paintings in the upper portion of the cathedral, let us now descend to the crypt, which is without doubt one of the most interesting examples of Norman and Transitional architecture in the kingdom.

Near the west end on some of the piers are texts, within scroll borders, probably of the time of Elizabeth or the end of the sixteenth century, and in the centre of the ceiling of the western bay of the central aisle is a very perfect Tudor rose. On the ceiling of the enclosed chapel of St. Mary Undercroft, once so sacred, and to which admission was with such difficulty obtained, is another Tudor rose, which here and elsewhere

¹ A tracing of these paintings was exhibited on 1st March, by the kind permission of the Rev. Campbell Lock, the vicar of Chalton-cum-Idsworth.

seems to have been a portion of decoration painted over some earlier work. The ceiling of the eastern portion is covered with circles enclosing rays, the general groundwork being painted black; these may be examples of the "Rose en soleil," the badge of Edward IV.¹ On the walls are numerous shields charged with the armorial bearings of France, the See of Canterbury, the Nevilles, Archbishop Arundel, also one with the royal arms and three labels, &c. There are considerable remains of colour on the canopy work of the reredos, and at the back of the altar can be made out a portion of an inscription. This chapel is said to have been screened off from the crypt by Cardinal Morton in the reign of Henry VII. though the screen work is almost of the Decorated character.

On the north side of the crypt under St. Andrew's tower remains of colouring are visible.

The roof of that portion under Becket's Crown at the east end is covered with the initials "M" and "I," and with crowns. This it is thought demonstrates the fact that the whole of the crypt was dedicated to the Virgin. The colour of the initials is as usual in red, and the date fifteenth century.

In that part under the Trinity Chapel on the east side of the massive south-west pier are now traced out by shallow lines filled with modern colour, our Lord seated in glory and giving the benediction, and surrounded by the emblems of the four Evangelists. It is probable that these figures were formerly coloured, the lines being simply the outline for the original design. On the corresponding pier on the north side are traces of similar outlines.

On the south-west face of the next column eastward (on the south side), are distinct traces of a painting of a bishop with a mitre under an ornamented canopy. The colour is quite gone, but on standing a little distance away the subject can be distinctly traced by the stain on the stone. A similar case may be mentioned, namely, at the church of Eaton Bishop, near Hereford, where, though no colour can be seen, outlines of saints are visible on the columns under certain conditions of light.

We have now come round to the Chapel of St. John the Baptist, as it is now erroneously called, as it should more properly be denominated the Chapel of St. Gabriel. It is situate on the south side of the crypt and partly under Anselm's tower, and is divided into a nave and chancel by two semicircular arches springing from a central column, which have at some period been bricked up. When this closing up took place is not recorded. Dart only mentions the fact of its being thus closed up, so that it must have been considerably before the commencement of the eighteenth century. The materials of the wall are certainly old, and it may therefore be open to the suggestion that, as the Chapel of St. Mary Undercroft became so rich in jewels and gold, the chancel of this chapel was used as a safe receptacle for the valuable offerings, and that these may have been hidden away and closed up at the time of the Reformation. The chapel itself is part of the original design of the crypt, and therefore of the early part of the twelfth century. It exactly corresponds with the chapel under St. Andrew's tower on the north side. The ceiling

¹ There is an example of this in Rainham Church: see Glyne's *Churches of Kent*, page 173.

of the nave, which appears to have been open to the rest of the crypt, has been covered with painting. There are at least two different periods, of the later only a Tudor rose, similar to those previously mentioned, remains. The earlier portion is still in a great measure concealed by the whitewash, and I consider that, were the whitewash carefully removed, very interesting discoveries might be made. There are numerous medallions, those in the central compartments being large, and containing groups of figures, while the smaller medallions contain single figures of saints or of seraphim holding scrolls; but on account of the whitewash and the imperfection of the paintings visible, it is almost impossible to make out either the general design or the individual subjects represented. It is however highly probable that these are connected with the paintings in the chancel, and that the whole scheme represents the various appearances to man by members of the Heavenly Host. The arrangement here is somewhat similar to that at St. Mary's Church, Guildford, and the date is afforded to us by some foliated designs of the last quarter of the twelfth century.

The task of getting through the wall dividing the nave and chancel is by no means an easy one. The hole which has been broken through is only about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter and 2 feet from the ground, sloping down to the level of the floor within. Those who have, however, safely accomplished this feat must have been surprised and delighted by the wonderfully perfect paintings with which they have found themselves face to face. This inner chapel, which is about 8 feet in length by 8 feet in breadth at the west end, is in the form of an apse, with a semicircular-headed arch in the east wall. On the south of the altar is a plain round-headed aumbrye and a round-headed piscina, while on the north side is another semicircular-headed recess, which had also a water drain. If this were also a piscina it is most unusually placed, and I know of no other in England in this position.¹ It may, however, be accounted for by the fact that there were two altars, as may be inferred from the two inscriptions formerly existing in the chapel. I have recently seen a piscina of the Early English period in the west wall of the sacristy at Flamstead Church, Hertfordshire, the position of which I believe to be unique.

In the case of the early paintings at Kempey² in Gloucestershire, which I had the honour of bringing under notice last year, I ventured to think that those in the chancel were executed almost immediately after the chancel walls were built, the paintings being on a very thin layer of distemper, not exceeding one-sixteenth of an inch in thickness, laid directly on a wall of very rough masonry. I do not think this is the case with the paintings under consideration, but that they are of a later date than the masonry. The walls, where now visible, are composed of excellent smooth stone work, which would hardly have been the case had they been intended to have been at once concealed by painting, and one

¹ At Bletchley, in Buckinghamshire, is a piscina in the south wall of the sacristy, which is, as is commonly the case, situate on the north side of the chancel, the recess within which the piscina is, though now closed up, seems originally also to have opened into the chancel as there is a canopy on the north side of the chancel,

over a portion of the wall which has been comparatively recently filled in, and which exactly corresponds with the opening on the north side of the wall into the sacristy. This may therefore be cited as being possibly another example.

² *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxiv, p. 275.

can see where the face of the stone work has been clipped in order to give the plaster a better hold than the simple smooth surface could have afforded it. The paintings here are executed on a coat of distemper laid on a thick layer of a sort of very coarse mortar, about a quarter of an inch in thickness, as can unfortunately be seen in the ceiling and elsewhere, where pieces have fallen away. They are of the highest interest, owing to the brightness of the colouring, the unusual excellence of the design and execution, and also to the fact of their not having been yet restored. Engravings of them are to be found in Dart's *Canterbury Cathedral*, published in 1725, and in Wright's *Archæological Album* in 1845. Both of these are, however, in several particulars incorrect.

The first paintings to be noticed are on a pier or buttress strip on the north and south walls respectively, near the west end, namely, the figure of a large angel with six wings full of eyes, and the feet resting on a wheel which is also winged. These were erroneously considered by Dart to be in some way connected with St. Catherine, but are now thought to represent the vision of the wings and wheels as mentioned in the first and following chapters of Ezekiel. The eyes on the wings of the angels and the winged wheels certainly accord with the vision of Ezekiel, but the six wings seem to refer to the vision mentioned in the sixth chapter of Isaiah, and both visions are probably intended to be represented.

There is no other example in England, as far as I can ascertain, of either of these visions in mural paintings,¹ and subjects taken from the Old Testament generally are very uncommon.

On the east side of the north pier is a large tree with spreading branches, incorrectly rendered in the engraving by Dart. This is said to be emblematical of "the Tree of Life," and a similar significance is attached to the trees sculptured on some of the tympana of Norman doorways.² There was, doubtless, as represented by Dart, another tree on the corresponding south pier, but of this no traces remain. This may have been emblematical of the "Tree of Knowledge," a subject also found on the tympana of Norman doorways.³ Above are some cupola-shaped domes, similar to those at Kempley and Copford. Covering almost the whole vault of the ceiling, which is plain and of the barrel shape, is a figure of our Blessed Lord, within a double nimbed vesica. All the authorities, down to and inclusive of the account given by Gostling, agree in considering this figure to be a representation of "the Creator," but though there is, I believe, an unique feature in this special subject, which I will shortly mention, there can be little doubt that it is an example of the comparatively common subject of "our Lord in Glory." Four angels with outspread wings and with countenances expressive of adoration are supporting the vesica, and the vigorous action of their bodies is very well portrayed. On their feet are shoes studded with precious stones. The figure of our Lord is seated clothed with a blue robe, with a cruciform nimbus, and the feet resting on a semicircle, enclosing a rose within a red and yellow border. In the engraving by Dart, the inner portion is

¹ At the curious church of Schwarz Rheindorf on the Rhine are frescoes representing "Ezekiel and the chamber of imagery."—*Ecclesiologist*, xxv (xxii N.S.) 362.

² At Moccas and Kilpeck, Hereford-

shire; Kempley, Gloucestershire; and Middleton Stoney, Oxon.

³ At Dinton and Lathbury, Bucks; Fritwell, Oxon; Lower Swell, Gloucestershire; and Lullington, Somerset. The symbolism is of course very doubtful.

erroneously represented as half a wheel. A considerable portion of the left side and of the right arm has fallen away, but the whole seems to have been perfect in Dart's time, and even in the year 1845, in the account of these paintings in Wright's *Archæological Album*, the figure was less injured, as we learn from this authority that a book was held in the left hand, on which were the words "Ego sum qui sum;" that is, "I am that I am."

The point to which I wish to draw attention as being most unusual, if not unique, is that the right hand is pointing downward and touching the lower side of the vesica, instead of being raised in the usual attitude of benediction. I have endeavoured to find any other examples of this early period where the right hand is not raised in the act of benediction, but have failed to do so. Our Lord is thus represented with the right hand raised in the mural paintings on the ceilings of the chancels at Kempley Church, Gloucestershire, of Copford Church in Essex, and at St. Mary's Church, Guildford; also of a later date at St. John's Church, Winchester, date about 1290, and at the Chapter-house, Westminster Abbey, date about 1460; and in sculpture on a voussoir of the south doorway of Teversal Church, Nottinghamshire: within the pediment of the south doorway of Adel Church, Yorkshire; in niches over the doorway of North Newbald Church, Yorkshire; Balderton,¹ Notts; of a chapel close to Prestbury Church, Cheshire; of Leigh and Rouse Lench, Worcestershire; Elstow, Bedfordshire; and Lullington, Somersetshire; and on the tympana of the doorways of the churches at Essendine, Rutlandshire; Pedmore, Worcestershire; Rowstone and Shobdon in Herefordshire; the latter now forming part of the triumphal arch in Shobdon Park; at Elkstone, Quenington, and Little Barrington, Gloucestershire; Malmesbury, Wiltshire; Water Stratford, Bucks; Ely Cathedral (the prior's doorway); and at Rochester Cathedral, Betteshanger, Barreton, Patixbourn, and Bridge (interior) in Kent, and there are doubtless many more examples.² In a niche over the south doorway of Hadiscoe Church, Norfolk, is a figure with both hands raised, and it is doubtful whether this is intended for our Lord or not. On the font of Kirkburn Church, Yorkshire, is the figure of our Lord within a vesica, also with both hands raised.

It seems somewhat rash to hazard a conjecture as to why the usual form of representation has in this instance at Canterbury been departed from. There can be little doubt that this chapel was dedicated to St. Gabriel and the Angelic Host, and that the various scenes represent the appearance of angels to men and the fulfilment of their messages. Our Lord is, of course, seated on His throne in heaven, and His right arm, which is slightly raised from His side, may be intended to be inclining towards those on earth, to whom His gracious messages have been sent. The figure of our Lord is therefore represented as being in heaven, while the other scenes are occurring on earth. In the somewhat similar paintings both at Kempley and Copford there is only one general subject covering the ceiling and walls of the chancel, viz.: Our Lord in glory surrounded by certain emblems, and with the Apostles and Angels in

¹ This figure is by some supposed to be intended for St. Giles. The right arm is gone; but there can be no doubt that it was originally raised in the act of benediction.

² There is an example on a reliquary, formerly the shrine of St. Maidulf, at Malmesbury Abbey, figured in *Vestiarium Monasticum*, vol. ii, plate li. The date of this is mentioned at about 1000.

attitudes of adoration, the Apostles having obtained the most blessed reward of everlasting life. Thus our Lord is represented as giving with upraised hand the benediction to those immediately around Him. So again in the figures on and over most of the doorways previously mentioned our Lord is represented as preaching that the only way to heaven is through Him, in the words, "I am the door; by me if any man enter in he shall be saved;"¹ "I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father but by me."² Here again our Lord is intended to be in the act of blessing, again with upraised hand, those who are standing before Him. I understand that the peculiarity in this painting at Canterbury has not hitherto been specially noticed, and no comment has, as far as I am aware, been made upon it.

The drapery of this figure of our Lord is in folds, and fastened in the usual manner over the waist. It is very well executed, and it has for this reason been suggested that the paintings must be of a later date than that usually assigned to them. I venture, however, to think that we may assume that at the most important epoch in the history of Canterbury Cathedral, namely, the last quarter of the twelfth century, the most celebrated artists of the day both English and foreign were brought together to beautify a building, which had suddenly acquired such increased importance. We cannot therefore feel surprised at finding paintings of considerably later date, though of very inferior execution.

On the north wall is a representation of the circumstances connected with the birth of St. John the Baptist. The subject is in two tiers, with two subjects in each tier. In the upper on the eastern side is the Angel appearing to Zachariah in the Temple; above them on a scroll are the words "orat populus." The angel is also holding a scroll, on which can be deciphered the words "et oratio tua," the whole inscription doubtless having been "audita et oratio tua," "thy prayer hath been heard." At the west side of the picture Zachariah appears to the people, who are represented by four or five figures, and beckoning to them explains that he has been struck dumb. Between this tier and the next is a sentence in large capital letters, "Iste puer magnus coram Dnō et Spū Scō replebitur," "This child of thine shall be great in the sight of the Lord, and shall be filled with the Holy Ghost." In the lower tier is the naming of St. John. On the western side is Elizabeth on a couch under an open arched and early roofed canopy, with the infant John in her lap, and other figures in the foreground. She is holding in her hand a scroll, with the words "sed vocetur Johne." One of the figures is also presenting her with a scroll, the writing on which is now illegible. It may have been to the effect that the child should be called Zachariah after his father, or it may have been a message from his father that he should be called John. On the east side Zachariah is seated on a stool, having just written on a scroll "Johne est nomen ej," and surprise is expressed in the faces of those about him. A coloured copy of this lower tier is given in Wright's *Archæological Album*, but it is not very accurate. The colouring is still almost perfect, and the whole of the subjects express considerable animation and character, more so than can, I think, be found in any other paintings of this period. It is a curious fact that the colour and arrangement of the hair in all the figures varies considerably. Below

¹ St. John, x, 9.

² St. John, xiv, 6.

this tier could be deciphered in Dart's time the inscription "Hoc altare dedicatum est in honorem Seti Gabrielis Archangeli." (This altar was dedicated in honour of St. Gabriel the Archangel.) Only the last three words can now be made out. Below this inscription is a design representing the upper folds of a curtain; there is a pattern of an oval between two oblongs, and an oblong between two ovals in the alternate folds, arranged within a bordering. The masonry of the wall below is very rough, but traces of painting representing the folds of a curtain are distinctly visible upon it.

On the south wall, even at the time when copies were made for Dart's work, more than 150 years ago, the paintings were very faint and imperfect, and the subjects as there represented are almost entirely the result of conjecture. It is however even now possible to make out that on this side also were two tiers of paintings, the upper one containing two subjects. On the east side of the upper tier is the "Annunciation," the figure of the angel holding a scroll, the word "Nazareth" can be made out above. On the west side is a more uncertain subject, but it is probably the meeting of the Virgin and Elizabeth, the word "Elizabeth" being written above. On the lower tier were probably the "Nativity," and some other early subject connected with the New Testament history, but it is impossible to make out anything clearly in this part of the picture. On the east side there certainly seems to be a recumbent figure, but nothing else is visible. Below were the words in the same large type as those on the north wall, "Hoc altare" probably the commencement of a sentence recording the dedication of a second altar to some saint or saints in this chapel. As I have previously suggested the peculiar position of the piscina in the north wall can only be accounted for by the fact of there being at least two altars in this chapel, and this inscription would probably have commemorated the dedication of a second altar to another of the Archangels, or, as I venture to think, to the Angelic Host. It is extremely improbable that this inscription referred to the dedication of an altar to St. John the Baptist, as Dart supposes, as the series of paintings representing the Nativity of St. John is on the opposite wall. There seems in fact to be no foundation at all for the now generally accepted dedication of this chapel to St. John the Baptist, and the series of paintings on the north wall would obviously afford sufficient groundwork for the origin of this error, if such it can be proved to be.

On the eastern arch is painted a band of cable ornament, then of roses on a red ground, and then of plain yellow ochre, and on the soffit of the arch were originally nine medallions, of which only five perfect ones and one in a mutilated condition remain. In the lowest one in the north side is St. John writing the Apocalypse, the words "Ses Johannes" across the medallion, and the word "Apocalipsis" on the open book. St. John is seated and holds a pen in his right hand, and another larger instrument with a point in his left hand probably to steady the book. A figure within one of the medallions at St. Mary's Church, Guildford,¹ is writing with a similar pen, and has a similar instrument² wherewith to steady the

¹ It is numbered seven in the copy of the paintings given in the first volume of Brayley's *History of Surrey*.

² See also the portrait of Edwin the Monk, making the celebrated plan of the Cathedral Church and Benedictine Priory

book. In each of the three medallions above, and in the portion of the medallion remaining on the upper part of the south side of the arch, is an angel holding a candlestick. The candlesticks are of the ordinary pricket kind, with three bands on the stem, two of them on flat round bases, and one with branching legs, the lower angel holds the candlestick in the left hand, the next in the right hand, and the upper one in both hands. In the left hand corner of each seems to be a rude representation of a church. There were doubtless three more angels within the three lower medallions on the south side, which are now entirely gone, and this design therefore represented the angels of the seven churches with the seven golden candlesticks. In the central medallion, immediately beneath the feet of the figure of our Lord, are the seven stars, a central star surrounded by six others on a blue ground.

On the west wall, within the space between the ceiling and the two western arches, are remains of a scroll and part of a seraph, also a portion of a tree similar to that on the north pier, there were probably here two seraphim holding scrolls. Between the arches are some cupola shaped domes, and there are remains of colour round the arches.

I have ventured to assign as the date of this most interesting series of paintings about the year 1175, from the several architectural features, the general character of the subjects, and more especially of the figure of our Lord in Glory. The drapery of this figure bears a striking resemblance to that of the figures on several of the tympana of the Norman doorways, of which I have given a list, and the hair especially resembles that of the figure on the tympanum of the south doorway of Barfreston Church, which is now acknowledged to have been built at this period. The patterns on the eastern arch, and the various architectural features would also accord with this date, though these would not be conclusive in themselves, as we have instances of designs possessing all the features of Norman architecture, but in some cases proved to be as late even as the middle of the thirteenth century. In Wright's *Archæological Album*, published in 1845, we find the following opinion on this subject. "The style of these paintings is that of the first half of the twelfth century. They so closely resemble in design and colouring the illuminations in a manuscript in the British Museum (MS. Cotton, *Nero* c. iv), of which a specimen is given in Mr. Shaw's beautiful work on the dresses and decorations of the Middle Ages, that we might be led to look upon them as the work of the same artist." On the other hand, Mr. J. Neale, F.S.A., who has been engaged in copying these paintings for the Kent Archaeological Society, is of opinion that they are considerably later than the date I have mentioned, and that they are not even all of one period.

This completes the list of this most interesting series of mural paintings and decorative colouring, which can hardly be equalled by any other examples in England, and which I have now endeavoured, to the best of my ability, to bring more prominently forward. I trust that, in mentioning each remaining or recorded subject in regular routine, I have at least succeeded in collecting together, in a condensed form, all the specimens of this branch of the decorative art from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries inclusive, which are now existing, or which have been in existence, during the present century in Canterbury Cathedral.

at Canterbury. *Monumenta Vetusta*, vol. ii. Plate xvi. The date of the original was between the years 1130 and 1174. The

original manuscript now belongs to Trinity College, Cambridge.

SOME ADDITIONS TO PROFESSOR HUBNER'S LIST OF ROMAN POTTERS' MARKS DISCOVERED IN BRITAIN.

By W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

The following additions to Dr. Hübner's list of Roman potters' marks are simply those which have come under my notice, either in communications on Roman discoveries which I have received from the finders, or from personal observation. It probably does not embrace a tenth part of the total of his omissions, but I have thought it as well to put them upon record, as a contribution towards a more perfect list, which may be at some future time compiled. Except where I have otherwise stated, the whole of them occur upon *patellae*.

The first I shall name were found in Kent, where, at Westborough near Maidstone, a "Samian" patella was turned up marked CONATVS. F.

At Ightham, in the same county, on a *patella* found was stamped DIVIXI.

On "Samian" ware found at Papecastle in 1868 these names are stamped :—SATVRNVI. OF., MAMVI., and . . . FRICI. MA. The first letters on the last named are broken off.

At Lincoln the following are Dr. Hübner's omissions :—

On "Samian" ware :—MACRIANI. M. —

. . NDECINIM — VOCEV. F (?) . — ATILIANI. M —

VXOPIL. M. — .SEXTVS. F — PECVLARIS. F. — MAIACVI. —

M. BVCIANI — TITV. . O . . — DIVIX. F. —

On the handle of an amphora, OSASER.

On a vessel of pale red ware, SOLIVS. F.

At Lancaster the omissions are :—

On "Samian" ware :—A. POLAVSTI. — SVLPICIANI — . TICOTAKI. M — . DAGODVN. VV, — DIVES., — ANIEACIONEB., — IMANNI., and SITV —

At Alcester, Oxfordshire. On "Samian" ware :—BIRR.—DAGODVNVS. —CYCCII.

At Uttoxeter. On "Samian" ware, OF. IVCVN.

On part of a mortarium, . . . L. FECIT.

At Canterbury. On Samian ware :—MACCIVS — ALBVCINI. M.

At Horncastle. On Samian fragment, . . . ILIANI.

At Caister, near Norwich. On Samian ware :—DVPIVS. F.—SVQBNED.OF.

At Market Overton, Rutlandshire. On "Samian" ware :—QVINTI. M and DOV...

In a Roman villa at Mansfield Woodhouse, Notts. On "Samian" ware, ALBVS.

At Cirencester there are a large number omitted, Dr. Hübner not having, as far as I can trace his list, given any "Samian" potters' names,

and only one of those of the makers of amphorae. There occur here on "Samian" ware :—

. . VRIO . FE . — AESTIVI . M . — . APO . . — AVENTINI . —
 BORILLI . OFF — BVTRIO — CAM . . — CERI — CERI . AL . M —
 OF . CEN . . . — CINTVAGENI — CINTVS . M — OF . COIV —
 CVCALI . M — DORCEVS . M — ELVILLI — GEMINI . F —
 KOEENINASF — LALLI . MA — LOLLI . M . — MACR . . . —
 MARCI . F — MARTI . M — . FMVRR . I — MATVRI . —
 . . RRAN . — MVXTVLLI . . — NICEPHOR . F . — . . MIDI . M
 OLINI . OFF . — PATRIC — LOS . FE . — PRISCVS . —
 PVTRI . M . — . QVINTI — RAOVN — ROPPV . FE . —
 SAMOGENI . — . . VRXNI . — SECVND . M . — TITVRONIS . O —
 VIRIL . — VIMPVS . — ACCALIM

Although a number of these names occur elsewhere, a few of them are new to the antiquary.

At Cirencester also the following stamps occur upon the handles of amphorae :—

L + A + F . — . . SAT . — ROMN . — MQ . F . — MCSR . — BELSIL —
 M . I . A . — TCI . — IIAA .

HCAM
MAI

At York there occurs on "Samian" ware found in 1869, VALLONI . M.

At Rochester on "Samian" ware found in 1860, MATERNVS.

On a Samian *patera* found at Water Newton, 1872, MACRINI.

At Combe Park, Warwickshire, a fragment of "Samian" ware occurred, marked DIVIX.

At Eatington Park, in the same county, Samian ware stamped SENTIA . M and SATVRNINI . OF was found.

At Herringfleet in Suffolk a "Samian" *patera* marked Q . ATTINVS . was found.

At Bourton on the Water, Gloucestershire, the following stamps were found on "Samian" ware :—

CALAVA . OF . — . — LVCINI . OF — MACERATI . — CHAPIO . —
 QVINTI . — SACRONI . — SAVNAI . — VICTORINVS . F . —
 RLAV . F

At Stoke Ash, Suffolk, occurred on "Samian" ware, ALBVCI . —

At Bittern (*Clauseantum*) near Southampton, the following names occur on Samian :—

CRESCENI, SEVERI, MALIVRN, AMATICI OF,
 SACRI . OF, LVPI . M, AESTIVI . M, CVFF, ACOM, LYPPA,
 CEN . . . , MACIOF, DOECA, EPPN, OF . SAB, ADIECTI . M
 OF . NIGRI, ADVOCINI.

At Sedbury, Monmouthshire, the late Dr. Ormerod found in 1860, Samian ware stamped thus :—DEGNTOMI, DOCCIVS . F, and ANNI . M

At East Bridgford, Notts, there occurs—on "Samian" ware, FLO

On part of the handle of a mortarium, . . GVDV.

At Deddington "Samian" ware was found marked DONATVS.

At Weston Turville, Bucks, in 1855, were found two "Samian" vessels marked MVXTVLLIM and METTI . M.

At the great station at Malton, Yorkshire, "Samian" ware thus marked has been found:—

OF. PONTI. — O . . . CART. — CAVA. — R . . . FE. — VNICVS. —
OF. FVS. — MARO . . — C. ARVS. — ZATTOM. — SAVCIRO. —
. . . . NVS.

At Titsey, Surrey, on the bottom of a fragment of a "Samian" bowl found in the Roman villa there, SE—.

On a piece of "Samian" ware found in the last century at the Roman station at Llanvair-ar-y Bryn, South Wales, DISATI.

On "Samian" ware found in 1848 at Abergavenny, IVLLIX.

At Leicester, on "Samian" ware found many years ago, now in the museum there :—

PRIMANI. — MACRINI., — ALBINVS. — ALBUSA. —
CICVR —

On a mortarium, C. VIDA.

On handles of amphorae, MARTNI. — LSLVPI. — ARDV.

On "Samian" ware at Kinderton, Cheshire, CINNAMMI.

In London, during the excavations for the Cannon Street Station, the following potters' marks were found, which had not been previously known there, though some occurred elsewhere, but Dr. Hübner has omitted them. They are all on Samian ware bowls, or *patellae*:—

AVCANI, AMICO, CACCARI, CARVS. F, CELADI,
COSRV. F., ESECV., IVIENI. M, OF. PARE., OF. PATCIO.,
PRVSO., RIPPINI., SACIOS. FE. SACIRO, TRIV. F.,
VLTOR, VIOCENSIS., VEVS.

There were also varieties of several of the stamps given by Dr. Hübner, as occurring in London, but with the following exceptions, they were hardly worth noticing. These were OF. MONTOR and O. MOMA. The abbreviations of the first of these had previously never exceeded OF. MONTO, and in the case of the second O MOM., OF., MOM and MOMI. M, if indeed the latter is the same name.

At Gillingham, Dorset, there was found in a Roman villa, in 1869, a fragment of "Samian" ware stamped ADVOCASIO.

On the celebrated "Pan Rock," off Whitstable, numbers of Samian paterae occur, marked CARATILLI.

At Chesterford, Essex, there were found, prior to 1825, Samian vessels stamped ARILIS. F (probably APRILIS) and AVENT.

At Camerton near Bath "Samian" ware stamped GLVPII. M and OF. SECVN. was found in the last century.

A fragment of a small *olla* of black ware was found some years ago in a Roman villa at Holbury Copse near East Dean, Hants, marked BERAÆ.

At Colchester the late Mr. Wire found in 1848 "Samian" ware marked :—MXIMI. OF. and APIRI.

Also the handle of an amphora inscribed :—IVNI NI
ISSI.

In 1837 the handle of a "large white earthen vessel" was found at Colchester inscribed—ZE. X.I.V.

At Stanway, near the same town, some years ago a fragment of Samian, stamped MARTI, was found.

At West Tilbury in Essex a "Samian" patera was found marked DACMNA.

Such appear to be the omissions, which I know of, in Dr. Hübner's list. I will now give some additional potters' marks, found since the publication of his work.

In Leicester was found in 1873, on a fragment of "lustrous yellow marbled pottery (vide *Builder*, Nov. 15th, 1873) the mark, OF. MAPOMI.

Mr. C. Roach Smith says that this is the only instance, of which he is aware, of this kind of pottery bearing a maker's name. In 1874 a fragment of "Samian" in the same town occurred, inscribed, ...TLM.

On the handle of an amphora found recently at Colchester is the mark, PMANVLVS.

At Little Chester (near Derby) a fragment of "Samian" ware found in 1874 was inscribed, SAMOGENI. Mr. Franks (*Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 2nd series, vi, 119) remarks that this potter's name was new to England. It had been found some years before at Cirencester.

In 1876-7 the following were found on "Samian" ware at Cirencester :—

BVCCVLX. M, OF. ABANI, CELSIO. M., CIS. F.,
MASCILLI. O., OF. PRIMI., MA. . . FN. M., . . . VITAN.

At Templeborough, during the excavations in 1877, there occurred on a "Samian" vessel apparently as a potters' mark, VIVVIVIII.

In 1876 at Charterhouse, Somerset, on the site of the Roman town a "Samian" bowl occurred, with the well known potter's mark, A. POL. AVST. Another fragment at the same place was marked, . . . R. V. and a portion of a colander, IVI. V.

In London in 1873, during the construction of the National Safe Deposit Company's premises, and those of Messrs. Allen, Hanbury and Co., in Plough court, Lombard street, Mr. J. E. Price tells us that "Samian" ware, with the following new stamps, was found (besides numerous stamps, copies of which have previously been found) :—

ALASCO. O., OFIC. BRICAT., BVCCVS., CESTILLM., FORTIONIS.,
GABRILLI. M., GEMANSOI., IVENIS. F., LAVRI. O., OF.
LICINAA., LENTV. F., MASCILVS. F., NOTIO., ONATOS., PRIVS.,
RVTA. FE., SITICVLA. F., SYA. DVLLIVS., TASCILIVS.

This last had previously been found in a fragmentary state, but not complete. In addition to these, there was found at the same time a copy of the stamp ROPPI. RVI. M. Dr. Hübner gives a copy of this amongst his list of "Pravae Lectionis," but it appears to have been previously correctly copied also. Amongst the other stamps found were two BRACISILLO and IVCVNDI, which probably belong to the same potters as those named BRACKILLO and OF. IVCVN in Dr. Hübner's London list.

On a fragment of light coloured ware occurred the name MANERTVS.

On an amphora handle found at the same time, CVAVIS.

Mr. C. Roach Smith has recently published an account of a great quantity of Roman pottery, forming the collection of the late Mr. Teanyby, which was chiefly obtained at Higham and Shorne near Gravesend, with a few from the Pan Rock, off Whitstable. Those that bear potters' marks are only about thirty in number, and the whole of the stamps are as follows :—

AISTIVI . M ., ARNCIM ., ATILLANI . M ., CAPETI . M .,
 CASIVS . FII ., CINTVS . M ., . . . NIMANVS ., CIPPI . M .,
 CRACVNA ., DAGODYMNVS ., DATI . . . FEEL ., GEMINI .
 IVSI . M ., LYPPI . M ., MAMILIANVS ., MAIORIS .,
 MA, MATERNXI ., OF . PARIO, PRIMI .,
 PRIMVI ., C . IVL . PRIM ., QVINTI . M ., RAC . . ., REC-
 VLVVS . F ., SIXTH . M ., VXOPILI . M ., VELCEDV . . .

Besides these there occurred on the rim of a mortarium—

VS . F
 . CATVI .

And on two Samian bowls, known to have come from Whitstable,
 TAVRINVS . F.

At Usk during the excavations carried on in 1877-8 by Mr. A. D. Berrington, the following occurred upon "Samian" ware:—

MARTIALIS . F ., OF . NIGRI, CINTVS . M ., OFIC . PRIMI .,
 IVGYI, OFFI . I, OFFEIC ., ATTIGI . M ., BELL . . .,
 CAV . PIF

On the handles of amphoræ:—SARNINI ., MC^{SR} ., PROCVINI ., VIR. (this latter occurred *reversed* in several handles.)

On the rim of a cream coloured mortarium, C . ATISIVS

On the lips of other red *mortaria* DOMI ., IOVIN . . ., and HVRS, the latter reversed.

Mr. John Bellows informs me that he has recently found "Samian" ware at Gloucester, with the following makers' names, which are new to that site:—

C . ARVSSA ., ANDEGENM, CELSIANIE .,
 IVLLINI . M ., . . . VNDINIM ., M . . RCVSSEM.

At Carlisle Mr. R. S. Ferguson says, Samian ware was recently found stamped ADVOCISI and CRACVNA .

Recent excavations at South Shields have brought to light a number of potters' marks, some of them believed to be new to Britain, but from what has hitherto appeared on the subject, many of them have apparently been erroneously read. Those which seem correct are GENITOR . F ., EVATTVS . F ., QVADRATI ., and INHICSI.

At Chester there have been recently found the following stamps, which I have inspected. On "Samian" ware, OF . ABAIL. and DOVHCVS.

On an amphora handle, FSCIMNAVNI. (The M is much obliterated and I may have wrongly read it. The A and V are ligulate.)

On the lip of an *olla* DOINV.

In a Roman shaft at Ashill, in Norfolk, have recently been found a number of vessels stamped:—

REGINVS . F ., M . IVBILVS ., VIRTHVS ., OFMCCAC .,
 OF . I * * * * NIS ., and VRILIS.

On "Samian" recently found at Billericay, Essex, DACMVS ., occurs.

At Earl Stonham, in Suffolk, a piece of "Samian" ware stamped SEVERI ., was recently found.

Considerable excavations at Irehester and Binchester, recently undertaken, have revealed a great number of potters' stamps, not yet available,

with the exception of LOCCI. on the spout of a *mortarium* at the latter place.

Since writing the above I have noticed one or two other examples.

On a lamp found with other Roman remains at Caergurli in 1828, XINI. occurs.

On the bottom of a "Samian" vessel found at Beachamwell, Norfolk, in 1846, containing coins, was stamped, SOSIMI . M.

At St. Albans, DONAT., and SEV * * * occur on "Samian."

No doubt by research I could add greatly to the list, but for the present this will suffice.

Original Document.

Communicated by JOSEPH BAIN, F.S.A. Scot.

The following is one of the Returns to the Royal Writs to Sheriffs of Counties which were issued by Edward I. on the eve of his expedition to Scotland in the summer of A.D. 1300. Some of those relative to the western shires have been already given in vol. xxxiv, p. 443, of the *Journal*. It is made by the Sheriff of Northampton, and possibly some of the surnames of the persons named in it may still survive there. The writ is the same in its terms and date as those to Hereford and Worcester before alluded to. The Sheriff's return [in dorso] is as follows :—

“Juxta tenorem huius brevis | induci requisivi monui omnes mercatores bonarum villarum Balline mee quod venire fecerint circiter festum Natiui [tatis] Sancti Johannis Baptiste victualia in quantum potuerunt venalia et fideliter promisi eis quod plena et prompta fieret eis satisfactio pro victualibus suis et quod conservarentur indemnes in omnibus et nomina eorum qui venire promittunt inveniuntur inferius in hoc breui Nec inveni aliquem mercatorem in Ballina mea qui se voluit obligare prout breue istud exigit Et quo ad boues porcos multones vinum Gallinas pullos. oua caceum et similia victualia providere non possum pro aliis diversis mandatis que recepi a Domino Rege versus dictam Gverram providendam.

§ De Willata de Northampton.

§ De officio Pistorum

§ De officio piscar (!)

§ De officio regratorum

§ De officio Carnificium

§ De villata de Brackele

{	ADAM DE WODHULLE,
{	RADULFUS DE HAREWOLDE
{	JACOBUS LE PESSOUR,
{	THOMAS DE ALDENBY.
{	ADAM ANNSTEY.
{	WILLELMUS DE COLENE SUTOR.
{	ROGERUS PASSELEW DE NORTHAMP-
{	TON.
{	THOMAS NEUMAN DE BRACKELE.
{	THOMAS filius THOME NEUMAN de
{	eadem.

§ Plures non inveni in Ballina mea qui venire vellent nec aliquos mercatores inveni in predicta Ballina qui se vellent obligare.”

It would thus appear that the Sheriff prevailed on certain members of the bakers, fishers, regrators, and a butcher, of Northampton, and two “merchants” of Brackele, whose occupations are not named, to promise that they would set out for Carlisle at the time appointed with such “victualia” as they could procure; but he was unable to find any “merchants” disposed to guarantee the due performance of the contract. Nor could he provide oxen, pigs, sheep, wine, hens, chickens, eggs, cheese, and the like victuals, on account of other mandates received from the King towards making provision for the same war. In fact it was a position of something like what lawyers term “double distress.” There is a town named Brackley some fifteen or twenty miles south-west of Northampton, across the border of Oxfordshire, which, possibly, may be the Brackele of the Sheriff's return.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

April 5, 1878.

SIR JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN spoke of the great loss that the Institute had sustained by the death of Sir G. Gilbert Scott, and, in referring to the valuable contributions that he had made to the *Journal*, specially mentioned his paper on Hereford Cathedral, in which, in the absence of documentary evidence, the history of the building had been most skilfully drawn out, as it were, from the actual stones. He thought he should best express the feelings of the members by suggesting that a vote of sympathy with Sir Gilbert Scott's family should be passed at this the first meeting of the Institute after his lamented death.

Canon VENABLES spoke of his long friendship with Sir Gilbert Scott, and alluded to his comprehensive view of architectural history. He then proposed the following resolution :—

“That the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, at this its first General Meeting after the death of Sir G. Gilbert Scott, R.A., one of its earliest and most valued members, desires to express its sense of the great loss sustained by this Society, in common with all interested in archaeological research, by his removal, and to offer its sincere sympathy with the surviving members of the family in their sudden bereavement.”

This was seconded by Mr. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, who referred to Sir Gilbert Scott's remarkable knowledge of ancient architectural detail, and his power of assigning without any hesitation the proper position to any piece of moulding that came to light in the course of a restoration.

Mr. C. E. KEYSER read the concluding portion of his paper on the Mural and Decorative Paintings in Canterbury Cathedral. This is printed at page 275.

Mr. J. A. SPARVEL-BAYLY read a paper on Roman Billericay, which will appear in a future *Journal*.

Mr. W. THOMPSON WATKIN sent a paper on Britanno-Roman Inscriptions found in 1877, this second annual list was, owing to pressure of other matters, taken as read, and is printed at page 63.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. Precentor VENABLES.—Chronicle of the Cistercian Abbey of Louth Park, Lincolnshire ; a folio of twelve leaves, incomplete at the beginning ; the watermark of the paper the same as that of the Hall Book of King's Lynn, of the 31st Henry VI (1152).

The first page begins towards the close of the "tertia ætas" of the world's history, the epoch of Samuel and Saul.

It goes regularly on to the "quarta ætas," "quinta ætas," "sexta ætas," the age of crucifixion, and so on, with a general summary of civil and religious history, up to the verso of *fol.* 5, when a regular tabular chronicle begins yearly, commencing with 1067. A very large number of the years are left blank.

The first entry in the calendar is the birth of Henry I, 1068; the next 1069, the translation of St. Cuthbert to Lindisfarne and Durham.

It goes on with the usual entries of "violent winds," "eclipses of the sun," "comets," and other atmospheric phenomena; and records the dearths and famines, hot summers and cold winters, the births and deaths of kings and queens and their children, the deaths and succession of the archbishops of Canterbury and bishops of Lincoln—certainly not of any considerable interest.

At last the special purpose of the chronicle commences:—

A.D. 1139. "Factæ sunt Abbatie de Kirksted, et de Parkhide et de Thorneton. Initium sumpsit ordo de Sempringham."

A.D. 1141. "Combusta est ecclesie Orate manu Lincoln."

A.D. 1185. "Terre motus magnus"

A.D. 1186. "Consecratio sancti Hugonis Lincoln Epi."

A.D. 1201. "Depositio Sci Hugonis Epi Linc. Rex Johannes cepit Arturum nepotem suum et occidit eum ut dicitur."

A.D. 1208. "General interdict through England and Wales, lasting 6 years 3 months 20 days. Archiepiscopi et episcopi exulant ab archa."

A.D. 1209. "License granted to all conventual churches in England to celebrate divine offices once a week, all secular persons being excluded.

A.D. 1239. "William de Thornaco, Dean of Lincoln, became a monk at Louth Park.

A.D. 1246. "Death of Richard of Dunham, Abbot of Parkhide, formerly monk of Kirksted. Most loveable and mild, like a second Moses, whose coming was like the visit of the day spring from on high, for he governed the house wisely and prudently for nearly 20 years, and raised it from dust and ashes, and when raised he greatly increased it with lands, buildings, and possessions, and furnished it with excellent books, sumptuous vessels, and precious vestments, and all other necessities. On his first entrance to the abbey he erected an infirmary for the monks and a large chamber for the invalids, a kitchen, and all other essentials. He then completed half the body of the church, towards the west, at vast labour and expense. He also erected the 'claustrum conversorum' contiguous to the church. After this he also built a dormitory for the monks, and a calefactory, or chapter house, with every thing that is above, or below, or in them. Also the cloister which abuts upon the dormitory and calefactory. He built from the foundations the fish pools between the vineyard and *clausures*, and all the workshops in what had been a very unseemly place; also the chapel of St. Nicholas at the gate, and the porter's house near the gate, and the carpenters' shop; and he gave three mills to keep up the abns at the gate. In the outlying estates he built granges and barns and dormitories and refectories for hospitality, and improved the whole estates. He increased the number so much, that there were usually, whilst he was abbot, 66 monks and 150 conversi—governed them all by word and good example, holily, piously, and

religiously. The chronicler calls on all who enjoy his gifts and labours to pray that he may be a partaker in the heavenly country. *Pater noster. Ave Maria.*"

A.D. 1258. "Died William of Thorney, formerly Dean of Lincoln, monk of Parkhide, who notably enriched all the workshops, decorated the abbey with various excellent works, precious vessels, and utensils; shewed great kindness and comfort to all the domestics and strangers, great or small. He was buried in the chapel of St. Mary, which he had caused to be built and dedicated, and in which during all the time of his profession he was wont to spend an hour in contemplation, with Mary, at the Lord's feet."

A.D. 1260. "Altars of St. Leonard, St. Bernard, St. Katherine consecrated."

A.D. 1283. "The great bell made."

A.D. 1287. "The church of St. Peter's, Mablethorpe, ruined (*dirupta*) by waves of the sea."

A.D. 1289. "The lesser bell cast."

A.D. 1306. "The small bell, *collacionis cymbolum*, et *tabula nova*, and placed before the altar on the vigil of St. Martin."

A.D. 1309. "The new work made round the high altar by Master Everard. Two *tabule* at the altar of St. Mary Magdalen and one at the altar of St. Stephen, by brothers John of Brantyngham and — of Weston."

A.D. 1315. "New stalls set up in the choir."

On folio 10 there is a pedigree of the chief Cistercian houses, shewing how *Fountains* was the mother of *Newminster*, Louth Park, Kirkstead, Meaux, Kirkstall, Wooburn, and Vauxdren, and on the verso a chronological list of the foundations.

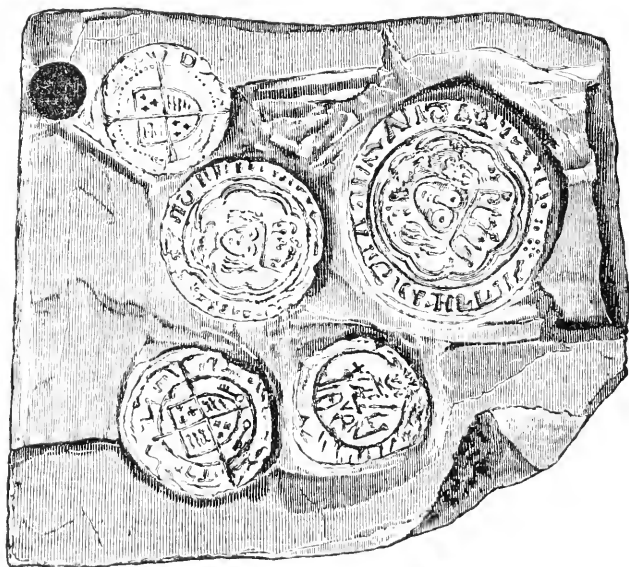
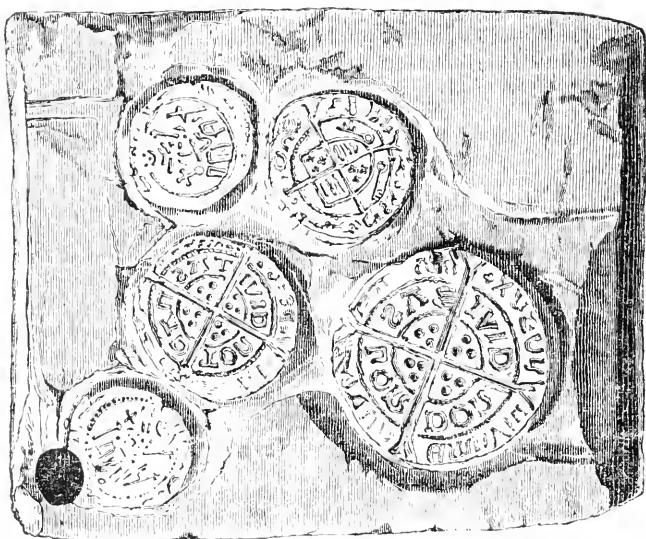
A.D. 1349. A moving account of the Black Death, in which many of the monks of Louth Park, together with the Abbot Walters of Louth, perished.

A.D. 1413. Ends with death of Henry IV and accession of Henry V.

This MS. is mentioned by Tanner as in his time among the Norwich Corporation muniments. It was subsequently in the hands of the late Mr. Harrod, and had been lately found among his papers.

Mr. VENABLES also exhibited photographs of another Jew's house that had been lately discovered at Lincoln, and of which an account will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

By Mr. R. S. FERGUSON.—A bronze head of Roman workmanship recently found in the river Eden, near Carlisle. It represents a female as far as the bust; it is hollow, and has had a lid on the top of the head, and loops for suspension. A similar one is in the British Museum, found at Lyons. The workmanship is most beautiful; the object has been an oil box, and would be suspended from a large lamp by chains. It measures about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches across the base, by 4 inches high;—A smaller bronze head, but solid, also of a female; found in excavations near the Bush Hotel, Carlisle, with some corroded Roman coins. It has an iron bolt in its back as if to attach it to some other object;—A bronze figure of a bat, its wings extended over its head into an acanthus leaf of beautiful and spirited work. On the back of the leaf is a dolphin so worked as to form a handle, through which a finger can be thrust; at the top is a socket for holding something, and at the bottom a dowel, by which the



Plumbago Moulds found in Nethersdale, Cumberland.

object can be put on a stand ; it is about 6 inches high ;—A curious iron implement, adapted for working among clods or roots. These two last were found in Bank Street, Carlisle, near the remains of a stockade of early Roman date, and deep in soil full of Roman pottery.

With regard to the stockade, Mr. FAIRLESS BARBER said it was a most interesting discovery, and no doubt for the defence of a rampart. Roman Carlisle had been rather neglected, and it was a matter for congratulation that it was now being investigated by so good an antiquary as Mr. Ferguson.

Mr. C. S. GREAVES spoke of the preserving power of clay as shewn in the condition of the feet of the stockades, and added some further observations on the destructive qualities of air and water. He instanced a case at Oxford of an interment in gravel where everything had decayed, and another example of a sand barrow, in which everything had vanished save the hair alone.

Those of the members of the Institute who attended the Meeting at Rochester in 1863 will recall the excellent condition of the vast number of elm piles which had been drawn from the chalk foundations of the old bridge over the Medway, built in 1392 (see *Journal*, v. xx, p. 390).

Mr. FERGUSON also exhibited two blocks of pure Cumberland plumbago, forming a mould, and weighing respectively 50 ozs. 3 drs. and 50 ozs. 7 drs., and related that they were discovered in 1865 in a small cairn of stones in a straggling oak coppice, a little outside the village of Netherwasdale, and near the river Irt. The fact that these blocks are pure plumbago, and as such worth about £8, is a proof of their genuineness, for this material is now rare, the mines having been closed for many years. It will be seen from the engraving that the blocks have a pin-hole through them, and when fastened together by a wooden pin it is easy to see that a passage has been cut for pouring in molten metal, and that the blocks have been used for the manufacture of coins by casting. They are in fact the working tools of a coiner of false money, for it is well known that all sterling English coin was hammered or milled and not cast.

The mould, when open, exhibits the dies of the obverses and reverses of five coins, viz., of a silver groat, a silver half groat, and three silver pennies. All the pennies are the same, and one appears to have been a failure, for the pin-hole goes through it. They have been engraved with the point of a sharp instrument, and present this peculiarity : that the dies are not sunk into the field of the plumbago, but are in relief, the plumbago being cleared away around them ; thus the casting would come out a solid sheet, the coins being surrounded by a thicker mass of waste, which would have to be cut away from them. The reason for this arrangement is that the coins are so excessively thin that the molten metal would not run into the mould if this device were not adopted. From practical experience Mr. Ferguson ascertained that, in order to make use of this mould, it was necessary to heat the blocks to a degree far beyond that at which they could be safely touched with unprotected hands, for when cold the metal chills as fast as it is run in.

As to the coins for whose counterfeiting this mould was made, the largest is a groat of either Edward IV or Richard III. The obverse shows the king's head crowned, and ARBVS the only part of the legend decipherable, and which belongs equally to Edwardus and Ricardus. Op

the reverse are the usual cross and pellets, and two legends ; the inner one, CIVITAS LONDON ; the outer one, POSUI DEUM ADJUTOREM MEUM. The second coin in point of size is the half groat, similar to, but smaller than, the groat. The other three dies are intended to counterfeit the same coin. On their reverse is the cross and the quartered arms of England and France. The obverse appears, after close inspection, to be a seated figure of a king holding the orb and sceptre. These are consequently silver pennies of Henry VII. The legend is not to be deciphered, but it would be HENRIC DI GRA REX ANG, and on the reverse, CIVITAS EBORACI, for the mint mark of a key shows that these three coins were forgeries on the York mint.

Mr. Ferguson therefore considered that these moulds were the working tools of a coiner who lived in the time of Henry VII. He must have been of some education, for he could engrave Latin backwards with a high degree of correctness, and was probably an ecclesiastic, possibly a monk of Furness, for the monks of Furness owned Borrowdale. He was probably a Cumberland man, for he knew where to find his plumbago in Borrowdale, and to carry it by the passes over Styhead to Wasdale. He had perhaps travelled abroad, for he knew, at a time when the use of Cumberland plumbago was confined to the marking of sheep, its properties in resisting heat, which he turned to such base purposes. Most of the counterfeit money of that time was made abroad at Luxembourg, and imported in bales of cloth, and there he may have obtained his knowledge. One thing, however, Mr. Ferguson said was quite certain : he never returned to reclaim the tools he had secreted, and he no doubt fell into the clutches of the law, and suffered the penalties provided for those ingenious persons who imported or made pollards, crockards, suskins, dotkins, galley-pennies and other base money.

The meeting was further indebted to Mr. Ferguson for the exhibition of a box of fifteen weights of low standard silver for the purpose of weighing against gold coins, the obverse of a particular weight being the copy of the reverse of the coin it is to be weighed against.

By Mr. J. A. SPARVEL-BAYLY.—A bronze celt and fragments of pottery found near Billericay.

By Mr. A. HARTSHORNE.—A painted glass roundel, representing a building in perspective and several figures, said to be by Lucas of Leyden, and formerly belonging to Horace Walpole, by whom it was given to Mr. Cole ;—Another roundel representing the siege of a town.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—A “porte couteau” for the bill hook, carried by wild tribes in the Deccan, formed of the horn of the Axis deer, carved with a horse’s head, and bound with iron ;—“Porte couteau” of rudely carved wood, from the Deccan ;—“Tiki,” a Maori title deed, carved in a very remarkable specimen of green jade, having a chatoyant lustre, caused probably by the presence of fibres of amianthus in its substance.

May 5, 1878.

R. H. SODEN SMITH, Esq., F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

Mr. J. H. PARKER made some general observations upon the progress of the excavations in Rome during the past season, and entered a strong protest against the proposed destruction of part of the Agger of Servius

Tullius by the railway, which was also strongly opposed by the people of Rome. Among the remains which had lately been brought to light, Mr. Parker specially mentioned a temple on the Capitoline Hill, with fine sculptured allegorical figures; another temple of Jupiter Tonans, now again covered up; and another of Opis, which had been turned into a church in the middle ages.

The CHAIRMAN thought it most desirable that the Agger of Servius Tullius should be preserved; it was an object of large interest, and it was desirable that the Roman antiquaries should have their hands strengthened by protests from kindred societies in England against the encroachments of railways, from which we had ourselves so much suffered.

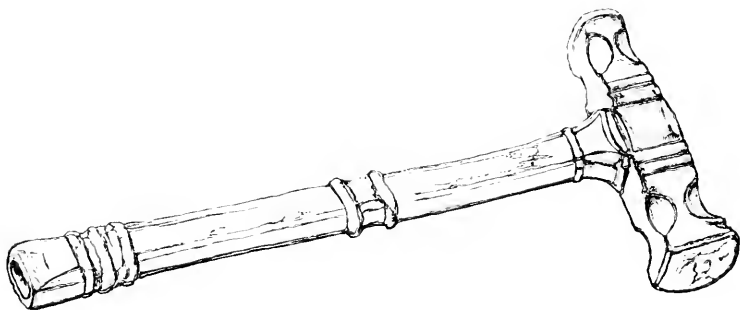
Mr. W. THOMPSON WATKIN contributed a Paper "On the Roman Stations, 'Burrium,' 'Gobannium,' and 'Blestium,'" which is printed at p. 19.

The Rev. C. F. R. PALMER sent a Paper on "The Provincials of the Friars Preachers, or Black Friars of England," which is printed at p. 134.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. J. H. PARKER.—Photographs of the Agger of Servius Tullius.

By Mr. M. H. BLOXAM.—A plain bronze finger ring, an *annulus nuptialis*, found on his own premises at Rugby, and having the following poxy inscribed in Greek characters inside, ESYNERA EYNAISKE; and a small brass hammer, probably a goldsmith's tool; these are the only remains of the Roman period that have been found in Rugby.



Mr. Bloxam also exhibited a large brass thumb-ring found in the Castle Green at Exeter. The CHAIRMAN said it was an imitation, and of which he had seen several examples.

By Mr. J. LORRAINE BALDWIN.—A small English travelling clock of the "button and pillar" type, engraved on the back, with the royal arms of England, as borne by the Sovereigns of the House of Hanover (viz., with Brunswick in the 4th quarter, till they were altered by the order in Council of 5th November, 1800) surmounted by a cardinal's hat.

Mr. S. TUCKER (*Rouge Croix*) said that it had been suggested that this clock belonged to Henry Stuart, "Cardinal York," the last male representative of the Stuart kings, who died in 1808. The Brunswick quartering was, of course, not only not one of his bearings, but was a singularly inapt addition. It is, however, not unreasonable to suppose

that a foreign engraver being told to represent the royal arms of England with a cardinal's hat, took the arms as they *then* were, in ignorance of their meaning and inappropriateness as so marshalled for a prince of the House of Stuart. The *date* of the clock quite bears out this theory, and completely negatives that of its having belonged to a cardinal prince of the House of Brunswick or to a member of that House as Bishop of Osnaburg. There never was a "Cardinal" in that family; indeed from the date of the act of settlement they remained scrupulously Protestant. There was one exception, that of Prince Maximilian, brother of George I, who adopted the Roman faith, and died 1726, but he was not a cardinal, and lived three quarters of a century before the clock was made. The same argument is applicable to his brother, Ernest Augustus, Duke of York and Bishop of Osnaburg, K.G., who died two years later. Frederick, Duke of York, K.G., son of George III, was also titular Bishop of Osnaburg, but the special cognizance assigned to him (as to his great-great-great-uncle above named) on the garter plates as Bishop of Osnaburg is the shield of Osnaburg, argent. a wheel of six spokes gules, which was placed in the centre (in pretence) of the Brunswick quartering instead of the crown of Charlemagne, which the Electors of Hanover bore as Arch-Treasurers of the Holy Roman Empire.

By the Rev. J. FULLER RUSSELL.—Painted glass roundels of the Flemish and German schools, early sixteenth century, including a "Pieta," St. Michael and the Devil, Tobit and the Angel, Saints, and the Last Judgment.

By Mr. A. HARTSHORNE.—A piece of painted glass representing a remarkable event in the life of Sir Alexander Stewart, great-grandson of Walter Stewart, Seneschal of Scotland, a cadet of the royal house.

In the observations that Mr. S. TUCKER (*Rouge Croix*) was kind enough to make upon this glass, he said that, according to tradition, Sir Alexander Stewart, in the presence of Charles VI, King of France, encountered a lion with his sword. His sword breaking, he seized a part of a tree, and with it killed the animal. The King, to commemorate the action, gave him as an augmentation to his arms "a lion debruised with a ragged staff in bend." This story is circumstantially told by Delamotte in his *Historical and Allusive Arms*, 4to, 1803, and is incidentally referred to in other works and in MSS. now remaining in the Herald's College.

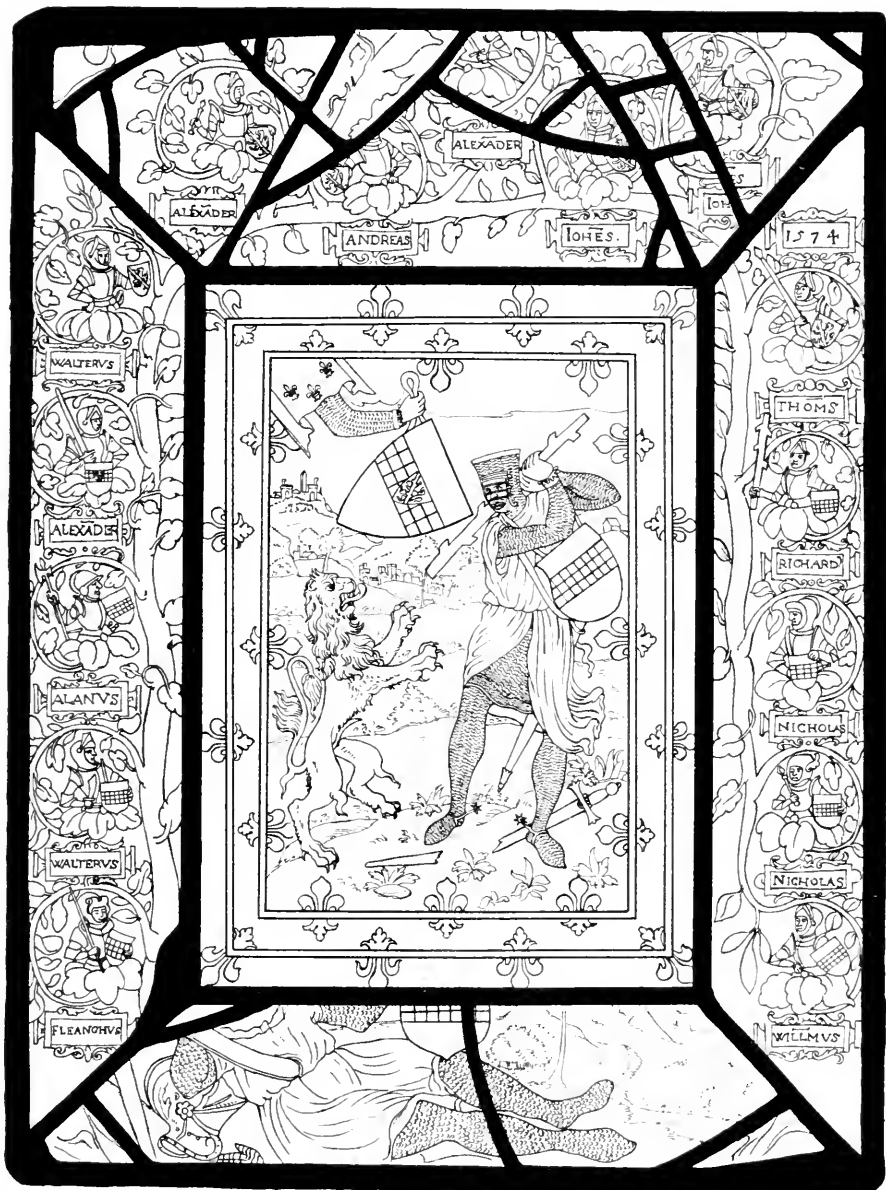
The descendants of Sir Alexander have borne this augmentation in various ways.—

1. On a shield placed in pretence of the paternal arms of Stuart.
2. As the *first* of their quarterings followed by Stuart.
3. As a single coat, and
4. Quarterly with Stuart. They have also used a ragged staff with the pieces of a broken sword in saltire as a second crest.

Sir Simeon Stewart of Stantney in Cambridgeshire, living at the time of the Visitation in 1619, placed in a chamber of his house at Stantney this distich in relation to the arms—

"Francorum Carolus voluit, sic stemmata ferri,
Singula cum valeant, sunt meliora simul."

Another descendant of Sir Alexander, William Stewart of Ely, also living at the Visitation of 1619, is recorded as having represented *on glass* the incident described as follows :—"Sir Alexander Stewart



Scale of  Inches

TH del.

A TRADITIONAL EVENT IN THE LIFE OF
SIR ALEXANDER STEWART

in armour, standing with a knotted or ragged staff or club, in the action of striking a rampant lion; his paternal shield of arms is pendant on his breast. Another escutcheon, with his paternal coat, and the augmentation placed on it in an inescutcheon, is held out to him from clouds by a dexter arm, clothed with the French arms. In the back ground is a town and castle."

There can be little question that the commemorative glass here described is the same as now exhibited.

Mr. Tucker added that this same exploit of Sir Alexander Stewart appears to have been commemorated also on a ring, described at p. 466 of Jones' *Finger Ring Lore*, but in this description there is much to correct. The ascription of the incident to the time of St. Louis is of course erroneous; as is also Dr. Mills' (Dean of Exeter) identification of the hero with Sir *Walter* Stuart. That the King of France should give "the lion of Scotland" is absurd. Charles VI. had no right to assign such bearings, and only intended to perpetuate heraldically the fact of the overcoming or "debraising" of a lion by a rugged staff. That the ring ever belonged to Henry VIII. is wholly unsupported and improbable. It doubtless belonged to Sir Nicholas Stewart of Hartley Mauduits, co. Hants, created baronet in 1660: the marriage of whose daughter Mary with Sir *James* Worsley of Vilewell in that county in all likelihood accounts for its inheritance by the Worsleys, and weakens our belief in the statement that Henry VIII. gave this ring to "Sir James Worsley, Yeoman of the Wardrobe and Governor of the Isle of Wight."

It will be observed that the knight is carefully represented in a costume which is not of the time of Charles VI, who died in 1422, or of the time of Elizabeth, when the glass was painted, but rather of the period of Philip III, who died in 1285. This might be taken to imply that in the time of Elizabeth the tradition was carried back to a much earlier date than that of Charles VI, but the peculiarity of costume is probably merely a conceit of the sculptor. It is, however, an interesting example of a departure on the part of the artist from the usual rules.

By Mr. S. HEYWOOD.—A trooper's sword, carried by an ancestor at the battle of Marston Moor, 1644. This weapon was marked with a fox, a crowned swan, and the figures 14 14, of which the meaning has not been ascertained.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—A fine Venetian broadsword, inscribed IOHANNES ZUCHINI, with an admirable hammer-worked basket hilt. This was the type of sword carried by the guards of the Doges of Venice; late sixteenth century. A brass pommel of a Venetian sword, having a head in profile, apparently a blundered imitation of a Macedonian coin; sixteenth century.

By Mr. R. H. SODEN SMITH.—Sack pots and other examples of Lambeth pottery. The Meeting was also indebted to Mr. Soden Smith for the following observations upon these objects:—"The small vessels of pottery which I have the pleasure of exhibiting are known among collectors as Sack Pots—many being found inscribed with the word "sack." They are small globular narrow-necked pitchers, intended for holding wine, made of yellowish earthenware, and covered with a thick white 'stamiferous' or tin glaze. This glaze, composed of binoxide of tin, blended with vitreous substance which thus becomes white and opaque, is of very ancient use. It has been traced as far back as Babylon and Nineveh,

and appears to have come to Europe from the East; most probably introduced into Spain by the Arabs. It was at all events used there during the period of their occupation, and subsequently for the coating of tiles, and is the glaze employed by the Italian artist-potters who produced maiolica. It was early known in Germany; in France, where Palissy also invented it independently, and especially in Holland, where it was used for the glazing of Delft ware. From Holland the art was brought to England and practised by the Dutch potters who settled at Lambeth in the middle of the seventeenth century. Probably these sack pots were made first by them at Lambeth as their method of manufacture—the body of the ware and the glaze—is precisely similar to vessels of known Dutch origin. The taller specimens of similar ware which I exhibit with somewhat longer necks and pewter lids are of a familiar Dutch and Flemish type, but some at least of these also were most likely manufactured at Lambeth.

“These small wine jugs or ‘sack-pots’ are usually inscribed in blue and often dated. They bear the word ‘sack,’ or ‘whit,’ that is white wine, or ‘claret,’ and their dates range from the middle to the latter part of the seventeenth century. The larger specimen here shown bears one of the early dates, 1641; this interesting example is lent by Lady Charlotte Schreiber, to whom it was presented by a foreign collector; it was found when dredging near the coast of Ostend; one of my own specimens bears the date 1657¹ and various others with dates between these two periods are in public and private collections. One in the South Kensington Museum is dated 1652; one in the Geological Museum, Jermyn Street, is inscribed, “Whit 1647,” and another, “Claret 1662;” Mr. M. H. Bloxam has one also lettered Claret, and dated 1644. Mr. Henry Willett has several, all dated, and Mr. Henry Griffith one lettered “Whit Wine,” and dated. Mr. Drury Fortnum has a good example painted with a coat of arms, and dated. There are four in the Norwich Museum inscribed, “Whit 1648;” “Claret 1648;” a larger one with the arms of the Grocer’s Company, 1649; and “Sack 1650.”

“The smallness of the size of these wine jugs is remarkable, commonly ranging from six to eight inches high, so that Sir John Falstaff’s ‘intolerable quantity of sack’ could not have been contained in such a vessel; none of them however go back to Shakspeare’s time, nor have we as yet any evidence that this kind of glazed earthenware was made in England during his period.”

¹ I have since acquired another good specimen painted with a coat of arms, in

colours, and having the date 1672, the latest date yet noted on such vessels.

Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR 1877.

RECEIPTS.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance at Bank, 1st January, 1877	-	-	145	1	-	-	134
" Petty Cash ditto	-	-	-	6	10	-	17
" Colchester Bank, ditto	-	-	191	19	4	-	0
" " in hands of Local Secretary, Colchester, ditto	-	-	19	16	4	-	0
Annual Subscriptions, including arrears and payments in advance		-	294	9	-	-	234
" Entrance Fees	-	-	24	3	0	-	11
" Life Compositions	-	-	21	0	0	-	0
" Sale of Publications, etc.	-	-	98	8	4	-	0
Miscellaneous Receipts:		-	-	-	-	-	-
Dividend on Investment in New 3 per Cent.	-	-	6	10	6	-	0
Balance of Account of Hereford Meeting	-	-	1	5	0	-	3
		-	438	0	10	-	0
		-	131	11	3	-	0
		-	£88	9	15	9	0
To Investment Account:		-	-	-	-	-	-
Amount invested in £220 New 3 per Cent Consols.	-	-	209	8	0	-	0
(brought forward from last year)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		-	£88	9	15	9	0
EXPENDITURE.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Publication Account:	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Engraving for Journal	-	-	-	-	-	-	134
Bradbury and Agnew	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
		-	-	-	-	-	0
Library Account:		-	-	-	-	-	234
Sundries for Books, Binding, etc.	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
House Expenses:	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Rent of Apartments, one year	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Secretaries' Salaries	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
W. S. Johnson, printing	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Partridge and Cooper, Stationery	-	-	-	-	-	-	36
Steel and Jones, advertising	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Notes and Quotations, "do."	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
The Athenæum, "do."	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Sundries (including expenses of meeting for Dr. Schlickeemann's presentation)	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
		-	-	-	-	-	0
		-	21	5	8	-	0
Petty Cash Account:		-	-	-	-	-	-
Office Expenses, Messenger, Washing, Commissionaire, etc.	-	-	-	-	-	-	58
Postage Stamps and delivery of Journal	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Gas	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Cabs, Omnibuses, Portage, etc.	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
Carriage of Parcels, bookbinding, etc.	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
Stationery for Office	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
		-	-	-	-	-	5
Balance at Bank, 31st December, 1877	-	-	-	-	-	-	106
" Petty Cash	-	-	-	-	-	-	18
		-	-	-	-	-	1
		-	116	5	10	-	0
		-	29	13	9	-	0
		-	145	19	7	-	0
		-	£88	9	15	9	0

Audited and found correct, JAMES HILLTON
1st July, 1878. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH } *Auditors.*

Presented to the Meeting of Members at Northampton, August 1st, 1878, approved and passed,
(Signed) ALWYNE COXTON, *Chairman.*

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CHURCH DEDICATED TO SAINT MAGNUS, AND THE BISHOP'S PALACE AT KIRKWALL. By Sir HENRY E. L. DRYDEN, Bart., Honorary Member of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Kirkwall : WILLIAM PEARCE and SON. London : SIMPKIN, MARSHALL and Co.

The church of Saint Magnus at Kirkwall is a remarkable structure, not only as an early example of architecture, but as the only monument of the kind left in this kingdom by the Northmen, and it is satisfactory to find that its examination and description have fallen into the hands of an antiquary so well able to deal with it. Few buildings of so early a date present more reliable proofs of the history of its construction, and these evidences have been made to tell their own story, not, as is too often the case in the present day, from one or two casual examinations of them, but after a long series of visits, begun in 1845, and involving many months of conscientious labour in accurately measuring and carefully drawing, *in situ*, the various features of the building.

The author chooses, and we think, in this case, with sufficient reason, to discard the usual architectural nomenclature, for, as he argues, the terms "Early English," "Geometric," "Decorated," and "Perpendicular," are unsuited to that which is Scotch or Norse, Plain and Curvilinear. In the same manner, the terms First, Second, and Third Pointed are considered as badly applied to a style which retained abundant use of the round arch throughout.

In this book, therefore, we have five "Styles." To the First (1137-1160) belongs so much of the church of Saint Magnus as it was designed and partly built by Kolr and the Norsemen of that time who came from Norway and recovered Orkney from P'aul, the son of Hacco, the murderer of Earl Magnus. Kolr's church comprised the choir, its two aisles, and the foundations of the central tower.

The Second "Style" includes the central tower, of which the features are of rather a puzzling kind, for the earlier style seems to have been returned to, both here and in some of the windows of the clerestory of the choir and transepts. The choir was now vaulted.

The Third "Style" takes us from 1200 to 1250, in which period much was done in the nave, and probably the nave and aisles vaulted.

The Fourth "Style" includes all the best work, and carries us on to 1450, during which time Kolr's apse was removed and three bays added to the east end, with the surface of the piers finished with a pick. The upper portion of the tower and the west end, with its three fine doorways in stone of two colours, ornamentally arranged, are also of this period. The story of the three western bays is not easy to make out, but the author gives a very probable theory. The fine wheel window at the east end is perhaps unique in its arrangement.

The Fifth Style, chiefly comprising alterations, ends at 1500. The masons' marks, the bells and the monuments are noticed with much care and precision, and the book concludes with a description of the Bishop's palace.

We have stated our concurrence with Sir Henry Dryden in his architectural nomenclature as applied to the church of Saint Magnus, but we are far from saying that any general departure from the simplicity of Rickman's division of styles could ever be advantageous : for it is only under the hand of a skilful antiquary and in very special cases that new lines can be satisfactorily worked upon. Sir Henry Dryden has certainly succeeded, with his method, in giving us a thoroughly careful and practical account of a building of high interest, hitherto but little known, and far removed from the common haunts of English antiquaries.

THE FIRST BOOK OF THE MARRIAGE, BAPTISMAL, AND BURIAL
REGISTERS OF ECCLESFIELD PARISH CHURCH, YORKSHIRE, from
1558 to 1619; also the Churchwardens' Accounts from 1530 to 1546. Annotated
by ALFRED SCOTT GATTY. (London: Bell and Sons. Sheffield: Leader and
Sons. 1878.)

Too great value cannot be assigned to our Parish Registers as genealogical evidence, and no class of documents has been more disgracefully neglected. In the Georgian era they were left by careless clergy in the keeping of ignorant and illiterate parish clerks. The entries were shamefully written, and many events were left altogether unrecorded; whilst the old registers, which these parish clerks could not decipher, were cast aside as useless, or destroyed. It is, however, satisfactory to remark that during the last half century, in which increased life has been infused into the Church, together with it has grown up increased care of the registers by the parochial clergy, but still in parishes in which the offices of the Church are neglected the registers continue to be neglected also. Another evidence of the growing recognition of the value of parish registers is shewn by the not infrequent publication of volumes of these important records, so indispensable for tracing the descent of all classes of the community. Few of these volumes are of greater interest than that just issued by Mr. Gatty, relating to the extensive parish of Ecclesfield, and no one has been more ably and satisfactorily edited. There is evidence on every page of the most punctilious care. The churchwardens' accounts are of great value. We could wish they had been continued during the reign of Elizabeth, though it appears that they are lost for the period between 1540 and 1568, nevertheless the time of Elizabeth is of great interest in Church matters.

The Extracts from the Rolls of the Manor of Ecclesfield and the Abstract of Wills with which Mr. Gatty has annotated his volume greatly enhance its value, especially to northern genealogists. We trust Mr. Gatty will be induced by the support accorded to him to continue his useful labours.

Archaeological Intelligence.

ROMAN EXPLORATION FUND.—Mr. J. H. Parker, being unable to return to Rome, finds it necessary to resign the office of Treasurer to the *British and American Archaeological Society of Rome* and the *Roman Exploration Fund*. Mr. Parker has sent us the following communication :—

“The Society has been continued in a flourishing state for the last season under the direction of the old-Committee, with the special help of Mr. Robert Tighe and Mr. R. P. Pullan ; but no one would undertake the responsibility of carrying on the excavations with the help of the Fund : Mr. Parker therefore finds it necessary to close that account, though with great reluctance. His friends say that ‘it has done its work,’ and there is *some* truth in this ; but in Rome there will always be something fresh to make out, and the great excavations of the Municipality for the foundations of the *New City* are now over ; those of the Italian Government are *necessarily* confined to a certain limited space (for it is probable that ancient walls might be found under almost every house in old Rome), and the plan of Signor Rosa, which is practically adopted by the Government, is sufficiently comprehensive to bring to light the most important parts of the *Old City*.

“‘The Palatine Hill, with the slopes round it, including the Forum Romanum and the Via Sacra on the north and the east, the Colosseum and the Via Triumphalis on the south, the Circus Maximus on the west, and the Arch of Janus on the north,’ is a very comprehensive scheme.

“Still this is only the tenth part of Rome, though the most important part. It includes the Walls of Roma Quadrata, the original settlement of the Romans on the Palatine, but does *not* include the whole of the *Second City on the two hills* ; nor the Porta Capena, the important gateway at the entrance to the Via Appia ; nor the great Thermæ of Caracalla, so much of which remains. Here, indeed, a great deal has been done by the Government in the *central part*, but this is not a third part of the whole. Our Society, with the help of the Fund, has done much in the outer parts of these great Thermæ (now only vineyards), and has shewn that there is a series of subterranean chambers under the whole of that enormous structure ; we have also shewn the ruins of the Porticus added by Heliogabalus to the great work of the Antonines, called after Caracalla, the last of them.

“At the Porta Capena also we have shewn the most important part of the remains, the chamber in the western tower of the gate of Servius

Tullius, with the *specus* of the earliest aqueduct, the Aqua Appia, passing through the wall; and the continuation of that aqueduct on an arcade shews also that the old road was twenty feet below the present level of the soil, having been one of the many foss-ways in Rome. We have also shewn the continuation of this earliest aqueduct under the northern cliff of the Pseudo-Aventine, with considerable remains of it in a cave-reservoir under Santa Sabba, which the proprietor kindly allows to remain open, with a door to prevent rubbish being thrown into it.

"Near this point also we have shewn, and left open, the most perfect piece of the Wall of the Kings that remains at Rome, part of the original fortifications on the Aventine Hill as a separate fortress, now in the vineyard of Prince Torlonia, with the kind consent of the Prince. Here only can the wall be seen, fifty feet high and twelve feet thick, with the deep foss in front of it, and with the embrasures for a catapult and a balista. We have made and left for use steps to go down and up again, to shew the foss and the wall more thoroughly (but this will soon be choked up with weeds, if no one will be at the expense of having it weeded once or twice a-year). We had many other pits dug in tracing the lines of the four successive walls of Rome and the course of the aqueducts, but these we were obliged to have filled-up again.

"In the Mamertine Prison, or Prison of the time of the Kings of Rome, we made out the whole plan, and traced a communication between the original vestibule of the prison now called the Prison of S. Peter, and the principal chambers a hundred yards off; these are now all in cellars under houses, and we had to take leases of them, which have now expired, as no one would venture to take fresh leases. The partial rebuilding of the great prison by Tiberius, of which considerable remains are visible, gives it additional interest. Probably the Municipality will be driven to take up this matter more effectually than we could do. The numerous excavations that we made in tracing the aqueducts on the high bank of Frontinus or Wall of the Tarquins of Pliny, on which the Wall of Aurelian was afterwards built, also had to be filled-up again.

"But to have traced distinctly the lines of the aqueducts, both in Rome and in the country, *up to their sources*, and to have traced out the line of the *four successive walls of Rome*, are no slight works to have accomplished; and will, we hope, shew that the confidence placed in us by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the distinguished persons who have contributed to our funds, has not been misplaced.

"If in another season some person may be found who has sufficient money and public spirit to go on with this interesting work, Mr. Pullan is admirably calculated by his experience and judgment to direct such excavations; and Andrea Stefanori, the nephew and successor of Cavaliere Guidi, with his men, are very careful and trustworthy excavators, and excellent people for the purpose."

RECENT DISCOVERIES IN ROME.—Mr. S. Russell Forbes has been kind enough to communicate the following notes:—

"In excavating the stadium on the Palatine a beautiful draped statue has been brought to light; the head is missing, but it is supposed to represent Ceres. It is of very superior workmanship, and the drapery will compare favourably with the Niobe in the Vatican.

"The work of excavating the stadium is not yet completed. It appears that the portico surrounding it originally consisted of cipollino columns

with composite capitals. This was rebuilt in the third century in two tiers, supported with half columns of brick, coated with slabs of marble, having Ionic bases and Doric capitals. A brick-stamp informs us that the imperial tribune was built in the third consulship of Ursus Servianus, under Hadrian, 134. At the edge of the foot course, below the portico, was a marble channel to carry off the rain water. Traces of the *spina* still remain. The stadium seems to have been altered into an hippodrome by building elliptical walls upon its surface in the time of Diocletian. The following stamp was found on some of the bricks :—A.D. 500 OFFS R F MARCI HIPPODROME THEODORIC REGNANTE DN THEODERICO FELIX ROMA, evidently some of the repairs ordered by the great king during his six months' visit to Rome.

"In the Via Sant' Angelo in Pescheria the marble base of a statue has been found with the following inscription :—OPUS. TISICRATIS. CORNELIA. AFRICANIE. GRACCORUM. M. This is no doubt the pedestal of the statue of Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Africanus and the mother of the Gracchi, which Pliny tells us was placed in the portico of Metellus, afterwards in that of Octavia.

"Tisicrates was a native of Sicily and a pupil of Euthykrates, but he more nearly approached the style of Lysippus ; so much so, that several of his statues can scarcely be distinguished from those of Lysippus.'—*Pliny*, xxxiv, 19.

"There are still extant some declamations by Cato, during his censorship, against the practice of erecting statues of women in the Roman provinces. However, he could not prevent these statues being erected at Rome even ; to Cornelia, for instance, the mother of the Gracchi, and daughter of the elder Scipio Africanus. She is represented in a sitting posture, and the statue is remarkable for having no straps to the shoes. This statue, which was formerly in the Public Portico of Metellus, is now in the buildings of Octavia?—*Ibid.*, xxxiv, 15.

"The remains of a bronze male statue have been found beneath the Tiber mud, under the first arch of the Ponte Sisto, where the works for the new embankment of the Tiber are being actively pushed on. From the remains found it seems to be a statue of a good epoch. Nothing of any importance has as yet been found in the excavations on the Via Sacra, excepting some triumphant Fasti Consulari for the years 604-8, 643, 646, and 647 A.U.C.

"Very little water now remains in the Colosseum ; the new drain is nearly completed ; and then the work of excavating will be resumed at the arena of the Flavian amphitheatre."

THE BRONZE GATES OF SHALMANESER III.—The discovery of these remarkable remains by Mr. Rassam at Balawat during his recent archaeological expedition to Assyria is an event of some importance. The bronzes arrived in fragments as "trophies" at the British Museum in August last, and have since been recognised as belonging to two pairs of gates. The merit of the identification belongs to Mr. Ready, of the British Museum, whose arduous task it has been for many weeks to cleanse the bronze fragments, to piece them together, and to nail them with the original nails upon wood of the same thickness as had been used for the purpose when this unique monument was first set up about twenty-eight centuries ago. He then began to see that the larger set of bronze plates formed the coverings of a pair of enormous folding doors rectangularly

shaped. Each leaf was about 22 ft. long and 6 ft. broad. They had evidently turned on pivots, which had actually reached the Museum, although the sockets in which they moved had unfortunately been left behind. At the top they were supported by strong rings fixed in the masonry. The body of the door was of wood three inches in thickness, as measured by the nails used by the Assyrians to nail the plates of bronze on the wood. For these nails were clinched just one-sixteenth of an inch, which is the thickness of the plates themselves, over and above three inches from their heads. Each door turned on a circular post about a foot thick. Around the doorpost the bronze plates, 8 ft. long in all, lapped to the extent of a couple of feet, leaving 6 ft. as the width of each door between its post and what is technically termed its "style." This "style" was also edged with bronze, the vertical inscription furnishing the text, to which the designs in *repoussé* work on the horizontal plates, representing Shalmaneser's battles, sieges, triumphal processions, the cruelties inflicted on his foes, and his worship of the gods, supplied the illustrative scenes. The "style" inscription leaves no doubt as to the monarch whose history is recorded.

HOLLOW BRONZE DODECAGONS.—At the meeting of the Institute in November, 1877, two of these objects were exhibited without any conclusion being arrived at respecting their use. (See engravings at p. 87). In the course of a tour made in Holland this autumn by Mr. J. Hilton he observed in the Museum at Leyden two bronze dodecagons of a precisely similar kind. They were placed, without labels, in different cases and among a miscellaneous collection of prehistoric remains, and the museum attendant could give no information about them. We take the first opportunity of mentioning these Dutch examples, so kindly brought under our notice, with the view of eliciting some further information of a definite character respecting their use.

Archaeological Journal.

DECEMBER, 1878.

THE LAND OF MORGAN.

PART III.

THE EARLS OF GLOUCESTER.

By G. T. CLARK.

The ages of Earl William's daughters at the time of his death are not on record, but they certainly were very young. Dugdale, following Walsingham, says that the Earl, to prevent the division of the heritage, adopted as his heir, at Windsor in 1176, the King's second son, John; but this must have been with the understanding that he was to marry one of the coheirs. Madox (*Bar. Angl.*, p. 201) says that on the Earl's death the Honour of Gloucester, in which he evidently includes the Welsh Lordship, escheated to the crown, and Hugh Bardolph, in accounting to Richard I. for the issues "de tribus partibus anni," says this was "antequam rex daret eundem Honorem Johanni fratri suo" (Pipe Roll, 1st Richard I). Nevertheless the subsequent descents of both Honour and Lordship shew that they were not held as male fiefs; but, like all other property, where the law had its course, descended to the heiresses, subject to a purparty or division, and subject, of course, during a minority to the usual rights of wardship. When, some years later, the male line of the de Clares failed, but very few of their manors reverted to the crown: the great bulk of the estate was held by the King as in wardship, and so soon as it was certain that there was no male heir of the body of the last Earl, on the petition of the sisters, was divided. It is, therefore, probable that

the vesting of the estate in John was by an arrangement with Earl William, and that this was so is supported by the fact that after John divorced the heiress he gave up the estate, though with a very bad grace, and after considerable delay. The title of Earl of Gloucester was certainly a personal grant by Henry I. to his son Robert on his marriage. It could not have been a part of Mabel's heritage, for Fitz-Hamon was not an earl. With the title Henry evidently made the usual grant of the third penny of the county. The learned authors of the Peerage Reports deny this, but in the Pipe Roll of 1st Richard I, after the passage above cited, follows, "*et de xxxii libris de tercio denario comitatus de dimidio anno;*" and in the Roll of 3rd John, Almaric d'Evreux had xx l of the third penny of the same county. The usual appanage of an earl in these days was the third penny of the pleas of his county.

The limitation under which the earldom descended is obscure. It does not appear why John's marriage should have made him Earl of Gloucester, as his wife was not sole heiress of her father, although in Bristol Castle she possessed what was probably then regarded as the "*caput Honoris Gloucestrię*." Gloucester, which she did not possess, might probably be the "*caput comitatus*," but it was never held by the earls.

On Earl William's death Henry stepped in, as guardian of the infant coheiresses and custos of the lands. The latter he held about six years, when the issues were returned as a branch of the royal revenue. Thus, 33rd Henry II, 1186-7, Hugh Bardolph accounted for the scutages, "*quia Honor est in manu regis*," and in the same year is an account of £43 17s. 7d. for works at Kenefit Castle, probably Kenfig, in Glamorgan, though possibly a Herefordshire fortress.

On Henry's death the wardship passed with the crown to Richard, and the accounts, besides the third penny mentioned above, shew "*et comitissę Gloucestrię* £50 *pro dote et maritagio suo de dimidio anno per Ran' de Glanvill precepto regis*." This was the Countess Dowager. Other entries shew that Bardolf accounted for the Castle of Caermarthen and for works at Bristol Castle, as well as for certain issues from the Abbot of Keynsham. Among

the tenants Henry de Unfranvill owed £4 for his relief, and Roger de Maisi £45 for nine knight fees held of the Honour, but probably, in strictness, of the Lord of Glamorgan. Fitz-Stephen seems to have accounted for the issues of the County, Bardolf for those of the Honour. Richard held the wardship two-thirds of a year, and then, in 1189, determined it in favour of Isabel, the third sister, whom he married to his brother John, to whom she had been contracted in 1176. The accounts for 1189-90, 1st Richard I, shew for saddles, etc., for the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester and her maidens, £17 2s. 7d., and for various furs for her and the daughter of the Earl of Chester as well as for the Queen and the sister of the King of France, 73s. 4d. She had also three roserells. John held the Honour by baronial homage and service. He lost it for a time when disseized of his English lands by the sentence of the royal court, but regained it on his reconciliation with his brother. It seems to have been in the crown in the 9th Richard I, 1197-8, when William de Warene was custos of the Honour, and was collecting for Richard's ransom. The names of some of the knights in his accounts, as de Cardiff, de Granville, and de Sanford, belong both to the Honour and to the Lordship of Glamorgan.

On John's accession he became both chief and mesne lord. Madox is careful to point out that while John's own services thus became extinguished, the tenants continued to pay theirs as holding "in capite ut de Honore." Also, as an Honour was a Barony, it did not merge in the crown, as was the case with a knight's fee or a demesne manor, but was held in abeyance and distinct, and was described technically as holden "in dominio." John's marriage was opposed by Archbishop Baldwin as within the forbidden degrees, both parties descending from Henry I. While Earl of Moretaine it suited John to disregard this objection, but when he succeeded as king and had no children he revived it and obtained a divorce.

According to the Annals of Tewkesbury, John's marriage, though contracted for in 1176, with the proviso that the Pope's license was to be obtained, did not actually take place until Richard's accession in 1189. It

must have been just before the marriage, during the episcopate of William de Saltmarsh, that Archbishop Baldwin, accompanied by Giraldus Cambrensis, visited Glamorgan, preached the crusade at Llandaff, was the guest of Abbot Conan at Ewenny, and was guided across the treacherous marshes and sands between the Avan and the Nedd by Morgan ap Caradoc, Jestyn's eldest grandson, and the Lord of Avan. Richard's letter from Messina, written about the 25th January, 1191, is addressed to John Earl of Gloucester, and John so styles himself in forwarding the letter to the Archbishop, although he seldom used the title afterwards. In 1199, 30th October, he confirmed to William de Berkeley a donation made by Robert Earl of Gloucester, and soon after his marriage he, as "Comes de Moreton," or "Mortonie," granted charters of confirmation to Neath and Margam. The Neath charter has been printed, that to Margam, dated Cardiff on the Tuesday before St. Hilary, 1193, is in excellent preservation, and bears John's seal as Lord of Glamorgan, with two passant lions on his shield. It is one of a mass of similar documents in the possession of Mr. Talbot of Margam, which, if permitted to be examined, would no doubt throw much light on the early history of that abbey, and on the descent of property in the county in the twelfth century. There is also another charter by John, without date, but granted before his accession, preserved in the Cottonian MSS. (Cleopatra, A. vii, 73 b), printed in the *New Monasticon* (ii, 69).

The divorce seems to have occurred in May, 1200, and John's marriage to Isabel of Angoulême followed at once, so that they were crowned at Christmas. That John retained the Lordship and Honour in his hands is evident from his grants after his accession. 22nd October, 1199, he confirmed a grant by Robert Earl of Gloucester of Eldresfield to William, son of William de Berkeley, and 18th April, 1200, a grant of Bedminster manor by the same to the same. This indeed he might have done as sovereign, but in his first year William de Falaise and Master Swern account for the issues of the Honour, and probably of the Lordship, which for this month are £223 12s. 3d. Also, 1201-2, Guy de Cancellis accounted to the crown for the scutages of the Honour of Gloucester,

levied upon 327½ fees, and the King retained also the castle and berton of Bristol. The Pipe Roll for the following year, 3rd John, 1202, has been printed. In it William de Falaise accounts for the Honour for the past year. Among the tenants who belonged also to Glamorgan are Henry de Umfravill, who paid 12 marks on 5 fees; Roger de Meisi, 24 marcs on 4 fees; John le Sor, 36 marcs on 14 fees; Roger Corbet, 8 marcs on 1 fee; Herbert de St. Quintin, 3 marcs for 10 fees; and Milo de Sumeri, 5 marcs for 3½ fees. William de Montacute and Ralph de Cirecest' were allowed £50 for the expenses of the Countess [of Gloucester] at Bristol, by a letter from Geoffry Fitz-Peter. Keynsham Abbey paid 40d. for scutage.

In the next roll, 4th John, the fees in the Honour of Gloucester are 304½, of which 47¼ are in Glamorgan. The Earl of Evreux held 20 fees, and the Earl of Clare 15 fees. Also Henry de Umphravill accounts for 20 marcs on 5 fees; John le Sor, 60 marks on 14 fees; and H. de St. Quintin, 50 marks on 10 fees. Also, 13th April, 1204, John confirmed certain gifts in Petersfield, Hants, by William Earl of Gloucester and Hawise his wife; and 23rd June, 1205, granted a "masagium" or habitation in Lincoln, to be held of the Earl of Gloucester and his heirs. As king he also confirmed the charters to Margam and Neath. To Margam his confirmations, four in number, are dated 15th May, 1205; a second probably in the same year; and the other 22nd July and 11th August, 1207, printed in the *Rotulus Chartarum*, as are those to Neath, 6th January, 5th August, and 11th August, 1207. Also in the *New Monasticon* (vi, 366) is a charter confirming to St. Augustin's, Bristol, the grants of Earl William between Cardiff and the Rhymny, and others by Countess Mabel, William's mother. Certain allowances, apparently not very liberal ones, were made to the lawful heiress, who retained her titular rank.

6th November, 1201, the justiciary was directed to allow the Countess of Gloucester to hold her lands in peace, "sicut antecessores;" and 30th July, 1205, "Our beloved Countess" is to have "qualibet septimana unam daman." 6th February, 1206, she has £12 for her expenses from the Exchequer; and 26th May the king

allows the reasonable expenses of the Earl (Countess) of Gloucester at Winchester. 20th March, 1207, a ton (tonellum) of wine, also charged to the Exchequer, is allowed, and certain necessary expenses for her at Sherborne, to be certified by her servant Hamo. The Pipe Roll of 8th John contains an entry of 40 marks for disseizin for Amicia, formerly Countess of Clare.

19th September, 1207, Falkes, the King's bailiff in Glamorgan, has an allowance for the repairs of the castles there; and 3rd December the Castle of Sherborne in Dorset is mentioned as belonging to the Countess, and no doubt her residence.

27th December, Falkes is informed that Gilbert de Turberville has appeased the King by the payment of a horse for his fine on relief for his land. 23rd March, 1208, Keynsham Abbey is vacant, and Gilbert de Aties is to provide the canons with food and clothing, and Falkes is to give him seizin of their land in Glamorgan. 9th April, Falkes is directed to let William de Londres have the Priory of Ewenny, which is of his fee. Falkes was the notorious Falcasius de Breauté.

10th John, 1208-9, a charter roll contains the accounts of Falkes for £100 for the Honour of Gloucester: for works at Cardiff and Neath Castles £22 10s., and 100 marks for the custody of Swansea Castle. From Gilbert de Turberville 25 marks; from the monks of Neath 50 marks and a palfrey. From the Abbot of Margam £17 16s. 6d., and from the same abbot, among the "oblata," 100 marks for having in free alms the Manors of Lalvereth and Haved Halown with appurtenances, and similarly the Manor of Pettun and appurtenances, as in the King's charter. Agnes widow of Hamelin de Torinton, a family related to the Umfravilles and Sullys, pays 20 marks. Philip de Nerberd accounts for £20 for having his land. Galfrid Whytney (?) accounts for 200 marks and a palfrey for custody of the lands and heir of Henry de Umphrville.

10th John, William son of Caswallon was allowed 1 marc for the loss of his horse. In 1210 John was in Glamorgan; 28th May and 28th August, at Morgan; 21st May, at Neath; and 29th May, at Swansea. At that time Gower seems to have been in his hands, and,

11th November 1208, he freed the English and Welsh of that Lordship from certain burthens connected with the Castle of Swansea. In 1210 Rhys and Owen, sons of Griffith ap Rhys, were sent as messengers to Falkes to try to bring about a peace : but notwithstanding this, 12th John, 1210-11, 50 mares were expended in strengthening Swansea Castle : a not unnecessary outlay, for in 1211 the Welsh, under Cadwalon ap Ivor bach, burnt and plundered Glamorgan, as in 1212, Rees Vachan treated the town of Swansea. 14th John, Falkes de Breauté is quitted £200 for the farm of Glamorgan for the preceding and current years. 31st April, 1213, the King issued a brief of inquisition into the losses sustained by the Church in the late discords between the King and the Clergy of England, and that for the See of Llandaff was addressed to Richard Flandrensis of Glamorgan and Walter de Sulye. As the see was not vacant, they were probably selected as upright and independent assessors. In that year Gilbert Abbot of Margam was displaced, and was succeeded, 18th May, by John de Goldcliffe, one of the monks. Gilbert became a monk at Kirkstall, and died 12th May, 1214.

A little before this, 12th March, 1213, the King allowed to Isabel Countess of Gloucester "*rationabile testamentum quod fecit de rebus suis mobilibus*," probably with a view to her marriage. And, 16th January 1214, Peter de Cancellis is to bring safely to the King the Countess of Gloucester, now in his charge, probably at Bristol Castle.

After about thirteen years of widowhood, which, in a time when a widow with a large jointure as an inheritance seldom remained single, may, without much fear of injustice to John, be attributed to his wish to retain the earldom in his own hands, Countess Isabel married Geoffrey Fitz-Peter or de Mandeville, the justiciary, who, on the death of his father, 2nd October, 1213, became Earl of Essex, and had livery of his paternal estates. No doubt the marriage took place very soon afterwards, for 24th January, 1214, the Exchequer was to allow £13 15s. 8d., to be spent in robes for the Countess of Gloucester and her maidens, and by the 28th they were married, and Geoffrey had certainly been

admitted to her lands, seeing that in February he was ordered to be disseized, because he had not paid the fees due.

The fine for the marriage was 20,000 marcs, and his relief on taking up the Earldom of Essex was a similar sum, to be paid in four equal parts. Probably he contrived to pay the first instalment at once, for, 9th and 10th of August 1214, the King informs the sheriffs of thirty-two counties that he has given Isabel to Geoffrey de Mandeville to wife, and that he is to have the whole Honour of Gloucester, and to be installed in all Earl William's rights, except the castle, vill, and forest of Bristol, and the vill of Campden. The seizin of Geoffrey's own lands in Bucks was not given till the 23rd of June. 21st November in the same year, 1214, he witnessed John's charter, concerning the freedom of episcopal elections, as "*Gaufrido de Mandevillæ, Comite Gloucestrie et Essexie*," and as "*Comes Gloucestrie*" he was one of the twenty five barons chosen under the Great Charter, 15th June, 1215. In January in that year he had witnessed a royal proclamation as Earl of Gloucester and Essex, and a late convention as Earl of Essex and Gloucester. Nicholas, however, dates his assumption of the Earldom of Gloucester from 1215. In the Pipe Roll, 3rd John, 1202, £50 is allowed for the expenses of the Countess of Gloucester at Bristol, by two briefs of Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, and another £20 for the same expenses, "*predictæ comitissæ*," also "*per breve G: f: Peter*." At this time the Honour contained 327³/₁₀ fees, besides 20 fees which could not be identified.

Geoffrey's usual style was Earl of Essex and Gloucester, and that of his wife Countess of Gloucester and Essex. Her charter to Basalleg, printed by Hearn (*A. de Domesham* ii, 609), combines the two, and commences "*Ego, Isabella, Comitissa Gloucestrie et Essexie, consensu et assensu domini mei Galfridi de Mandevilla Comitis Essexie et Gloucestrie*." The divorce alienated the whole Gloucester interest from John, who also so mismanaged the marriage as to throw the new earl also into opposition, which continued during the few months that intervened before his death, childless, before June, 1216, in London, in consequence of an accident at a tournament. John at

once, 19th June, granted to Savary de Mauléon all the lands which had belonged to Geoffrey de Mandeville and his brother William, then probably in arms against the King. John himself died 19th October, 1216. The accounts shew that of the 20,000 marks Earl Geoffrey had paid half only, and the remainder, being a charge upon his estate, was demanded at the hands of Earl William, his brother and successor, as late as 12th May, 1226; and long afterwards, 18th June, 1242, Letters Patent were issued, allowing the remainder of the fine of 20,000 marks made by Geoffrey de Mandeville with King John, for the marriage of Isabel Countess of Gloucester, to be paid by annual instalments of £40 10s., out of the third penny of the County of Essex. While a widow, Isabel granted a charter to Caerleon, but she speedily became the third wife of Hubert de Burgh, then justiciary. The date of this marriage is not recorded, but it must have been immediate, for, 13th August, 1217, all the lands of the Countess of Gloucester were committed to Hubert de Burgh (Pat. Roll, 1st Henry III, m. 4), and in the same year Hubert had livery of Walden, a part of Isabel's dower, and, 17th September, the King informed the sheriffs of nine counties that the Countess had come in to his fealty and service, and was to be placed as she stood before the war between the King and the Barons of England. This was under Henry III, and just after the battle of Lincoln. She died almost immediately, for, 15th October, was an order as to the custody of her land, she being dead (R. R., 1st Henry III, m. 1); and 30th October, she, which must mean her estate, was called upon to pay scutage. 5th Henry III, Hubert married Margaret of Scotland. He does not appear as Earl of Gloucester, probably he had not time to fulfil the necessary formalities. He was created Earl of Kent 11th February, 1227, with remainder to his heirs by Margaret.

Isabel having died childless, the inheritance passed, de jure, to the son of her eldest sister, Mabel, who had married Almeric or Aymar de Montfort, Comte d'Evreux, who as "*Aumericus Comes Ebroicarum*" tested a charter by Henry I to Conches in 1130, and is named in a Bull of Pope Eugenius in 1152. He died 1196,

while the Earldom of Gloucester was in the hands of the crown, leaving a son, also Almeric, whose position with regard to his mother's right is obscure. Mabel is probably the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, to whom and her maidens was allowed, in the Pipe Roll of 7th Richard I. 1196, "£17 2s. 7d., and for vair furs about 37s., and for a Roserell £6." Sandford says, Henry II gave her £100 portion, because her father had passed her over and bestowed the earldom upon John. And the Pipe Roll, 4th John, already quoted, shews that her two sisters were allowed a share, though a small one, of the inheritance, the Earl of Evreux having 20, and the Earl of Clare 25 knight's fees.

The date of the elder Earl Almeric's marriage is not recorded, but the younger earl, in May 1200, at the instance of King John, ceded his right in Evreux to Philip Augustus, for which he had an equivalent. The cession is the subject of a document given in the *Gallia Christiana* (xi. p. Inst.), which begins "Ego Almericus Comes Gloucestrie," and states that he is acting "de mandato domini mei Johannis illustris regis Angliæ," who "in sufficiens excambium inde donavit." William Marechal is one of the witnesses. This was in May, 1200, the very month of John's divorce from Almeric's aunt, and shews that, having himself no longer an interest in the title, he was disposed to allow the son of the elder sister to assume it, as he continued to do, and was allowed some payments of the property. Thus, in the Pipe Roll, 3rd John, 1202, William de Falaise accounts for 112s. 7d. issues from the barton outside Bristol, "before it was given to Earl Almaric:" and by the same accounts "Almaric Comes Ebroic:" was allowed £20 out of the third penny of the county. Also, 26th January, 1205, Falaise as custos of the Honour was directed to give to Earl Almaric, Bradested; and 31st April, Petersfield and Mapledurham; and 30th December, Burford; and 16th August, 1206, certain other manors, all which had probably been his mother's jointure. Also, he occasionally witnesses royal charters, sometimes as "A: comite Gloucestrie," and sometimes as "A: comite Ebroic'" as in 1204-5: nor is there anything in the subject of the documents to account for this variety. No docu-

ment has been discovered in which he uses the titles together, nor does he ever appear as Lord of Glamorgan or of the Honour of Gloucester. He seems to have died 1212-13, and was buried at Keynsham. Some further obscurities arise out of the disposition of the manors above mentioned. 20th November, 1213, Gilbert de Clare is to have seizin of two parts of the land which Aumeric Earl of Evreux had in Merlaw and Hameldon, co. Bucks, and Melisent his widow the third part. Also, 15th December, the Countess of Gloucester is to have her chattels in these manors; and 4th January, 1214, the executors of the will of "A: comitis de Ebrouic" are to have his chattels in Thornbury, Petersfield, and Mapledurham. Also, 15th March, 1217, William de Cantelupe junior and Melisant, who was the wife of Aumaric Earl of Evreux, are to have her dower in Mapledurham and Petersfield, which she had from the Earl her husband. Also, 2nd October, Gilbert de Clare was to give to William de Cantelupe and Melisant his wife possession of Merlaw, as part of her dower, and he is to answer to the King for having disseized her of it. Finally, in 1215, about the 2nd of July, "Melisanta comitissa de Ebrouill," appoints as her attorney Henry de Neford, in a plea concerning land, between the Countess, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Prior of Dunstable, Geoffrey de Mandeville, and Gilbert de Clare. The churchmen are probably trustees, and Geoffrey and Gilbert represented the other sisters.

It appears from Père Anselm's account (*Hist. Geneal.*, &c., vii, 74), which, however, is full of errors, that Almeric, evidently the son, married secondly Melesinda, daughter of Hugh de Gournay, who is doubtless the Melisant mentioned above. It is not improbable that the manors were originally settled on Mabel, that on her death they came to her son Almeric, and that in 1205 he was getting them re-settled on his marriage. The ordinary accounts make Mabel die before 1199, and her son, childless, in 1226, but the above entries shew that he was dead in 1213, which may account for Isabel's marriage, and her husband's assumption of the earldom in 1214. Thus the succession of the Earls of Gloucester from the

death of Earl William was John Earl of Moretain, Almeric Comte d'Evreux, and Geoffrey Earl of Essex.

The death of Earl Geoffrey in 1216 and of Countess Isabel, probably in 1217, cleared the way for the succession, and makes it probable that the Annals of Margam are correct in stating that Gilbert de Clare assumed the earldom in 1217, although Nicholas places that event in 1226. He was certainly the Earl of Gloucester to whom the King sent a messenger at a cost of 6d., 9th March, 1220. and another, who being sent to Clare, was paid 1s., 17th April, 1222, and who, 19th February, 1221, was rated for the scutage of Biham. He also appears in the great charter of Henry III. as Earl of Gloucester.

However or by whom the Lordship may have been held during the forty-three years that elapsed from the death of Earl William in 1173 to that of the Earl of Essex in 1216, after the latter event it certainly vested *de jure* in the son of Amice, the second sister, who alone left issue, and it must be allowed that the new dynasty was one very capable of upholding and extending the title and inheritance of which it thus became the heir. The house of Clare ruled in Glamorgan for four generations, during a period of eighty-eight years, from 1226 to 1314, including the reigns of Henry III, Edward I, and a third part of that of Edward II, his son. The long reign of Henry III, the weakness and vacillation of his character and conduct, and the general dissatisfaction with his foreign relatives and favourites, gave great cause and great encouragement to the nobles to rebel, and at various times, and in the foremost rank of the disaffected, were the Earls of Gloucester and Pembroke, the former in the male line and the latter in the female, the representatives of the house of Clare, and the chief lords of the south and west Wales marches. Their territory extended almost from Pembroke to Chepstow, including much of Cardigan and a large slice of nether Gwent. Their only rivals, the Barons Braose of Gower, Lords of Brecknock and Abergavenny, were far too violent to have any permanent weight, or to interfere seriously with the ambition of the house of Clare. Under William Mareschal the elder, Lord of Chepstow and Pembroke, and the heir of Strongbow in Ireland, the Lords of the March were kept in tolerable

order, but his death left the King without restraint and the succeeding Earls Mareschal and of Gloucester with ample excuse, if not sufficient reason, for taking refuge in open rebellion.

The history of the house of Clare belongs quite as much to that of England as of their Welsh Lordships, and although their near relationship to the Mareschals, and their differences with the sovereign, caused them to rely much upon their position as marchers, they do not seem to have resided much at Cardiff, or to have pursued any steady policy, either of peace or war, with regard to the Welsh.

GISLEBERT Crispin, the real founder of the Clare family, was the son of GODFRID or Goisfred, Comte d'Eu and de Brionne, a natural son of RICHARD the elder, Duke of Normandy. In the foundation charter of Bec Abbey, about 1034, he describes himself as "Gislebertus Brionensis Comes, primi Ricardi Normannorum ducis nepos, ex filio Consule Godefrido." These Norman earldoms are involved in much obscurity. Gislebert could scarcely have been Earl of the territory of Brionne, for his son continued to use the title of Comes after Brionne had been alienated. Probably it was personal. The soubriquet of Crispin was borne by another, also distinguished, Norman family, of whose founder the Monk of Bec records that he had "*capillos crispas et rigidos, atque sursum erectos, et ut ita dicam, rebursos ad modum pini ramorum, qui sæpe tendunt sursum.*" Hence the name of "Crispinus, quasi crispus pinus," and such we may suppose to have been the character of the "chevelure" of Godfrid's immediate descendants. The county of Eu was taken from Gislebert by his kinsman Duke Richard II, and given to Gislebert's uncle, William. Brionne he retained, and Sap, said to be so called from a "sapin," or fir tree, planted in front of the church there. He was one of the young William's governors, but was assassinated in 1035. His sons were Richard and Baldwin, who, with his brother "*Ricardus filius Comitis Gisleberti,*" witnessed the conveyance charter to Bury Abbey in 1081. (*N. Mon.*, iii, 141). Baldwin was Seigneur de Maule, and called also "de Sap," or "le Viscomte," or

“d’Exeter.” From him the Earls of Devon inherited Okehampton. His second son Robert had Brionne.

RICHARD Fitz-Gislebert was also called de Bienfaite, not, as often said, from Benefield in Northamptonshire, a manor held, as Baker has shewn, by Richard Engaine, but from a Norman benefice, and de Clare, and de Tunbridge, from his two principal English fiefs. On his father’s murder he and his brother fled to Flanders, and returned thence when Matilda married Duke William, who gave him Bienfaite and Orbec. He also held Brionne. He accompanied William to England, was present at Hastings, and was richly recompensed in English lands. His possessions lay in the counties of Beds, Cambridge, Devon, Essex, Kent, Middlesex, Suffolk, Surrey, and Wilts. In the Survey he is styled indiscriminately Ricardus filius Gisleberti, Ricardus filius Comitis Gisleberti, Ricardus de Tonbridge, and Ricardus de Clara. His Kentish land seems to have been mainly confined to the Leuca or Lowy of Tonbridge, but it is remarkable that neither Tonbridge nor the equally important Barony of Hastings are named in Domesday. Dugdale says he obtained Tunbridge by exchange for Brionne with Archbishop Stigand, but this is exceedingly improbable. That the Leuca was in some way connected with Canterbury is certain, from the claim set up for it by Becket, on the ground that church lands were inalienable. The controversy, however, seems rather to have related to the castle than to the lands, which the de Clares seem always to have accepted as held by grand serjeanty of the See. Tonbridge and Clare contained ancient English fortresses of the first class.

Fitz-Gilbert’s restless spirit was not content with 176 manors in England: he burned for further acquisitions, and invaded South Wales, where he conquered Cardigan, but met with his death, being slain at Llanthony by Yorworth, brother of Howel of Caerleon, about 1091. He was buried at St. Neots, and it is recorded of him. “Qui in re militari tempore Conquestoris omnes sui temporis magnates præcipit (Cott. MS., Vitell., F 4, f 7).

Earl Richard married Rohaise, a daughter, and eventually one of the two coheirs of Walter Giffard Earl of Buckingham by Ermengarde Flaitel. This lady appears

in Domesday, where mention is made of the "Terra Rothais uxoris Ricardi filii Gisleberti," in St. Neots, and she afterwards, in 1113, gave the Manor of St. Neots to the Abbey there, of which she was reputed the second foundress. She and her husband transplanted a colony of French monks from Bec, exchanging them for the rebellious Englishmen, whom they imprisoned in Normandy. Her charter (*New Monasticon* iii, 472) mentions her husband, sons, and daughters. These were: 1, Gislebert. 2, Robert of Dunmow, who married Maud de St. Liz, and died 31st Henry I. He was ancestor of the family of Fitz-Walter. 3, Roger de Bienfaite Lord of Orbec and du Hommet, who supported Duke Robert in 1080, but was afterwards attached to Rufus and Henry, whose life he saved at the battle of Brenneville, near Andelys, 1119. He died childless. 4, Walter of Nether Gwent, the founder of Tintern Abbey in 1131. He also died childless. In their mother's charter their order is Roger, Walter, and Robert. 5, Richard, Abbot of Ely, died 1107. There were also two daughters, who married Raoul de Tillieres, and Baudry le Teuton of Balgenzio.

Rohaise married secondly Eudo Dapifer, builder of Colchester Castle, and founder of St. John's Abbey there, where she is buried.

GISLEBERT, mostly styled "de Tonbridge," but "Comes de Clara" in his son's charter to Bury Abbey. He also held his father's conquest in Cardigan, and had Aberystwith. His English predecessor Ælfric, son of Withgar, had founded a chapel dedicated to St. John Baptist, with seven secular canons, in the Castle of Clare, whom this earl replaced by monks from Bec. He married Alix, daughter of Rainald, Comte de Clermont in Beauvoisis, a benefactor to Thorney Abbey. They had (1) Richard. (2) Gilbert, called Strongbow, who reconquered Cardigan, and inherited Chepstow and broad lands in Monmouthshire from his uncles Roger and Walter. He was created Earl of Pembroke in 1138. He died 1148, and was buried at Tintern. By Elizabeth, sister of Waleran, Comte de Meulan, who, says Anselm, had been mistress to Henry I, he had Richard Strongbow, the celebrated invader of Ireland, and ancestor, in the female line, of the

Mareschals, Earls of Pembroke. (3) Walter de Sap. (4) Hervé. (5) Baldwin, who adhered to Stephen's cause, and with his brother Richard witnessed the conqueror's charter to Bury Abbey,(?) and gave to the Monks of Bec, Palletune juxta Sap (*N. Mon.*, vi,—). (6) Louise, married Raoul, Seigneur de Coldon, living 1113.

RICHARD Fitz-Gilbert, Earl of Clare, created Earl of Hertford. Clare seems to have been one of these personal earldoms like Warrene, Ferrars, and Giffard, which did not represent a county, and was not even annexed to land, for although Clare was a Manor and afterwards an Honour, it does not seem ever to have been regarded as a territorial earldom. In the return in the Black Book of the Exchequer the Earl of Clare prefixes his return "Carta de Honore Clar" without mention of himself. When it became the custom to adopt a surname, Gislebert or Richard Fitz-Gislebert, Comes, became gradually known by that of the chief seat of his power, and it is probable that his correct designation would have been, not "Comes de Clara," but "Gislebert de Clara, Comes."

The title of Hertford was altogether different. This was a regular earldom, representing a county, and endowed with the third penny from issues of the pleas of the county. Why that title was selected is unknown, for Hertford town and castle did not belong to the family, nor were they specially interested in the shire. Indeed they seem to have held at that time but one manor in it, that of St. Wandon; nor were they even sheriffs, for that office was held by the de Magnavilles. The third penny however had nothing to do with land. It was a grant by patent from the crown and not entered upon by seizin. It was the official fee of the English earls before the conquest. The date of the creation of the earldom of Hertford is uncertain, but the reservation of the third penny in the fee-farm rents paid by the sheriff of the county shews it to have been either late in the reign of Henry I or very early in that of Stephen. As to the limitation, the patent for the earldom is not extant, but possibly it would be held now that like that of Oxford it was confined to the heirs male of the body, because on the death of Gilbert de Clare in 1314 his sisters did not take it. Gloucester however, almost a

contemporary title, descended, as has been seen, on three occasions to heirs female, and by the courtesy of England was assumed by their husbands, Earls Almaric, de Magnaville, and de Clare. King John, who assumed the title with the junior coheiress, is said to have been created Earl of Gloucester, but that this was unnecessary is clear, for d'Evreux and de Clare, whose mothers were the other sisters, successively bore, and the latter transmitted, the title. Nevertheless on the death of Gilbert de Clare, Gloucester, like Hertford, was held to be extinct. The Despensers, husband and son of the elder coheir, did not claim it, and Audley, the husband of the next coheir, obtained it only by a new creation, as did a more remote Despenser. It seems therefore that the practice had changed, and that earldoms which had formerly passed with heirs female did so no longer. It must be remembered with respect to the earldom of Hertford, that there had been no early opportunity of proving its limitation, as the male line had never failed.

Earl Richard seems to have paid much attention to his South Wales possessions, and he, like his grandsire, met with his death from the natives, it is said from Morgan ap Owen, in the disturbances that broke out after the death of Henry I., in 1135. His death is supposed to have occurred in 1139, so that his enjoyment of the title of Hertford must have been brief. He was buried at St. Neots. He married Christiana, sister of Ranulph, Earl of Chester, whose name, unknown to Dugdale, occurs in her husband's charter to Bury Abbey. They had, 1, Gilbert, 2, Roger, successively Earls, 3, Walter, 4, Alice, who married Cadwaladr, second son of Griffith ap Conan, Prince of North Wales, one of those ill-assorted matches, by which the Marcher lords sought to consolidate their incohesive power. It must be this Alice of whom Fitz-Stephen says, writing of Earl Roger, "*Qui et pulcherrimam totius regni sororem habebat, quam rex aliquando concupierat.*"

Earl Richard, in 1134, removed the monks of Bec from his castle of Clare to the adjacent hill of Stoke. It appears from an *Inspeximus* (Pat. 1 Hen. IV, P.S. m. 25) of the confirmation charter of Henry II., that Earl Richard, son of Earl Gilbert, gave for his services, to

Walter Bloet the vill of Raglan and its appurtenances, to him and his heirs, to be held by the service of one knight's fee.

GILBERT, Earl of Clare and Hertford. In 1146 he was a hostage at Stephen's court, for his uncle, the Earl of Chester, to whom, however, he fled. He died childless, in 1151-2, nearly two years before Stephen, and was succeeded by his brother.

ROGER, Earl of Clare and Hertford. The title of Clare seems gradually to have been dropped, as the family name came into use, and, finally, the Earls are invariably described as of Hertford, and, after the acquisition of the Gloucester lands, as of Gloucester and Hertford, the former title dating from Henry I., the latter from Stephen.

He witnessed a Bury charter, printed in the Coll. Topog. et Gen. (i, 589), and there dated 1154, no doubt in error for 1134. Earl Roger married Maud, daughter and heiress of James de Hilary, and by her had Richard, his successor, and Isabel, who married William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, and thus strengthened the tie of blood between two powerful families, whose territorial interests were already also closely connected. Earl Roger seems to have had a son, James, who suffered from some congenital disease, expected to be fatal. The Earl offered 40 marcs to whoever should cure him, but would not allow an operation. When he was two years old his mother took him to Becket's shrine, and implored the aid of the martyr, who cured him in three days. This was succeeded by another complaint, of which he was supposed to die, and was laid out. His mother, however, undeterred by the rebukes of the Countess of Warwick, again implored the aid of the martyr, and again with success. (*Bened. Mirac.*, St. Thomæ, p. 255). Earl Roger married a second wife, whose name is not recorded.

In Earl Roger's time, Becket claimed the Estate and Lewy or Honour of Tunbridge, "pridem a Cantuariensi alienatum ecclesia;" a claim which gave great offence to both king and baronage, and which was resisted, as regarded the castle, by the Earl. The holding of the Lewy seems to have been admitted, but did not satisfy the Archbishop, who indeed also claimed Rochester Castle.

The question was not finally settled till 1264, when a survey of the Lewy was executed, and the terms of the homage agreed to between Archbishop Boniface and Earl Richard. The Earls held as Butlers and Sewers, or as Stewards, and in the one capacity had the manors of Bradstreet, Vielston, Horsmandene, Melton, and Petter, and in the other, Tunbridge and Handlo. The fees of office allowed by the Archbishops were splendid. The Homage seems to have been regularly paid, and often in person, at the enthronization of each Archbishop, and as such is specially noted at those of Archbishops Kilwardby, Peckham and Winchester. It was carried on by the de Clare heiresses, and Hugh d'Audley paid homage to Archbishop Stratford, in 1333, and the Earl of Stafford to Sudbury, in 1375. The last act of homage seems to have been paid to Archbishop Warham, when he entertained Henry VIII. and Charles V., at Canterbury, in 1520. On that occasion Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, one of the de Clare heirs, discharged the duties of sewer in person.

RICHARD de Clare, Earl of Clare and of Hertford, witnessed, as Richard Fitz-Gislebert, Henry II's confirmation of the Earldom of Oxford to Aubrey de Vere. He also, as Richard Earl of Clare, witnessed letters by Richard I. 20th March, 1190, and 17th April, 1194, and another document, 7th June, 1199. 1st John he married Amice, daughter and coheir of William Earl of Gloucester, whose inheritance neither he nor his wife lived to possess. To her, as to her sister Mabel, Henry II. gave £100 wedding portion. The marriage took place before the 1st of John, in which year she pleaded that by a precept of the Pope she had been separated from her husband Richard Earl of Clare, on the ground of consanguinity, and she claimed Sudbury, which had been hers at her marriage (*Abb. Plac.*, p. 25). In the 4th of John she repeated the claim, and 7th and 8th of John claimed the advowson of St. Gregories, Sudbury, which the Prioress of Eton said had been granted to Eton by Earl William, Amice's father (*Ib.* pp. 51, 92). 15th John, Amice Countess of Clare again claimed Sudbury, where she founded a hospital. No doubt the marriage difficulty had been got over by a dispensation from Rome. Earl

Richard's seal is extant, and bears the three chevrons, afterwards so widely known in South Wales, and adopted by the Lords of Avene, the Earl's principal Welsh Baron. In his time King Richard divided the Giffard heritage, giving to Earl Richard the caput and estates in England, and to William Mareschal those in Normandy. It is to be remarked that neither heir made any claim to the earldom of Buckingham.

Earl Richard seems to have died in 1217, when, 28th November, Walter Fitz-Humphrey was to have seizin of his lands in Kent, “*salvo rationabili testamento ejusdem Comitis*” . . . “*teste ipso Comite;*” probably the young Earl. Similar instructions were sent into other counties. The Earl was buried at Clare. Countess Amice seems to have died before 1226, the date of the death of her nephew Aymarie d'Evreux. Their children were : 1, Gilbert ; 2, Richard, killed in London, 24th May, 1228, and who probably is the Roger de Clare, Earl Gilbert's brother, who was allowed £12 on the 11th February, 1226, for his expenses in the King's service with the Earl of Cornwall in Poitou ; 3, Rose, married Roger de Mowbray. The chronicles state that the daughter of the Earl of Clare in 1217 married Rhys Bahan (Vachan). She may have been a natural daughter.

GILBERT de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, is stated in the Annals of Margam to have taken up the earldom, and to have confirmed the abbey charters in 1217, a statement corroborated by Gilbert's witnessing, as Earl of Gloucester, in 1218, the declaration that the signature of Henry III. to public documents should not be valid until he came of age. Also, 25th January, 1218, Hugh de Vivonne was ordered to give up the forest of Keynsham to the Earl of Gloucester, and, probably in consideration for his “*regni novitas*,” the barons of the Exchequer were “*ponere in respectu*” the Earl's scutage then due, until after Easter.

With his paternal possessions and those of his mother Amice, Earl Gilbert inherited those of his grandmother Maud de St. Hilary, and a moiety of the Honour of Giffard. The inheritance, as shewn by his scutages, 7th Henry, extended into nineteen counties. As early as 12th John he fortified Builth Castle, and took an active

part against the King. He was one of the twenty-five barons excommunicated by Pope Innocent in 1215, but at this time he was a party to the negotiations for peace, and 9th November had a safe conduct from the King, which was repeated 27th March, 1216, after the fall of Colchester. He sided with the barons at Lincoln 20th May, 1217, and was taken prisoner by his kinsman the Earl Mareschal, who afterwards married him to his daughter and eventual coheir Isabel, a lady whose personal attractions probably made the young captive a willing suitor. The annals of Tewkesbury give 1214 as the date of the marriage, but this is almost certainly an error. In 1216 (?) he was assessed for a relief at £100 for each of his Honours of Gloucester and Clare, and at £50 for his half Honour, probably of Giffard, the reliefs being levied upon each Honour as on a Barony, without reference to its actual value, since Clare contained 140 fees and Gloucester over 327. He was also assessed upon his Lordship of Glamorgan, which then contained $27\frac{1}{4}$ fees, of which William de Kardiff held one; John le Sor, 14; Thomas de la Mare, 10; and Thomas Blund half a fee. Probably, however, some of these holdings were in England, for most of the Glamorgan barons held also of the Honour of Gloucester.

In 1218 died Clement, Abbot of Neath, to whom succeeded Gervais; and, 12th November, died Henry, Bishop of Llandaff, who was succeeded, October, 1219, by William, Prior of Goldcliff. The Earl much desired to recover the family possession of Bristol Castle, and Hugh de Vivonne was directed to restore to him the Berton of Bristol, the wood of Furcas, and the chase of Keynsham. This however, though the King's officer, he refused to do until he was provided with the means of maintaining the castle, for which the council had promised him £100 in rent and 100 marcs in silver, nothing of which he had as yet received. The order was repeated over and over again, "multi toties," in the course of 1219-20, but without effect. The Earls of Gloucester never recovered Bristol Castle.

25th November, 1218. Earl William de Magnaville and Earl Gilbert were allowed to settle, by a concord, a question relating to lands which they held together in

wardship, and which evidently arose out of the affairs of Magnaville's brother Geoffrey. 6th Henry III., 1221-2, Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, is ordered not to go to Wales to take the castle of Dinas Powis, as the king had sent Robert de Vallibus to receive and deliver it to the Earl. This was on the death of Somery, Baron of Dudley, who was Lord of Dinas Powis, and was evidently an attempt by the King to obtain "primer seisin" in Glamorgan. In the next year, 14th March, 1223, the Earl Mareschal's bailiffs had a safe conduct from Henry de Chetham to go to Dinas Powis. The Earl paid scutage about this time for a Welsh expedition, and in 1224 the Welsh invaded Glamorgan, killing certain farm servants and a shepherd's boy. Morgan ap Owen burned a house, belonging to Neath Abbey, with above 400 sheep, and killed several farm servants, and dangerously wounded a monk and some lay brethren. In 1223-4, 8th Henry III., the Earl had a safe conduct to attend the King. 15th July, 1224, he was to have four dolia of the King's best wine, at cost price; an order repeated the same day, in the Close Rolls; and 23rd September, he was to have five dolia more from the wine retained at Bristol.

1st January, 1225, the Earl is to have from the Sheriff of Gloucester £20, as his ancestors had, "*nomine comitatus*," evidently a part of the third penny, as the Sheriff of Herts received a similar precept.

13th February, he is to have from the Constable of Kenilworth one hundred "*bresnas*" for his vivaries at Tewkesbury, "*et de shepton instaurand.*" A messenger despatched to him by the King cost 12d. 28th August, the Bailiffs of Caermarthen are to allow the Earl to hold the lands late of Thomas de Londres, of which he has the wardship, with his daughter. This was probably as chief Lord of Ogmores. Eva de Tracy had her dower out of the de Londres lands, in Wilts. Wardships and their sale were a great source of the Royal power and income, and Earl Gilbert, 3rd October, has that of the heirs of Walter de Tailly, with the "*maritagium*," and Waleran Teutonicus, and Sybil, his wife, are to give up the daughter.

In 1226 the Welsh burned St. Nicholas, Newcastle, and Laleston, and killed certain men. 29th October, the

Earl paid 2,000 mares for license to marry his daughter Amice, then six years old, to Baldwin de Redvers, and £200 in land was allowed out of the estates of William, Earl of Devon, Baldwin's grandfather, presumably for her sustenance, until she came of age. In this year, 2nd November, the Earl's daughter Isabel was born. A joint messenger, sent by the King to the Earl, and the Earl of Chester, cost 15d. In this year the Earl joined the Earl of Cornwall against the King.

In 1227, 16th February. William, Earl of Devon, was dead, and the Earl had license to hold his lands. In this year the Welsh burned the Margam grange of Pennuth, with many animals, and killed many men; also the grange of Rossaulin, with many sheep, and drove away eleven cows, and killed a farm servant. Also they cleared the grange of Theodore of animals, and burned several horses and great flocks of sheep, the property of Margam. Notwithstanding the line taken by the Earl, he seems to have kept on some sort of terms with the Court. for, 4th September, he is one of the Lords accredited to the Princes of the Empire, at Antwerp. 18th May, 1228, the Earl's son, William, was born, and his brother Richard was killed in London. Kenfig was burned by lightning, and a horse killed. In this year also the Earl captured Morgan Gam, of Avene, and sent him, fettered by the feet, into England, for security. This was mild treatment compared with what Morgan ap Cadwaladr met with, in the same year, from his nephew, Howel ap Meredith, who put out his eyes, and otherwise mutilated him. This Howel, in 1229, burned St. Nicholas and St. Hilary. In that year Morgan Gam was set free, giving hostages for his conduct, which, however, did not prevent him from burning Neath, in 1231. In this year the Earl is said to have discovered mines of silver, lead, and iron, in Wales. The two former have never proved profitable: the latter were well known to, and, to some extent, worked by the Romans. 15th Henry III., the Abbot of Margam paid 100s for having his charter confirmed.

In 1230 Henry made a disastrous expedition into Brittany, and of the magnates who attended him, many, says Wikes, died before his return, and some after it.

Among the latter was Earl Gilbert, who died at Penros in Brittany, 25th October, 1230. His funeral was conducted with great state. The corpse was landed at Plymouth and brought across Devon and Somerset to Cranbourn, and thence to Tewkesbury, large doles being given to the poor on the road as it passed, and silken cloths, "*panni cerici*" to the religious houses. The procession reached Tewkesbury on the Saturday before St. Martin's Day, and on Sunday the corpse was laid, temporarily, in its sepulchre before the high altar. The final burial was witnessed by the Abbots of Tewkesbury, Tintern, Flaxley, Keynsham, and Tureford,[?] and an immense assemblage of persons of both sexes, lay and clerical. The Earl seems to have left two wills, one dated Suwicksuper-Mare, 30th April, and the other in Brittany, 23rd October ; both in the year of his death. To Tewkesbury he bequeathed a silver gilt cross ; and, during the minority of his son, the wood of Muth, by Severn-side, which was confirmed by Henry III in 1232, and reverted to the earldom in 1243. The monks laid a stone over his grave.

In the *Monasticon* (*N. M.*, vi, 453) is a confirmation by Earl Gilbert to Keynsham of a burgage in Cardiff, "which was Goye's," and another which had belonged to John Fitz-Baldwin, and of the whole park, fishing, and fishery of Rumeya (Rhymny), and both the vivaries of Raz (Roath), with the mill and great vivary under Kibwr, and all the land of Raz, and all the forest of Kibwr, to be held as under Earl William, the grantor's grandsire.

The children of Gilbert and Isabel were : 1, Richard ; 2, William, born 18th May, 1228, knighted in London at Christmas, 1250 ; 3, Gilbert, born 12th September, 1229, a Clerk in Orders ; 4, Amice married Baldwin de Redvers ; 5, Agnes ; 6, Isabel, born 2nd November, 1226, married May 1240, Robert de Bruce of Ammandale, who died 1295.

Countess Isabel married, secondly, 30th March, 1231, Richard Earl of Cornwall, much against the will of the king his brother. She was, says Wikes, a woman of marvellous beauty. She was known as Isabel Countess of Gloucester and Hertford, Cornwall and Poitou, and she died in childbirth at Berkhamstead, 17th January, 1239 or 1240, and her mortal spoils were divided between three

communities ; her bowels went to Missenden : her heart, in a gilded urn to Tewkesbury ;

“ *Pars melior toto fuit . . . pro corpore missa* ”

was the Tewkesbury view of the partition. The body went to Beaulieu. She founded a chantry for Earl Gilbert and herself at Market Street, and Earl Richard founded one for her at Wallingford. Her will disposed of a curious collection of relics. Her epitaph at Tewkesbury, where she herself had always wished to be buried, was as follows :—

*Postrema voce legavit cor Comitissa
Pars melior toto fuit huc pro corpore missa
Hæc se divisit Dominum recolendo Priorem
Huc cor quod misit, verum testatur amorem—
Hiis simul ecclesie sanctæ suffragia prosint.
Ut simul in requie cœlesti cum Domino sint.*

The ancestors of Earl Gilbert had, for eight generations, been very considerable persons, both in Normandy and England ; and their next of kin, of the line of Strongbow, now represented through a female by the Earls Mareschal, were scarcely their inferiors in power. Their other cousins, who continued in the male line, as Barons Fitz-Walter, also held large estates, and had at that time reached the climax of their power in the person of Robert Fitz-Walter, styled by King John's barons “ Marshal of the army of God and the holy Church.” In addition to these, their agnates, the de Clares, were allied by marriage to the Earls of Chester and other leading nobles. Besides all these sources of power, Earl Gilbert had received a great accession in the large inheritance derived from his mother, making him, by the bend sinister, which was then scarcely regarded as a discredit, of near kin to the sovereign, and endowing him not only with the valuable Honour of Gloucester, but with the Lordship of Glamorgan, the privileges of which were of a regal character, and the position of which, securing to him an almost impregnable retreat, gave him great weight in the perpetual struggles between the Baronage and the Crown. From this time the house of Clare became the acknowledged head of the Baronage. Great personal qualities, such as those possessed by the elder William Mareschal or by Simon de Montfort, brought

them at times to the front ; but for steady hereditary influence supported, on the whole, by moderation of conduct, and always by great personal valour in the field, no family at all approached to that of the Earls of Gloucester and Hertford.

THE NENE VALLEY A ROMAN FRONTIER, AND THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME NORTHAMPTON.¹

By the Rev. R. S. BAKER, B.A.

Cinctosque castris Antonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat.

The county of Northampton is oddly shaped. It stretches for nearly seventy miles right athwart England, and goes far to span over the space between the Wash and the Bristol Channel. From the western-most edge of Northants to the nearest point of the Severn, Tewkesbury, is barely over thirty-five miles.

It has sometimes occurred to me that its shape and direction might be due to the tradition surviving to Saxon times, of its being the border land of the Romans at one period of their history in Britain. Certain it is that the line this county takes—rudely regardless of all other counties—is coincident with the Roman fortified frontier, *tempore* Claudius, for over sixty miles.

This mid-England frontier, being but a temporary one, was not marked by a continuous wall and fosses, as that gigantic work in Northumberland, but by a chain of strong-walled camps, connected by a continuous roadway leading from one to the other, and having the Nene river, as far as it went, for an outer line of defence on the side next the enemy. The period of its erection was an early one, viz., about the year 47 or 48 of the Christian Era, *i.e.*, about fifteen years after the Crucifixion. And this makes these traces of Roman occupation, still legibly stamped upon the Nene Valley, the more venerable and interesting.

What is most fortunate as regards this point of history is that the book of the *Annals of Tacitus*, containing the account of it, has not been lost (as the preceding book has), but still survives—a precious fragment of history for Englishmen.

¹ Read in the Section of Antiquities at the Annual Meeting at Northampton, July 30th, 1878.

To make my story clear, I had better glance for one minute at the history of the Roman invasions. The first attempt upon Britain was made by Julius Cæsar, before Christ 54. He "came and saw," and that was nearly all. He imposed a tribute on the South-Eastern tribes, but it was never paid, and Britain was left to herself for near one hundred years more. In the meantime she was learning something from her would-be conquerors, and from her Gaulish neighbours, who were under the Roman rule. Canobelin (Shakespeare's Cymbeline), who reigned over Southern Britain when our Lord was working at the carpenter's bench, was said to have been educated at Rome. He had coins much like the Roman ones, and reigned over a people considerably leavened by the contiguity of Roman civilization.

But the Romans were not the people to let the Britons off so easily. The mystery which, in Roman minds, lay round this great and beautiful island of the extreme west (they were not quite sure that it was an island), with her white cliffs and boisterous, "monster-abounding,"¹ seas, and above all the occasional taste of her oysters² at Roman suppers, not to mention her pearls,³ all combined to make it certain that Britannia must one day stoop her proud neck to the Roman yoke. That day came at last in the reign of the Emperor Claudius.

About ten years after Roman soldiers had vainly guarded a sepulchre at Jerusalem, and St. Paul was just beginning his labours on the coasts of the Mediterranean, and Nero was a harmless boy playing in the Imperial gardens at Rome, the edict went forth for the conquest of Britain. The Emperor chose Aulus Plautius, with Vespasian for his second in command, to conduct this second invasion of our island. In three or four years of hard fighting they succeeded in subduing the whole of the South and Southern Midlands; Claudius being sent for to put the finishing stroke to the war in person, thus easily gaining for himself and his son the title of "Britannicus," and the honour of a triumph at Rome.

Unfortunately, as mentioned above, the eleventh book of the *Annals of Tacitus*, containing the narrative of

¹ *Hor., Carm.*, lib. iv., ode 14.

² *Juv., Sat.*, iv., 149.

³ See *Suetonius*, and *Marbodius*.

this campaign, has perished, and with it details of extreme interest to English readers.

P. Ostorius Scapula succeeded Plautius as commander-in-chief in Britain, most probably in the year 47. He arrived late in the autumn, and found confusion worse confounded reigning in the island. The unconquered tribes of the Northern Midlands, and of the North and North West, were making violent raids upon the allied territories, thinking themselves pretty safe from reprisals, till the winter was over at all events. They little knew their man ! The general gathered a few trusty and light-armed battalions, and by rapid marches, pounced suddenly upon the invaders, routed them, and drove them back into the forests of Northamptonshire and Warwickshire ; and then, in order to make the Southern half of Britain safe for the future against such attacks, he resolved on a great work, and forthwith took steps for carrying it out—probably early in 48—and that work was the running of a line of forts right across Britain, in its narrowest part—from where the Fens and the Wash encroach upon the land on the east, to where the great Severn estuary cuts deep into the island on the west ; a project rendered easier by two rivers, which, taking their rise close together in the heart of Britain, flow severally, the one east and the other west, into those two estuaries.

As this is the most important point of my story, and as it is in fact the proposition which I have to make good, viz., that our Nene valley camps *are* a portion of the Ostorian line mentioned by Tacitus ; I think it will be the best to read a free translation, revised and approved by a good classical scholar, of the passage of Tacitus relating to the transaction. *Tac. Ann.* xii, 31, free translation. “ But in Britain a troubled state of affairs greeted the arrival of the new prætor, P. Ostorius. The enemy had overflowed their bounds, and poured their hostile bands upon the territories of our allies. And this with the more reckless violence, as they deemed that a new general, a stranger to his troops, and at the commencement of winter, would never take the field against them at once. He, however, aware that first acts are those which make an impression, and beget respect or contempt as the case may be, hurries

into the field some light-armed cohorts, and after slaughtering those who ventured to make a stand, followed up the routed and separated bodies of armed men, so that they should not again coalesce; and, knowing that neither general nor soldier would ever get a moment's quiet under a distasteful and fictitious peace, he proceeded to disarm the suspected tribes, and take steps for fencing in the Nene and Severn rivers by a chain of fortified camps. This latter proceeding the Iceni were the first to object to, a strong tribe, and unweakened by battles with the Romans, for they had from the first voluntarily sought our alliance. Under their leadership the surrounding peoples chose with them as a battle field a certain spot." And then he goes on to describe a severe battle that took place at the spot aforesaid, Valpy thinks somewhere in Huntingdonshire (I have some reasons for thinking it may have been at Covington, near Kimbolton); and after the enemy had received there a severe punishment, and the doubting tribes had consequently all given in, the Nene Valley works were able to proceed.

The above translation is from the edition of Valpy, and there the text which mentions the two rivers runs as follows: "*cinctos que castris Antonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat*;" which I take to mean, that he brought those rivers together (co-habeo) and made one of them, so to speak, by running a line of camps along each and from one to the other, thus confining or fencing them in (in a second sense of co-habere) by a girdle or cincture made of forts and rivers, or rather confining the people who lived beyond that cincture.

I think that the best and tersest way of construing this vexed and difficult passage is "He proceeded to confine the rivers Nene and Severn within a cincture of camps."

I am quite aware that this is a disputed passage, and that there are various readings of it. I will not, however, discuss them now. All I shall say is, that I have consulted many editions of Tacitus, ancient and modern, foreign and English, and have come to the conclusion that, whatever reading we take, it makes no practical difference. Take which you will, and we cannot help seeing what Tacitus is trying to tell us, and that is:—

1. That Ostorius' object was to make South Britain safe against the North.

2. To this end he drew a line of forts from somewhere to somewhere else.

3. That two British rivers, which he names, were in connection with these forts.

The Sabrina, one of them, no one has ever doubted about. The Antona, a little reflexion will tell us, must be the Nene and no other. The context before and after, the military situation, and strategical reasons, demand this conclusion. A glance at the map of England shows that there was no better line at which to fortify one half of England against the other, for nature has made half of our "scientific frontier" for us. And so we find that the ablest commentators on Tacitus, including Camden, have concluded, that though they are at a loss to explain Antona, yet they are sure he means the Nene. This opinion is confirmed by our great writer on Roman military antiquities in Great Britain, General Roy: who looking the question professionally, has no doubt that the Nene was intended by Tacitus. To draw the line from the Severn to the Bristol Avon, or the Hampshire Avon, as some have done, appears to me simply absurd. But Camden is to blame for putting people on the track of the Avons. England is a little country compared with some with which the Romans had to deal, and they were not the people to nibble at the corners of it in that timid fashion.

If no other proof were forthcoming, there is proof enough in the fact that the Iceni (Ikëni I suppose we should call them) objected to the work. The Iceni occupied the Eastern Counties, and Huntingdon and Cambridge shires (as I think is always granted): they would have known little and cared less about a line right-away in the west. But when these Nene forts were threatening to stare them in the face, and to cut them off from old friends on the other side, looking much like a coming subjection of the whole land: then they came to the serious conclusion to throw up the Roman alliance, and resist the measure to the death. As a practical clincher to the whole argument, we find a series of camps—some of them large and strongly-walled—at pretty regular in-

tervals, all up the Nene Valley, and, what is more emphatic, all on the hither or right bank of the river, from near the old edge of the Fens to overthwart Northampton.

Irchester is one of these Ostorian camps. It is twenty acres in extent, and wherever we cut the vallum, we find the massive foundations of the walls. Coins from Claudius, down to the end of the Roman power in Britain, are picked up there in abundance. The bed of the old Nene is at the foot of the northern wall. These camps are at intervals of about seven miles. The next below Irchester is Cotton, in Ringstead parish, where, half-a-mile further down, is a second smaller fort, close to a ford still existing over the Nene. Then, still going down, comes a gap of sixteen miles; there *ought* to be a camp somewhere about Achurch, and true enough. Mr. Hodgson, Rector of Pilton, and I discovered some rectangular earthworks in a wood of Lord Lilford's, called the *Lynches*, on the right bank, but this requires more examination. Not far off, on the other side of Lord Lilford's park, have lately been discovered Roman interments, pottery, and coins, in digging for stone.

About ten miles below Lilford we find Chesterton Camp, on the right, or Huntingdonshire bank of the Nene, just opposite the later city of Durobrivæ (Castor), which is on the Northants side of the river. This camp, I believe, was originally walled; the vallum is still very clearly marked, though it has been ploughed over for ages. Five miles lower we reach Peterborough, and hard by that town was the ancient edge of the Fen.

The road connecting these camps is still traceable in many places, notably so from Cotton to Stanwick, a village which (anciently written *Stanweg*) takes its name from this *way*. In many places the Roman way is no doubt identical with our present roads.

Six and a half miles above Irchester we come to Cogenhoe (pronounced Cookno), where, according to Mr. Simpson, the late Rector of Brington—(I quote from a most interesting lecture of his given in Northampton in 1862)—are traces of Roman occupation. I have not, however, been able to discover these myself, and I shall not venture to make any assertion respecting them.

That this village would have formed a splendid position for a camp admits of no manner of doubt. But a mile and a half above Cogenhoe we find a strong Roman outpost, or fort, in the form of an artificial hill, called Clifford's Hill—evidently from its name, in connection with some ford, which it was requisite to watch. This mound rises from the meadows sixty feet from the water, and has an area of about ninety feet on its top.

Six miles above Cogenhoe we come to the country opposite Northampton, and at this town may have been a British fort, which required watching. Bridges thinks there are traces of Roman occupation somewhere near Queen Eleanor's Cross; but this, with Cogenhoe and Lilford, requires investigation. But might not Hunsbury, half a mile higher up, have been a British fort, occupied by Ostorian troops? The Romans were never slow to occupy strong positions of the enemy, though opposed to their own theories of the proper form of a camp.

But I do not feel myself responsible for Ostorius when he gets above Irchester. I must leave quaint old Morton, or our friend Sir Henry Dryden, to trace out the line of Ostorius through the high lands of Northamptonshire, in the direction of the Severn; these are certainly not wanting, many strong Roman positions trending in that direction: but these are beyond the scope of the present paper.

It should be mentioned that, in probable connection with these Nene forts, are several *speculæ* or signal hills, formed like large tumuli, with a foss surrounding them, and occupying positions commanding the Nene Valley for many miles; notably, one on high ground in Chesterton parish, commanding a view from Peterborough on one side, to the high ground above Lilford on the other. Another in the village of Wollaston overlooks the Nene Valley from Higham to Northampton. If this strong line of camps on the hither side of the Nene, with a connecting road and signal stations, are *not* the forts mentioned by Tacitus, what are they? When were they made? and for what purpose? No one has yet answered these questions. Can they be answered? I think not.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME NORTHAMPTON.

We now come to the word *Antona*.

This name has always been a stumbling-block, for it does not look at all like the word *Nene*. There is an *n* in both, and that is all that can be said. The great Camden jumps to the conclusion that Tacitus must have written *Aufona*, which, by dropping out the *u*, would be *Afona*—the Latinisation of *Afon* or *Avon*—the British word for river—meaning thereby the *Nene*, whose then proper name did not reach Tacitus, or else he mistook *Avon* for a proper name. If we examine, however, the actual words of Camden, we shall find that this new reading was put forward with apology, and with no great assurance. His words are (quoting from Bishop Gibson's translation, for I have had no opportunity to see the original): "Higher in the country (*i.e.* Northants) northward, arises the river *Aufona* or *Avon* (for *Avon* in the British tongue is the general name for all rivers). It is called the *Nen* by the inhabitants." A very noble river it is, and if I guess right, it was garrisoned in old time by the Romans; for when the hither part of Britain, in the Emperor Claudius' time, was brought under the Roman government, so as the inhabitants thereof were termed allies to the Romans, when the more remote Britains also made frequent incursions into this country, and carried all before them then P. Ostorius (says Tacitus) *cinctos castris Antonam* (*Aufonam* I would read, if I might take that liberty) *et Sabrina* *cohibere parat*. . . . "What river this should be none can tell. Lipsius (the Apollo of our age) hath either dispelled this mist, or I am in a cloud. He points out Northampton."

It so happened that I came on this Northampton theory for *Antona*, from my own inner consciousness, before I had seen Camden or Lipsius; and, of course, I felt much corroborated when I found the Apollo of the 16th century on my side. Lipsius' own words are (quoting from the Tacitus of Augustus Ernest, Leipsic 1772, where the disputed text is the same as Valpy's, *cinctos que castris, &c.*). "*Antona sane civitas videtur, manetque hodie Northamptona*," That is, "*Antona in-*

deed seems to be a town, and remains to this day by the name of Northamptona."

It is worthy of notice that, in discussing different readings of the passage (such as Sabriana for Sabrina, in Ptol.), Lipsius gives not the slightest hint that he had ever met with another reading for Antona: nor do I believe that one was ever heard of till Camden came. In spite of Lipsius, Camden does not quite emerge from his cloud, for he sticks to his Aufona, and with admirable inconsequence, goes on, "*and* I am of opinion that Antona hath crept into Tacitus instead of Aufona, upon which Northampton is seated." Then when he gets to the town of Northampton (p. 518), he gives his own derivation of Northampton. "where, at their very meeting (*i.e.*, the North and South Nene) the town called from the river, North-añan-ton, and by contraction Northampton, is so seated, &c."

His editor Gibson (who mixes his text up with Camden's in the most disagreeable manner), here cuts in to deny any Celtic derivation whatever to Northampton: he asserts it to be Saxon, and cites Southampton as a parallel case.

Most unfortunately, Camden's mere suggestion about Aufona has been taken for the conclusion of infallible authority by most people since. Editors, commentators, antiquaries, history writers, from that day to this, in a long string, like sheep filing through a gap one after another, follow their leader with amusing fidelity. Thus he has done, unwittingly, a great deal of mischief, and illustrates in his own person an evil, which in his Preface he is thoroughly on his guard against; there he says, "It is possible that I may have been led into errors by the authority of writers, whom I reckoned I might safely rely on. 'There is nothing more dangerous (says Pliny) in the search after truth, than when a staunch author asserts a false thing.'"

It must be borne in mind that Camden was no great Celtic or Saxon scholar. He took up those languages after he began his *Britannia*, because he found he could not get on without them. He seems to have known about enough of Celtic to make him plunge at the word Aufona as a happy thought.

We find then no real authority for altering the word *Antona*, either in MSS. or anything else. This being the case, our present argument is simply this :—

1. That Tacitus was quite correct in writing *Antona*.
2. That the *Nene*, or at least the upper part of it above *Wellingborough*, was called *Anton*, or something like it, by the Britons.
3. That the town in which we are, got its name from the river, and is Celtic, and not Saxon in its origin.

I shall endeavour to prove this triple proposition as briefly as I can, from a consideration of: *a.* *Domesday*; *b.* The parallel case of *Southampton*; *c.* The tradition of *Anton* still lingering on the Upper *Nene*; *d.* The meaning of the Celtic word *Anton*.

a. In *Domesday* *Northampton* is spelt *Hantone*, without the *North*, and the country *Northantonescire*. This Norman document is a treasure of phonetic spelling, and invaluable on this account. The Norman Commissioners had no bias, either to the Saxon or Celtic, and simply tried to write as near the sound as possible. "What is the name of your town, my good man?" "*Anton*" (pronounced *Arnton*) "*Antone*, please yer honour." "Do you spell it with an *H*?" "Thats mord nor I can say; we call it *Hantone*, and the *Sheer* we call *North Antone Sheer*." It is quite evident that the sound came with an *N*, not an *M*, from the natives, and the tradition of it is still kept up by our *Northants*. That it should gradually come to be written with an *M*, and afterwards an *M P*, is very natural. The Anglo-Saxon mind does not like incomprehensible words, and changes them if possible; thus in the sailor's mouth, *H.M. ship* "*Bellerophon*" became "*Billy Ruffian*," and "*Hirondelle*," "*Iron Devil*." Besides, "*Home*" is a sacred word; there is no place like "*Hame*" to the Saxon. On the smallest excuse they turned names into *Ham*. Thus the Celti-Scandinavian *Dunholm* became *Durham*; *Brighthelmstone* became *Brighthampton* before it cut itself down to *Brighton*. It would have been strange if *Anton* had not become *Hamton*.

b. *Southampton* (which no doubt gets the prefix *South* in contradistinction to this town) is, as to derivation, an exactly parallel case in every way. Camden's argument for the Celtic derivation of *Southampton* appears to me

unanswerable, and makes my case, as regards Northampton, very much stronger. Southampton is in Domesday like this town, simply Hantone. The Roman town which preceded it, Camden, and other authorities, have concluded to have been the Clausentum of Antoninus. In the British tongue this would signify the port of Entum or Anton. Ptolemy calls Southampton water Trisanton (i.e., the bay of Anton, as Camden thinks), and Camden has a theory that the river Test (which is called in mediæval documents Terstan) was called (including Southampton water) Ant, or Anton, by the Britons, for he notices that many names of places on it have that prefix *e.g.* Andover (i.e., the ford over the And or Ant), Amport, &c.

Now I was told by one antiquary whom I consulted about Antony in Cornwall, and Canton in Glamorgan-shire, that there is no such word as Anton in the Celtic, and that "the genius of the language is opposed to it." It will surprise my friend, and perhaps some others, to find that Camden's shot about the Test was remarkably close to the mark, for I find that that river is still called by the natives *Anton* in its upper branches, in this Year of Grace 1878.

I got this from a Hampshire clergyman, who lives not far from Andover. It is strange that Camden never heard of this local name; but it is much to his credit that he discovered it by the divination of genius. I have since found the name in an old county atlas.¹

What is passing strange is that, with the word *Antona* staring him in the face in the *Annals* of Tacitus, and the town of Hantone doing the same in the pages of Domesday, he did not make the same brilliant shot about the Nene and its capital, as he did about the Test and its chief town.²

¹ In a quaint old quarto, entitled "Viaje de Felipe Segundo á Inglaterra" by Andrés Muñoz, printed at Zaragoza, 1554, and lately reprinted by the Madrid Bibliófilos (see a Review in the *Athenæum* of September 14th, 1878). Southampton is called *Antona*.

Anton is still to be met with as a patronymic in England. In the *Times* police reports of September 3rd, 1878, will be found "Jabez Anton, 30, of 4, Cromwell Terrace, Birkbeck Road, Upper Hollo-

way, a carman, was charged with causing the death of Ann Shaunahan, by running over her head with a van, at Præd-street, &c."

² I have received an interesting communication from the Rev. Thomas Floud, Rector of Overton, Hants, pointing out other names, up country, evidently derived from the Anton. He also enclosed me an interesting MS. of Richd. Willis, an Andover antiquary of Q. Ann's reign, on this subject.

c. Now, have we any vestiges existing, connected with the Nene, of the name Anton? I have discovered one in the name of a Hundred abutting on the Nene the Hundred of Hamfordshoe, which comprises Wellingborough, Doddington, Earls' Barton, and several other villages. In Domesday the word is written And-ferds-hoe—another case of phonetic spelling. I have had some correspondence with the Rev. Isaac Taylor, who, as is well known, is an authority on the subject of "Words and Places," and he thinks that this is a strong point in my favour.

This name comes from no town or village that ever was. The syllable ford gives us a clue to its paternity. A ford over what? Why it must be either over the Nene or the Ise, which latter stream bounds the hundred on the east. But there is not any definite Hoe next the Ise: while the hill on which Doddington stands, rears itself most conspicuously to onlookers from the high ground about Wollaston, and may well be called a Hoe. We conclude, therefore, that the name means the hill opposite the ford over the And. Now on the Hants Anton we find the same prefix And, representing Anton, in the word Andover. What does this And on the Nene mean if it does not mean the Ant or Anton? This is the only case that I have at present hit upon of the survival of the name Anton: but this instance is something in the way of cumulative evidence.

d. As to the meaning of Anton, Mr. Isaac Taylor writes me thus: "I am inclined to believe that Anton should be divided Ant-on, and not An-ton. If we look at *Fich, Vergleich Wörterbuch*, i, 487, we see that Ant-on might be end water, boundary water, or frontier water; there being an old Keltic word *ande*, which answers to the Greek *ἀντα*, *ἀντί*, Latin *ante*, and English *end*, and which is seen in the German *ent-gegen*." In his book, *Words and Places*, Mr. Taylor has another theory for Anton, deriving it from aon-don, or ton; but this he appears to have given up for the revised opinion which I have read. That the Nene was an end, or frontier river, to two British kingdoms, is extremely likely. The marked valley in which it lies, as in a trough, for forty miles, and the forests which bristled on its further side

for its whole length, together made it a very natural boundary of peoples. Probably the Iceni bordered it from the fen to Higham Ferrers. In the same way the Hants Anton may have been a boundary river in remote Celtic times; though I suppose the Belgæ had both sides of it in Roman times.

Of the derivation of Nene, Mr. Isaac Taylor writes: "As to the Nene. I am inclined with Ferguson to refer it to Nant, Valley, (in Welsh the *n* might drop off, as Cant = 100, has become Can, see Rhys, Lecture ii). See on *Nant*, *Fich. Vergleich Wort*, &c., where you will see that in Armorican Nannt takes the form Annt, the initial *n* dropping off. This makes it possible that Ant-on might have been Nant-on, the valley water." Then he refers to Ferguson, and concludes "your Andferdshoe is, I think, a strong point." He adds: "The great South African river being called the Vaal, *i.e.* the Valley, by the Dutch, is exactly parallel to the derivation of Nene from Nant." The name Nene, Morton says, is used in a tenth century charter. In old maps I find the Nene is sometimes written Neane, where we get the *n*, and this helps us on to Nant.

That a river should have one name at its mouth, and another up country, is quite a common thing. I have been at the trouble of hunting up about 450 named rivers of England, and find many instances of this, *e.g.* Thames-Isis. Humber-Ouse-Ure, Itchen-Alre, &c.

As to towns in Britain being named from rivers, in Roman times, Isca Silurum, on the Isca, or Usk; Derwentio, on the Derwentio, or Derwent, might be cited.

That the Britons had a fort on the site of Northampton Castle seems probable, from its commanding position at the confluence of two streams, and from British pottery having been found there, as Mr. S. Sharp informs me

I much fear that I have written at too great length, but it is a suggestive subject, and full of matter. I had intended to have done a good deal of research in the British Museum and elsewhere, but have been quite prevented, by having had the superintendence of the diggings in the Ostorian Camp of Irchester, for the last seven weeks,

I hope it will be understood that, though I do not mean to give up the theories I have propounded in this paper, in a hurry ; yet I submit them with all deference, and in due humility, to those who know more than I do of the Science of Archæological Research.

THE CATHEDRAL OF PISA.
(CONTINUED).
AND NOTES UPON PISAN CHURCHES.

By J. H. PARKER, C.B.

My former notice ¹ of this fine and interesting Cathedral is not complete without some further particulars, in confirmation of my views, and some mention of other churches in the town connected with it. I made a slight mistake about the campanile, which is an important part of the evidence about the dates; I said it was founded in 1174, which is true, but I went on to say that the work was *continued* for sixty years. I ought to have said it was *suspended* for sixty years, in consequence of the foundations having given way on one side to the depth of six feet when the ground floor only had been built. The work was *resumed* in 1234, just sixty years after the foundation, and there is a marked difference in the construction and style of this work between the ground floor and all above it (excepting of course the upper storey of all with the roof, which is quite a century later); the ground floor is of the Italian Romanesque, corresponding to the Norman in England. The next six floors have the light and elegant arcades and colonettes, or what we call shafts, exactly similar to those of the west front. Then also, in all above the ground floor there is no perceptible difference in these five floors of the campanile; the work seems to have gone on steadily, for probably thirty years from 1234. The reason the ground floor of the present west front of the cathedral is also of earlier character than the upper part is, that it is built of the materials of the old west front, to which the arcades certainly did not belong. A contract is extant for building the cathedral at a still earlier period than Pope Gelasius, by an architect named Buschetto or

¹ Page 108.

Boschetto, who is said to have come from Byzantium, and to have gone to Rome to fetch columns and other materials, as the old buildings of the empire in Rome served for quarries of marble for all Italy. Among other things he appears to have brought a sarcophagus for himself to be buried in: and there is an excellent engraving of this sarcophagus in M. Rohault's work, as "the Tomb of Boschetto," with an inscription upon it giving the date of 1016 as the year of his death.

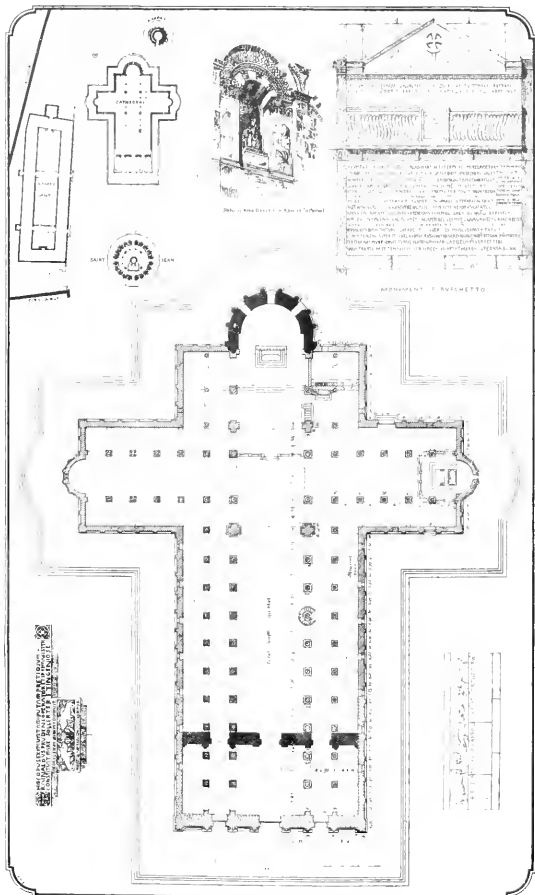
In M. Rohault's ground plan of the cathedral there does appear to be three periods in the walls. The eastern apse being the earliest, and that is precisely the part which is built of old Roman materials. Mr. Irvine has very carefully reproduced this plan for me; also the west front and the elevation of one side.¹ The three photolithographs give the architectural history very clearly. In the ground plan the original west front is distinctly shewn, and in the elevation at the same point there is a straight vertical joint in the wall, shewing that the wall beyond this, westward, is later than the rest of the church. In the west front also the difference between the solid ground floor and the light arcades of the upper part comes out very distinctly. Some other churches in the town also throw light on the history of the cathedral.

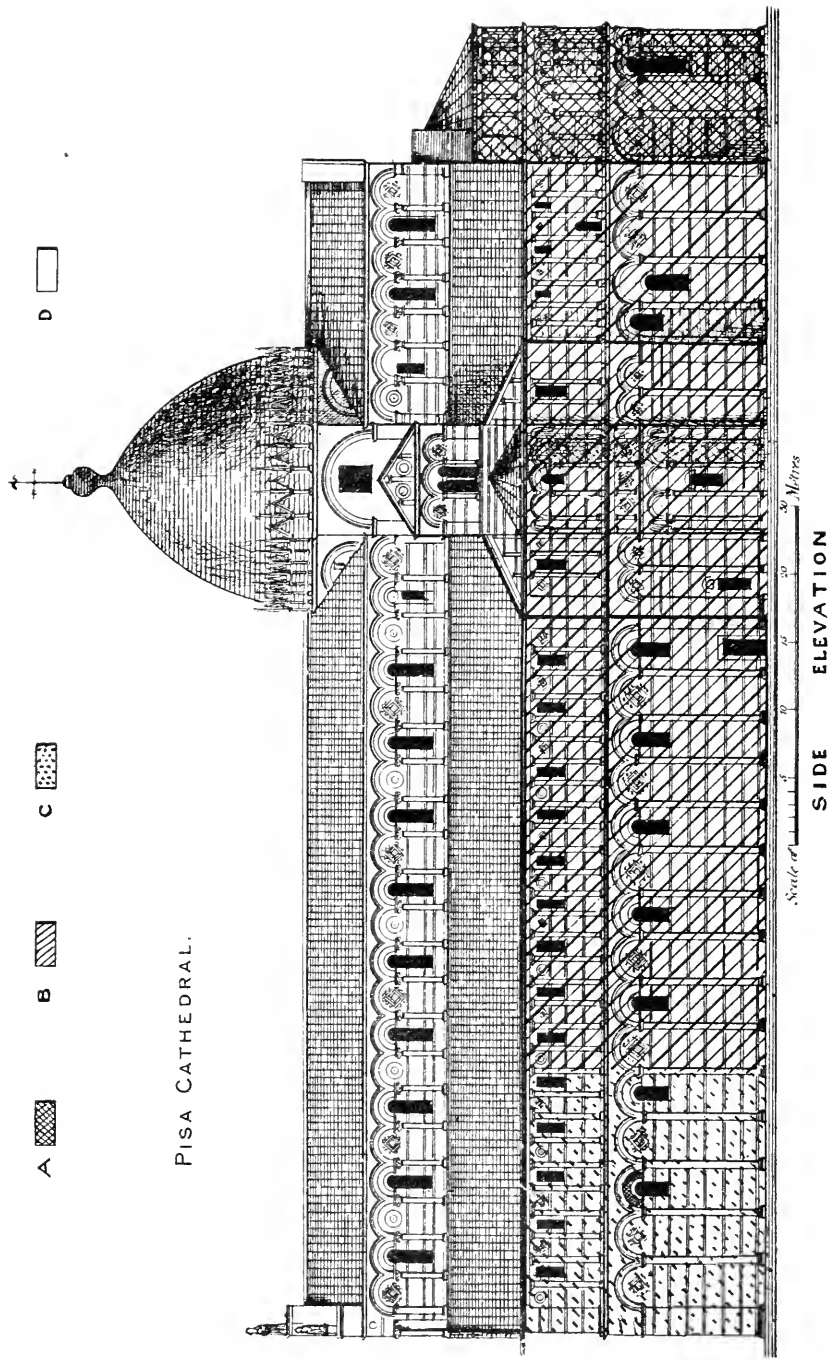
But I will first treat of the Baptistry, which, though quite detached from the cathedral locally, is necessarily connected with it historically. This was founded in 1153, but again only the ground floor is of that period, and it is very beautiful *Italian Romanesque*, especially the rich doorway, of which M. Rohault gives one of his beautiful engravings; but here again the work was suspended for a long time for want of funds, and was resumed in 1278, as is recorded by an inscription, and then it seems to have gone on very slowly, for the greater part of the work is evidently of the fourteenth century, as may be seen by comparing it with the Campo Santo, where the dates of different parts of the cloisters are recorded by inscriptions; part of it was founded in 1278.²

This work corresponds in style with work of the same

¹ A, is the oldest part; B, the second period; C, the additions at the west end; D, modern.

² A.D. M.CC.LXXVII. Tempore Domini Federici Archiepiscopi Pisani, et Domini Terlati Potestatis. Operario Orlando Sardella; Johanne Magistro edificante.





PISA CATHEDRAL.

WEST FRONT

Scale of Feet 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

Partly Old Materials

REVISED

REVISED

FRONT

WEST

period in England. This was the work of John of Pisa, who died in 1320.

The other churches in the town throw light on the architectural history of the cathedral, or chief church, by the principle of comparison, as is usual everywhere. There are several good churches in Pisa of the twelfth century, and others of the thirteenth, of which engravings are given by M. Rohault. Some of these are beautiful examples of their respective periods, and they are generally dated historically or by inscriptions; but their style of architecture is *not in advance* of that of other countries, including England, at the same time. The sculptured ornament is more beautifully executed, for the Italians are hereditary sculptors, and were perhaps in advance of any other country in sculpture after the fall of the Roman Empire, excepting the Byzantine Greeks, whose work does not bear on the question.

At Pisa, the west front of the Church of St. Paul (San Paolo a ripa) is that of the cathedral in miniature, and the tradition is that it was the type followed by the architect, or rather that it is by the same designer; the facts sustaining the correctness of the tradition are very remarkable. Here also the lower story is quite different in character from all above it. This lower west wall is dated by an inscription upon it, in the interior, A.D. 1195.¹ In this instance the inscription is cut on part of the original construction. The date agrees well with the character of the arcades of the nave, which have pointed arches in the style which, in England, would be *Transitional Norman*. There is another inscription in the eastern part of the church, but this part has been rebuilt, and the inscription built in from the old wall, as at the cathedral. The upper part of the west front is a series of three of the elegant arcades of the thirteenth century. But there is a palpable difference in the construction of the wall in all above the ground floor.

San Frediano, *founded* in 1007, is perhaps really of the eleventh century, although probably half a century in construction, and if so is in advance of England or of the north of France, *at that period*. The

¹ By some accident the two inscriptions in this church have escaped the notice of M. Rohault in his excellent work.

west front is good, but simple and plain, and it has four small round holes, two over the west window, and in the gable of that end, and one in the sloping lean-to roof of the aisle on each side, probably to give air to the timbers of the roof, a wise precaution, often neglected in England ; but the small round holes do occur in English churches of the eleventh century. There is here the shallow external panelling, resembling arches built in, which is a good Italian feature, not often met with elsewhere.

The Church of St. Peter (San Pietro-a-grado) is a good and simple Romanesque church, with a semi-detached campanile, of the early part of the twelfth century. M. Rohault gives the date of 1100 to it, and this may be the time when it was *begun*, but it would take some years in building. The style is too light for the earlier date. It has three apses at the east end, and one at the west, with side walls and slender piers to the aisles. This cannot be very *early* in the twelfth century.

San Agatha is attributed to A.D. 1063. It is a singular structure, a small octagonal chapel, with an acute pyramidal roof. The windows, one in each bay, are of two lights, with slender shafts ; over each is one of the small round holes before mentioned. The walls are built of brick, after the Roman fashion, but not of Roman bricks. The mouldings and the capitals agree with the latter part of the eleventh century.

St. Sepulchre is one of the octagonal churches, built in imitation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem by the Crusaders, after their return. They were generally built by the order of the Knights Templars, and were for the most part erected after A.D. 1187. This is a small octagonal building, with a small central space, and wide aisle round it, and a conical roof over the central part only ; the aisles have nearly flat lean-to roofs. There is a good Romanesque campanile, of light character, detached, but almost touching the church ; and in the lower part of the wall of this is an inscription—

“ VIVIS OPERIS FABRICATOR.
DSTE SALVETR. MINAT.”

giving the name of Deodatus Salvi as the builder : the same name occurs in the wall of the Baptistry of the

time of the foundation, 1153, in another original inscription. We may, therefore, safely assign this Church of the Sepulchre to the latter half of the twelfth century. It has acutely-pointed arches, of the transitional character, and all the details agree with this.

One of the towers in the wall of the town is of the same transitional character, and was evidently inhabited.

The church of St. Nicholas is attributed to the celebrated architect, Nicholas of Pisa, the founder of the Pisan School. He is said to have had great influence during his life, and built churches at Venice, Siena, Pistoia (this one dated A.D. 1240), and Florence, as well as in Pisa, where we have, besides this church of his name, those of St. Catherine and St. Francis. St. Nicholas has a detached campanile, octagonal in plan, with shallow external panelling, a very light round-headed arcade, and a small octagonal pyramidal roof. The west front would be called in England late Norman, because the external panels and the windows are all round-headed; but it is here called Gothic, and justly so, for the details are of that style. The foundations of the campanile have given way a little on one side, making another leaning tower, but here, as at the cathedral, and, long before that time, at the Muro Torto, in Rome, the builders have gone on with the work, not alarmed by the leaning over.

St. Catherine is more decidedly Gothic in character; in the lower part the panels are round-headed, but in the upper part the arcades are pointed and very elegant Gothic. It has a square east end and aisles to the chancel only; the nave is long and narrow, without aisles, but with four altars on each side against the walls.

St. Francis, by the same architect, also has a square east end, with side aisles to the chancel only, and a long narrow nave. There are seven altars against the east wall, after the same fashion as the nine altars at Durham, of about the same period, but here there are also four altars on each side of the nave. There is a cloister against the north wall, and a chapter house at the end of the north transept.

John of Pisa, the son of Nicholas, inherited all the talent of his father, and for some years they worked

together: at Cortona their names are mentioned in the same inscription in the wall of the campanile of St. Margaret.

The Spina at Pisa is considered as the masterpiece of John of Pisa, and is an exquisite little gem, but much mutilated. M. Rohault has restored it on paper admirably, but in reality it has suffered very much from ill-usage of all kinds. It is built in the bed of the River Arno, against the bank, by the side of a street, which is a great thoroughfare. It is said to have been built in 1230, by the citizens of Pisa, enthusiastically, to receive one of the spines of the crown of thorns. The great floods of the river have damaged it more than once, and the malice of ignorant men also; but the bad restorations attempted have perhaps injured the architectural character more than anything else. The latest restoration is said to have really restored it, in a great degree, to its pristine beauty. M. Rohault's excellent drawings at least show what it has been. At the east are three small octagonal spires, surmounted by figures, standing on beautiful capitals. At the west end are five pinnacles, with figures under canopies in them, the back grounds left open, and on the top of the two outer ones are other figures standing upon the canopies. It was an exquisite little gem, and, as M. Rohault says, deserves to have been kept under a glass cover.

The Campo Santo has been mentioned as being of two periods. It is called the last glory of the Pisan Republic, and was founded in 1278, as recorded by an inscription, in which John of Pisa is mentioned as *Magister Operum*. Some records say that it was very long in building; it is a beautiful and lofty cloister, full of tombs. The original windows are among the most valuable of the period. They are of four lights, divided by slender shafts, with trefoils and quatrefoils in the heads; they correspond to the cloister and chapter house of Salisbury, but are lighter. The walls have the Italian shallow panelling, the panels being round-headed; but this is usual in Italian Gothic. Over the door is a beautiful set of niches and canopies, over a group of sculpture of the adoration of the Magi. M. Rohault gives a plan of the cloister, and details of this beautiful burial ground.

The Church of St. Michael has the same feature of a group of sculpture, under canopies corbelled out over the doorway, and the style of art is so much the same, that it must be of the same period as the Campo Santo, the end of the thirteenth century—the time of our beautiful buildings and crosses of Edward I. and Merton College Chapel; but *at that time* Pisa was certainly not in advance of style over England. There is a crypt under this church, with some original painting in the vault, of which M. Rohault gives an engraving. He also gives a series of beautiful engravings of Pisan sculpture; but these belong to another subject.

THE HISTORY OF CASTLE ASHBY.¹

By R. G. SCRIVEN.

The history of Castle Ashby has already received considerable attention. Bridges wrote a sketch of it for his *History of Northamptonshire*, and Baker afterwards wrote a full and detailed account, which was published in Robinson's *Vitruvius Britannicus*. More lately Mr. S. S. Campion has written an *Historical and descriptive sketch of the Castle and Grounds, with Biographical Notices of the Northampton and Compton Peerages*, which is published by Messrs. Taylor and Son, Northampton. I now propose to give a short sketch of the early history of Castle Ashby, condensed mainly from Mr. Baker's valuable monograph; a descriptive history of the mansion and church, derived from various sources; and an account of the planting and other improvements in the garden and parks, taken from the estate accounts, and corroborated by many interesting particulars handed down by tradition, and kindly furnished to me by Lord and Lady Alwyne Compton.

Castle Ashby is first mentioned as "Asebi," in the time of Edward the Confessor, when it was rated to the value of 20s. yearly. The name of its Saxon lord is not recorded. At the time of the Domesday Survey, it was held by Hugh under the Countess Judith, to whom it was presented by her uncle William the Conqueror, together with immense estates in other parts of the country. The estates of the Countess Judith afterwards constituted the honor of Huntingdon, and on the distribution among the coheirs, consequent on the failure of the Scotch line of the earldom, the feudal service of this manor was included in the purparty of Henry de Hastings, ancestor of the Earl of Pembroke. Various owners seem to have succeeded Hugh as lord of the

¹ Read at Castle Ashby, August 2nd, 1878.

manor of "Asebi," or Esseby, but no regular order of succession can be traced until the reign of Henry III, when David de Esseby was lord. This David, according to Baker, was probably a native of, and certainly designated from, the village of which he was lord, and the village was also indebted to him for its first distinctive name, being called for some time after in legal documents by the name of Ashby David.

David de Esseby forfeited his lands in the reign of King John, for adherence to the barons; but in 1st Henry III (1217) a writ was directed to Fulke de Breaut to restore the lands of David de Assebi, on his return to fealty and the service of the king; and in 3rd Henry III (1219) he had the honour of being one of three individuals to whom the custody of the lands of his paramount lord, the late Earl David, were committed during the royal pleasure. We do not hear of him again until about 1242, when, in the Testa de Nevill, David de Esseby is certified to hold one fee in Esseby and Grendon, of the fees of the honor of Huntingdon, of the purparty of Henry Hastings. A little later he is reported to have taken part with his son Stephen in the rising of the barons against the king, and to have been, with the Earl of Gloucester, at the Battle of Lewes, where the royal army was defeated and the king taken prisoner. The next year, however, Prince Edward raised an army and defeated the barons at Evesham, after which the lands of the offending barons and their adherents were confiscated, and amongst them the lands of David de Esseby. David, however, is said to have enfeoffed Moefin, the Jew of the manor of Ashby, some time before this, who had enfeoffed Alan la Zouch and Elena his wife, so that when in 1268 the confiscated lands came to be redeemed, there were two applicants for them—Isabella, as daughter of Stephen, the son of David de Esseby (both David and Stephen having died in the meantime), and Alan la Zouch, as owner of the lands by purchase. Alan la Zouch was confirmed in the possession of the lands after considerable litigation, and died shortly after in 1269; but Elena, his wife, who was jointly enfeoffed with him in the manor, survived him for many years, and gave the manor to her younger son,

Oliver la Zouch, who in 1295 was certified to hold one fee in Esseby, and part of Grendon, in Wymersly hundred of John de Hastings. The Zouches, however, did not continue long in the possession of the manor, for early in the next century, we find it in the possession of Walter de Langton, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, who, in 1306, had licence to embattle his mansions at Beauderset in Staffordshire, Ashby David, and elsewhere. The words of the record are "*Kernellare mansum suum,*" and are interesting as giving the first hint of the castellated building which existed here at that time, and from which the parish ultimately took the name of Castle Ashby. The bishop had extensive possessions in this and other counties, and was also Treasurer of the Exchequer, in which capacity he gave offence to the Prince of Wales, who was of dissolute and expensive habits, by refusing to advance to him out of the Exchequer more than the limited weekly allowance assigned him by the king. A quarrel ensued, in which the king took the part of his minister, banished the prince from court, and would not suffer him to enter his presence until he had made satisfaction. The bishop, however, had soon cause to regret this quarrel with the heir to the throne, as on the accession of the Prince of Wales as Edward II, he went through many vicissitudes of fortune. We find him first deprived of his office, his lands seized, and himself imprisoned in Windsor Castle, and afterwards in the Tower, where he remained for four years—then again restored to favour in 1311, when he was liberated and his lands restored, and himself reappointed Treasurer of the Exchequer—and again very shortly afterwards discharged from his office by the Barons, who had become all-powerful, excommunicated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and obliged to leave the country to appeal to the Pope. He died in 1321, but he had previously given the Manor of Ashby to his sister Alice, whose husband, Robert Peverel, in 9th Edward II, 1315, was certified to be lord. Her husband died, and she married Thomas Verdon, and died in 1349, leaving John Peverel, her grandson and heir, aged nineteen, who, dying in the same year, was succeeded in his inheritance by his only sister and heiress, Margaret, wife of Sir William de la Pole. At this time we have the first

mention of the name of Castle Ashby, in a deed by which "Willielmus de la Pole, miles, dominus de Castel Assheby," and Margaret his wife conveyed away the manors of Brington and Ashley. The deed is dated at Castel Assheby in 1358, but the name of Ashby David continued to be used occasionally as late as the reign of Elizabeth. The property descended in due order to John de la Pole, son of William and Margaret, and from him to his daughter and heiress, Joan, who was also Lady Cobham in right of her mother, but from this point the succession becomes complicated by a great number of marriages, Joan having five husbands, while Isabella, who as wife of John Peverel had also a claim on the property, had four. However, Isabella married for her fourth husband, Sir Gerard de Braybrooke, and Joan married for her second husband his younger brother, Sir Reginald Braybrooke, and by a joint deed dated at Ashby David, the castle and manors of Ashby and Chadstone were entailed upon the Braybrookes, by whom the property was finally sold to the family of Grey de Ruthin in 1424.

I do not propose to go particularly into the history of the next hundred years, which were for Castle Ashby merely a period of decay. The family of Grey de Ruthin had their patrimonial residence at the neighbouring village of Yardley Hastings, and allowed the old castle at Castle Ashby to fall into ruins. Their own fortune also was wasted by the heedless extravagance of their successor, Richard, third Earl of Kent, who in 1505 sold the manor and advowson of Ashby Davy to Sir John Hussey, who, in 1512, resold it with a large quantity of land adjoining to William Compton, Esq., afterwards Sir William Compton. The title was, however, disputed on the ground that Richard Earl of Kent had no right to alienate the property, and it was not until 1573 that the Comptons became peaceably and indisputably possessed of the manor which has continued in the family until the present time.

I have shown that the old castle probably fell into ruins soon after the property came into the hands of the family of Grey de Ruthin. Leland thus describes it shortly afterwards, "Almost in the middle way betwixte Wellingborow and Northampton I passed Asheby more than a mile of on the left hand, wher hath been a castle

that now is clene down, and is made but a septum for bestes."

Sir William Compton leased it in 1522 for sixty one years to George Carleton, and it is described in a survey of 1565 as "the manor and farm of Asheby David, with all the desmesne lands, whereunto pertaineth the old ruined castle and a building called le Porter's Lodge or le Gatehouse," and an enclosure called the "Castell Yarde," containing by estimation two acres of pasture worth 2s. 6d. each yearly. I may mention here that a piece of massive foundation from the corner of an old building was found in removing the earth for the new garden levels in 1860, which may have belonged to the old castle, but with this doubtful exception no trace of it remains.

The lease expired in 1583, and Baker fixes the date of the commencement of the present mansion between that time and 1589, when Henry Lord Compton died. That Henry Lord Compton began the building is certain from the following mention of it in Camden's *Britannia*, "From hence Nene maketh haste away by Castle Ashbey, where Henry Lord Compton began to build a faire stately house;" but it may possibly have been earlier than the expiration of the lease, as the arms of his first wife, Lady Frances Hastings, daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon, appear with his in the spandril of the north doorway of the western tower leading into the inner court. However this may be, the building was continued by William, the second Lord Compton, to whom it was one of the special requests of his wife, the rich heiress of Sir John Spencer, that he would "build up Ashby house." The original building consisted of three sides, and was probably complete when King James and his queen visited it in 1605, the cloisters and gallery on the south side which closes the quadrangle and some considerable portion of the east front having been designed and added by Inigo Jones a few years later. Bridges describes the building as follows: "It was finished in 1624, the sides to the north and east were designed by Inigo Jones. That on the east was originally open with cloisters to the garden, but they are now filled up. Within the quadrangle on the southern side is a cloister, and at the

east end is a handsome chapel. This wing is adorned with the family crests, many military trophies, and other ensigns of honour. At two of the corners is a high small tower, with these words, *Nisi Dominus*, at the top, and on the battlements running round the eastern side in great letters of stone, is this verse of the Psalms: *NISI DOMINVS AEDIFICAVERIT DOMVM IN VANVM LABORAVERVNT QUI AEDIFICANT EAM*, and this concludes with the date, 1624. Answering to it on the other side is a like verse." I must however take exception to Bridges' statement, that the east side was originally open with cloisters to the garden as being of doubtful accuracy. Bridges does not state from what source he derived his information, which is entirely uncorroborated by anything I have been able to discover. The appearance of arches over the windows on the east side might at the first glance give some credit to the idea, but a more close inspection will show that the mouldings of the arches are continued down the perpendiculars of the windows underneath them, without any apparent break, and there is no definite line of separation between the masonry of the piers on which the arches rest, and the wall between them, which would probably have been the case if they had been filled up at a later date. I therefore only give Bridges' statement for what it is worth.

In Colin Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, published in 1731, is an elevation of the south front and two plans of the house. These however do not require much comment. The elevation seems to have been taken from Inigo Jones' original design for the alteration of the house, and the author does not seem to have taken the trouble to compare it with the actual state of the house, or he would have indicated that a great part of the design was never carried out. It involved not only the connecting cloister and gallery, but an almost entire reconstruction of the two wings, which however still remain in their original state. The plans show the house in very much its present state, with one important exception, that there was an open courtyard deeply recessed on the north front, which however was filled up in 1720, or ten years before the date of publication of Campbell's *Vitruvius*. I find in some old estate accounts

the following entries which refer to this alteration. October 3rd to November 21st, 1719, ten men employed "building a new bow window to the house," and again from March 1720, to February 1722, or about two years, fourteen men were employed almost constantly "building part of the north front of the house." This alteration was very skilfully made, and the masonry so carefully copied, that it would escape observation if not specially pointed out.

The next alteration of any importance was made in 1771, to the great hall. The hall had probably originally an open timber roof, and is shown in some old paintings with a high pitched gable, elevated above the rest of the building. I find, on the 1st June, 1771, some men employed in "assisting in taking down the great hall," and on the 1st December, 1772, "clearing the great hall for flooring," and in 1774 a bill was paid of £45 12s. 6d., for new roof to great hall, though the work was done most probably soon after the taking down of the old one. The new roof was made to the same level as the rest of the house, with a poor plaster ceiling under it. The ceiling has been recently taken down, and the hall is now again in process of reconstruction. The only other important alteration to the exterior was the addition of the third text, *BEATI OMNES QUI TIMENT*, &c., running round the north side, which was added by Spencer Joshua Alwyne, second Marquis, and which bears the date 1827. The house contains a large number of valuable paintings and works of art, collected by the successive noble proprietors.

The parish church, which is situated in the grounds immediately adjoining the castle, forming a charming foreground to the landscape, will be found of considerable interest to the archæologist. It consists of a nave, north and south aisles, and porches, a chancel, lady chapel, and a small embattled tower, containing five bells. It is generally considered as dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, as the feast follows that day, but Bridges says, without giving his authority, that it ought "more properly to follow Nicholas the Bishop." The north porch is the oldest part of the building, and has always been a crux to archæologists, combining, as it does, the late Norman

zigzag with the Early English dogtooth. In the opinion of Mr. Edmund Sharpe, of Lancaster, quoted in Mr. Taylor's pamphlet, the doorway is transitional, while, on the other hand, it is suggested that it was originally pure Norman, and that the dogtooth ornament has been subsequently cut upon the square mouldings of the Norman arch. However this may be, the arch is probably part of an older church at Castle Ashby or elsewhere, and was rebuilt in its present position at the time of the building of the north aisle. Over it is a parvise, with the remains of a staircase communicating with the church, in which lived, so late as 1624, according to local tradition, an old woman, who was the first to discover the fire which destroyed part of the mansion in that year. The north aisle is of the Decorated period, the windows at each end of it being singularly beautiful.¹ The small chapel at the east end of the aisle was originally separated from it by a screen, some fragments of which remained at the commencement of the present century. The remainder, and larger part of the church, the nave and chancel, with the south aisle and the tower, is in good Perpendicular work of an early period. I should here notice that the small niche in the wall of the south aisle is not part of the original fabric, having been brought from one of the neighbouring villages, about the beginning of the present century. In the chancel is a fine brass, which is described in Hudson's *Monumental Brasses of Northamptonshire*. It represents the figure of an ecclesiastic, wearing a cope, and bearing on his breast the arms, a saltire, on a chief a lion passant; on the cope are the figures of ten saints, with their emblems and names written in Gothic characters—on the right side, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Andrew, St. Nicholas, and St. Lawrence; and on the left, St. Anna, St. Catherine, St. Margaret, St. Mary Magdalene, and St. Elena.

Mr. Hudson notes that it had originally four shields, one at each corner of the slab, and was surrounded by a marginal inscription, all of which, however, have been abstracted, and the figure alone remains in perfect preservation, to testify to the pristine beauty of the whole. The

¹ The eastern window has lately been filled up with stained glass, representing

the Ascension, painted by Lady Marian Alford.

loss of the inscription is the more to be regretted, as it would possibly have thrown some light upon the date of the building. The figure is identified by the arms as that of William Eyremyn, who was rector of the parish from 1367 to 1401, and I would venture to suggest that the Perpendicular part of the church may have been completed during his long incumbency, and that the brass was laid in the chancel partly in commemoration of the event.

On the floor of the Lady Chapel is a very interesting monumental effigy of early date, which is very fully described in Hartshorne's *Recumbent Monumental Effigies of Northamptonshire*, and is attributed by Mr. Hartshorne to David de Esseby, who has been already mentioned as lord of the manor in the early part of the thirteenth century. The effigy, which is that of a knight in a closely fitting suit of ring mail, carved in highly polished Purbeck marble, originally lay on an altar tomb under the arch between the chancel and the Lady Chapel, but was removed to its present position when the church was restored. The church also contains some very beautiful modern monuments. The earliest, in memory of Margaret, wife of Spencer the second Marquis, who died in 1830 is by Tenerani of Rome, as is also the fine angel figure under the tower arch, erected in memory of Spencer, second Marquis, who died in 1851, by his son the late Marquis of Northampton. The very beautiful monument which is placed under a recessed arch in the wall of the north aisle in memory of Lady Margaret Leveson Gower, is by Baron Marochetti, and was one of his latest works.

The church, which has recently been very completely restored, also contains the fine oak pulpit which was very probably designed by Inigo Jones.

Having now described the principal objects of interest to the student of architecture in Castle Ashby, a brief sketch shall be given of the various alterations which have been made from time to time in the gardens and park surrounding the mansion. Although the house was finished in 1624, it seems hardly likely that much progress was made in laying out the grounds, owing to the disturbed state of the country from the civil war which broke out soon afterwards. The Comptons suffered much

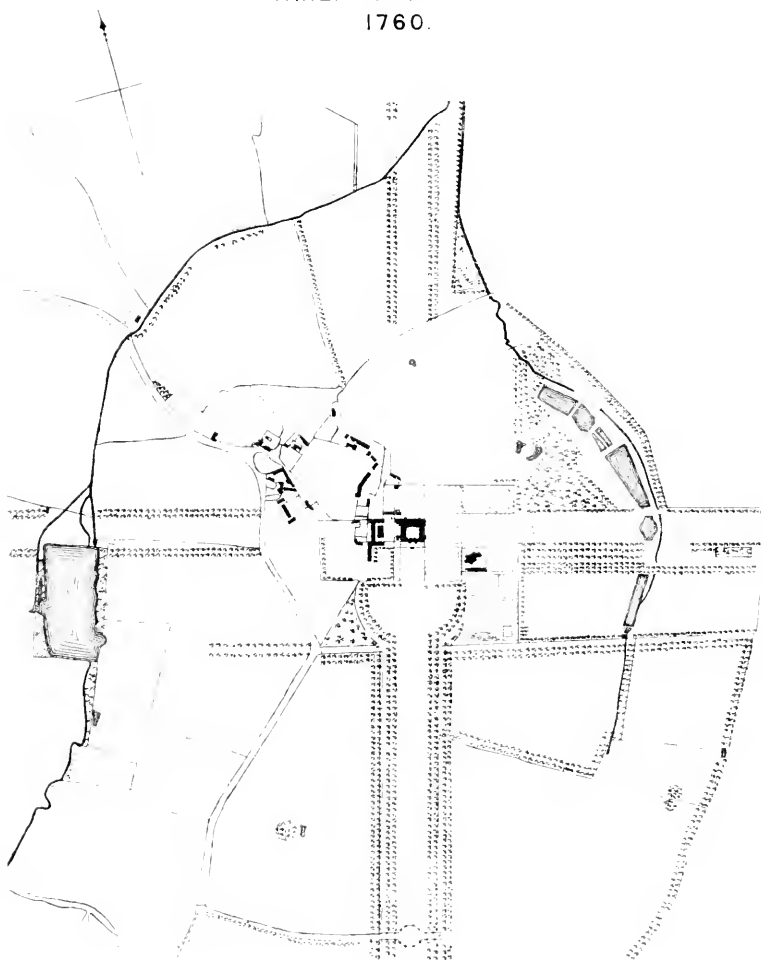
in the royal cause, of which they were ardent supporters, and seem at that time and for some years after the restoration to have made their chief residence at Compton Wynyates, where they rebuilt the church in 1663. We find them, however, returning to Ashby towards the end of the century, and, in common with many of the land-owners of the time, inspired with the love of improvement, which the publication of Evelyn's *Silva* in 1664 had done so much to promote. Evelyn himself visited Castle Ashby in 1688, and gives an amusing account of his visit, which does not seem to have been a pleasant one. He was staying with Lady Spencer, who drove him over from Althorp. He says, "My lady carried us to see Lord Northampton's seat, a very strong large house, built with stone, not altogether modern. They were enlarging the garden, in which was nothing extraordinary, except the iron gate opening into the park, which indeede was very good worke, wrought in flowers painted with blue and gilded. There is a noble walk of elms towards the front of the house by the bowling greene. I was not in any roome of the house besides a lobby looking into the garden, where my Lord and his new Countesse entertained the Countesse and her daughter, the Countesse of Arran, with so little good grace and so dully that our visite was very short, and so we returned to Althorp, 12 miles distant." This was in the time of George, fourth Earl of Northampton, who was under age when he succeeded his father in 1681. The "noble walk of elms," of which Evelyn speaks, is no part of the present avenue, which was not then planted. George, fourth Earl, did a great deal for the improvement of the place, and I am able from the estate accounts, which were very completely kept, to give exact details of the employment of the labourers.

The great avenue was originally a very fine example. It had four rows of trees on each side for the greater part of the distance, and the lines were planted with limes and elms alternately. The two outer rows have been almost entirely cut away, and the limes, with the exception of six, have been cut out of the inner rows, so that only the elms remain. Besides the principal avenue, three others were planted in the following years, 1702,

1706, and 1709. In 1701 the men were employed in "making a new pond in Parke," and in 1708-9 levelling and walling new kitchen gardens, greenhouse gardens, and a bowling green, which formed part of a great garden extending down the park far beyond the boundaries of the present flower garden, and of which the foundations now remain. Another new pond was made in 1718-19, and in 1723 we have a very interesting entry of seven men "taking up chesnuts in the nursery and planting in Park," which are probably the great horse-chesnuts now standing. It may be interesting to state that the wages of masons and carpenters at this time were 14d. per day; of labourers, 8d.; wheat, a luxury, was about 30s. per quarter; barley, 16s.; beans, 16s.; oats, 12s.; butter was 5d. a pound, and eggs 4d. a dozen.

After the death of Lord Northampton in 1727 the work came to a pause, and his successors seem to have been satisfied with keeping up what had been already done. In 1760, a very complete survey was made of the parish with an admirable map. From this it will be seen that the four great avenues extended south, east, west and north, with a series of small ponds rather formal in outline. This plan was probably made preparatory to the next great change which was begun about this time either by Charles, seventh Earl of Northampton, who died in 1764, or by his immediate successor, Spencer, eighth earl, from the plans, and under the management of Lawrence Brown, well known as Capability Brown. At this time the old walled garden was entirely swept away, the two ponds known as the Park Pond and the Menagerie Pond, were made out of the small ponds already referred to, and the whole of the plantation walks surrounding the park were laid out and planted. It is recorded that the next heir to the property, Charles, ninth Earl and first Marquis, who was born in 1760, was forbidden when a boy to jump over the great cedar tree which now stands in the plantation. The work of improvement however came to a sudden termination owing to the embarrassment caused by the expense attending the great election of 1767-8, in which Lord Northampton was one of the principal movers. "Capability" Brown was paid for his work by the gift

A PLAN
OF THE PARISH OF
CASTLE ASHBY
TAKEN IN THE YEAR
1760.



of a manor, one of many lost to the family at that time, and amongst the papers at Castle Ashby is a curious memorandum of land at Fenny Compton conveyed to "Lawrence Brown, Taste, esquire, in return for taste," by Spencer Lord Northampton.

Lord Northampton went abroad soon after, and resided for the remainder of his life in Switzerland, and the trustees in whom the property was vested had enough to do to make both ends meet, without undertaking any expenses which were not absolutely necessary. Nothing of any consequence was, therefore, done until the beginning of the present century, when Charles, 9th Earl and 1st Marquis of Northampton, came to the possession of the estate. He began the series of ponds extending along the north side of the park, and planted a great deal of timber in that direction. This work was also continued by his son, Spencer Joshua Alwyne, 2nd Marquis, by whom it was completed in its present form. The immediate surroundings of the mansion, however, remained as they were left by Capability Brown, until the accession to the property of Charles Douglas, the 3rd and late Marquis of Northampton, to whom the place owes much of its magnificence. He laid out the beautiful gardens, which, rising terrace above terrace, form so fitting a basement for the house; and the arrangement of the flower beds is mainly from his own design. He also brought from Rome the ironwork, which was made into the handsome gates facing the great avenue. He made a new kitchen garden at a greater distance from the house, and on the site of the old kitchen garden he laid out a beautiful winter garden, surrounded by choice shrubs, and adorned by new greenhouses, one of which is probably one of the finest buildings of the kind in the kingdom. He made new waterworks, those completed in 1700 having become insufficient. He also laid out and planted the new park near the station, and made a great number of other improvements on the estate, which will furnish much material for the future historian.

PARISH CHURCHES IN THE YEAR 1548.

By J. T. MICKLETHWAITE.¹

In preparing for this meeting a concise description of the arrangements and ornaments of a mediæval English parish church, it has seemed to me that it would add to the interest of the subject if special note were made of the state of things in one particular year. I have, therefore, chosen the year 1548, which subsequent events made the most important during the vaguely defined period which we call the Reformation. That period was one of rapid and often violent innovation, and to understand rightly how matters stood at any given date it is necessary to distinguish carefully between changes which had already taken place, and others which were not made till later. I do not intend to discuss now how far particular changes had constitutional authority. Some no doubt had it, and some as certainly had not; others, again, illegal at the time, were afterwards accepted and allowed; whilst, such was the confusion of the times, that of not a few changes, it is really difficult to say whether they were lawfully made or not. But our present enquiry is, what was the condition of the churches? not by whose authority they came to be such as they were.

The first step is to ascertain what services were in use in 1548. The first Prayer Book of Edward VI. did not receive the authority of Parliament till January 21st, 1549,² at which time it certainly was not published, even if it were printed. It, therefore, could not possibly have been in use in 1548, so we must seek for something earlier. Now towards the end of 1547 an act was passed (1st Edward VI., cap. 1) ordering the communion to be given in both kinds, and in accordance with this, there

¹ Read in the Section of Antiquities, at the Northampton Meeting, Aug. 5th, 1878.

² Its use was not compulsory until the

Whitsun-day following—which fell on June 9th, 1549—or till three weeks after a copy had been procured.

was shortly after put forth a book called the *Order of Communion*, which was ordered to come into use on the following Easter Day, which fell on April 1st. Whatever then is found in that book may be taken as representing, so far as it goes, the usage of the last nine months of 1548. But before examining it in detail, it will be well to enquire what other authorities exist.

Going back into the reign of Henry VIII., we find a number of Acts of Parliament relating to ecclesiastical affairs, but none of them directly bear upon matters we are now considering. The suppression of monasteries caused the destruction of many noble buildings, but made no change in secular churches. And the act (37th Henry VIII., cap. 4), which confiscated for the king's use the property of "colleges, free chapels, chantries, hospitals, fraternities, brotherhoods, guylds, stipendiary priests, and divers others," did not affect parish churches, except by taking away endowed lights, and those which most guilds were accustomed to keep up, and by taking away the use of such altars as belonged exclusively to chantries. The last would make very little difference in parish churches, for chantries in them were generally founded at public altars.¹ This act did not forbid the endowment of new lights and chantries. Indeed, it seems that such were founded, for another act three years later (1st Edward VI., cap. 14), confirming the first, specially mentions endowments made since it was passed.²

For the last ten or twelve years of the reign of Henry VIII., there had been a quick succession of orders and injunctions by all kinds of authority, some pushing forward innovation, and others holding strongly to the old state of things. But fortunately we are saved the trouble of analysing these by the injunctions put forth in 1547 by the Privy Council in the name of the king, which seem to have had indirectly the authority of Parliament,³ but

¹ There seems to be some confusion, even amongst antiquaries, as to the meaning of the word *chantry*. It may, therefore, be well to explain that a chantry is an ecclesiastical foundation, and not a piece of architecture. It is a foundation for the maintenance of certain services at a certain place, which place might or might not be provided for the purpose. In parish churches they

were generally founded at existing altars—sometimes at the high altars; and there might be more than one at the same altar.

² The injunctions of 1547 say that the endowments of guilds and lights are to go to the poor's box. So that there must then have been some unconfiscated.

³ By Act 31st Henry VIII., c. 8.

apparently not of Convocation. They are a sort of re-edition of a set of injunctions issued by Cromwell in 1536, in his character of "king's vicar-general *in rebus ecclesiasticis*," and they contain very little which had not appeared before in one form or other. They may be taken as representing the extreme departure from ancient customs, which was considered lawful at the date of their issue. That they must not be interpreted to mean more than they express, we are warned by a proclamation in February 1548, against "all that do innovate, alter, or leave down any rite or ceremony in the church of their private authority." The same proclamation, however, prepared the way for further alterations, by authorising Cranmer to make them simply on his own authority. This, I need scarcely say, was quite unconstitutional. But even earlier than this Cranmer had been acting as if he possessed irresponsible power.

The injunctions of 1547 seem generally to have been accepted and obeyed, although not without protest in some cases. The chief provisions which affect the church fabrics and ornaments are, that such images as the curates of churches know to have been abused by pilgrimages or offerings, or which shall be censed to, shall be taken away and destroyed, but only by the curates or by their authority; not by private persons. That no torches nor candles, tapers, or images of wax, be set before any image or picture, "but only two lights upon the high altar before the Sacrament, which, for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world, they shall suffer to remain still." I shall shortly have to examine into the meaning of this, but now go on with the injunctions. It was ordered that images which had not been abused should remain, but men were to be taught that they served "for a remembrance only." The English Bible and the paraphrases of Erasmus on the Gospels were to be set up in every church where the parishioners could have access to them. All shrines and ornaments connected with them were to be taken away; the destruction of relics which had begun in 1538 was by this time tolerably complete. All pictures and other "monuments" of feigned miracles, whether in walls, glass, or elsewhere, were now to be destroyed.¹ A pulpit was to be provided

¹ This order was to apply to private houses as well as churches.

if the church had not one already, and an alms chest to be set up near the high altar.

In the same injunctions we may note the gradual introduction of the English language into the public services. The gospel and epistle at High Mass were to be read in English, and a chapter from the New Testament after the lessons at Matins, and after *Magnificat* at Evensong. The English litany was to be sung before High Mass. The Pater Noster, Creed and Ten Commandments were sometimes to be publicly rehearsed in English, and when people came to shrift in Lent they were to be asked whether they knew them, and, if they did not, Communion was to be refused. All *laudable ceremonies* of the Church not yet abrogated were to be observed.¹ Certain superstitious usages connected with holy water, holy bread, and holy candles, were checked, but the things themselves were retained.

We find then that the changes which had been made up to the beginning of the year 1548, although important, were not such as to produce much visible alteration in parish churches or in the public services. The old Latin service books were still in use only modified by the omission of some holydays, especially the feasts of St. Thomas of Canterbury, of whom Henry VIII had made a sort of personal enemy, and by the erasure of passages which seemed to acknowledge the authority of the Bishop of Rome,² and of rubrics about indulgences. And

¹ How much was covered by this, we may learn from the *Book of Ceremonies* put forth by the Convocation for the province of Canterbury in 1539. It is a sort of explanation and commentary on the ceremonies then in use, and includes all the ancient details of the Mass and other daily services, the vesture and tonsure of the clergy, the bearing of candles on Candlemas-day, the giving of ashes, the covering of the cross and images in Lent, the bearing of palms on Palm Sunday, the services of the three last days of Holy Week, the hallowing of oil and chrisin, the washing of altars, the hallowing of the font on Easter Even, the ceremonies of the resurrection on Easter morning, general and particular processions, holy water, and holy bread. Of most of these, the same epithet as in the *injunctions* is used, and they are said to be *very laudable*. And it does not appear that till

1549 any of them were interfered with, either by lawful authority, or by any authority strong enough to enforce general obedience without question of right. Crammer and his party were in 1548 trying to put down usages connected with certain days, such as the giving of ashes and the bearing of palms, and the ceremonies of Holy Week, but so far they appear not to have effected much except where their immediate influence was powerful. They had not yet ventured to attack the ordinary daily services.

² These alterations were ordered by the Convocation for the province of Canterbury in 1541. In April, 1876, I had the pleasure of exhibiting to the Royal Archaeological Institute, a MS. grayle of Salisbury use, in which some of them may be seen (v. *Journal*, vol. xxxiii, p. 297). It seems not generally to be remembered that the English church after

the celebration of public worship was still surrounded by all its ancient accessories.

Such was the state of things when the *Order of Communion* was put forth in March, 1548. That book as its name implies is an order for *Communion* only, not for the *celebration* of the Holy mysteries. It consists of an address giving notice of the Communion, and exhorting to due preparation for it; another at the time of Communion, beginning, *Dearly beloved in the Lord, Ye coming to this Holy Communion must consider what Saint Paul, writing to the Corinthians, &c. ; the short address, You that do truly ; the general confession and absolution ; the comfortable words ; the prayer of humble access ; the words used in houseling the people ; and the final benediction.* These are all substantially the same as in our present *Book of Common Prayer*, except that the words on communicating the people stop in both cases at *everlasting life*, and have not the second sentence which now follows them. A rubric directs that “the time of communion shall be immediately after the priest himself hath received the Sacrament without varying of any other rite or ceremony in the Mass (until other order shall be provided), but as heretofore the priest hath done with the Sacrament of the Body to prepare, bless, and consecrate so much as will serve the people so it shall continue after the same manner and form, save that he shall bless and consecrate the biggest chalice or some fair and convenient cup or cups full of wine with some water put into it, and that day not drink it up all himself, but taking only one sup or draught, leave the rest upon the altar, covered, and turn to them that are disposed to be partakers of the communion, and shall exhort them as followeth.” Here follows the exhortation and the rest.

No “further order” was provided until the issue of the *Prayer book* of 1549. We have therefore direct proof that to the end of 1548 and till Whitsunday 1549, the services and all that pertained to them continued exactly as they were at the beginning of the former year, except

having rejected the Papal authority continued to use the old service books practically unaltered for a period three times

as long as was covered by both Prayer Books of Edward VI together.

that on certain days¹ when the people were to be houseled, the old Latin Mass had an English form of communion inserted. This is important for our enquiry, because, if the services continued "without varying any rite or ceremony," all objects and ornaments used in those services must have remained and been in use in the churches. The parish church of 1548 was then a late mediaeval church with some alterations which we shall note as we go along.

That the description may be as complete as possible we will suppose our church to be that of an important town parish, and I shall endeavour to distinguish between things usual and those only sometimes to be found. The principal entrance was by the south door, which has almost always a porch and in important churches generally a chamber above. In the porch was often a stock or basin for holy water, but sometimes these were inside the church either in the aisle walls or against a pillar as at Cogenhoe, Northants, or against the western responds as at Cawston church, Norfolk.² Mr. Bloxam in his *Ecclesiastical Architecture* mentions a few churches in Somersetshire, which have had a narrow gallery over the door inside the porch. This gallery was I think for the use of the boys who sang the *Gloria laus et honor* at the procession on Palm Sunday. When there was not a permanent gallery a temporary one was sometimes set up for this use.³ About opposite the south door was one on the north side, and often, but by no means always, there was another at the west end. Near the west end stood the font, generally in the middle of the nave, or if not there, often against the west side of one of the pillars. This font had always a cover which could be locked down. The cover took a variety of forms which are well known. And sometimes the font had over it a canopy either of wood, as at St. Peter's, Mancroft, Nor-

¹ It is clear from the form of the rubric quoted above that the *Order of Communion* was not intended to be used at every Mass, but only at certain times when the people were expected to receive. In most churches it was probably not used more than three or four times before it was superseded.

² Now and then we find a holy water

stock outside the church. There is an example outside the priest's door at Burford church, Oxfordshire.

³ See Rubrics for Palm Sunday services generally. Brand *Pop. Ant.*, i, 130 quotes churchwardens' accounts of St. Mary at Hill, London, for 1531, "For setting up the frame over the porch on Palme Sunday eve, 6d."

wich, or of stone, as at Luton church, Beds. Near it was often a locker in which were kept the oils, salt, and other things required in the old baptismal service. Amongst them was an ewer and basin for the sponsors to wash their hands after a baptism.¹

When the tower stood at the west end, it sometimes had a gallery in it, and I have heard this called the *plough loft*. There is one at Cawston Church, Norfolk, with an inscription on the front, unfortunately too much decayed to be entirely legible, but beginning quaintly *God spede the plow and send us ale corn anow*, and mentioning the *plow lite of Sygate*; Sygate being a hamlet in the parish. In the hand-rail of the loft are holes which may have held pricks for tapers. Margaret Paston,² in 1484, amongst other ecclesiastical legacies left fourpence to a plough light, and such bequests are not uncommon. The lights would have been removed before 1548. I suppose they belonged to some agricultural gild, but it is possible that they were something more. Our ancestors had many strange and more than half pagan customs connected with their agriculture, and the subject is worth further enquiry.³

At Heckington, Lincolnshire, and Harlstone, Northamptonshire, are west galleries of another sort. They are narrow and high up above the tower arches. Neither is the original loft, the first being a barbarous modern Gothic affair, and the other a work of the seventeenth century; but the approaches to both are ancient. That at Heckington has fourteenth century doors in the clerestory walls, opening on to the leads of the aisle roofs; and the Harlstone example is reached by a stone stair from the north aisle of the nave, and has also had a door from the tower.

¹ "Itm: I bequethe to the chyrche of Seynt Jamys a basen and a ewer of pewter hamered to be vsyd at crystnyng of chyldern in the seyd chyrch as long as it will indure."—Will of Agas Herte of Bury 1522, printed in *Bury Wills and Inventories* p. 116. The instructions to be given by the priest to the sponsors after a baptism always end with an order to wash their hands before leaving the church. This was out of reverence to the chrism which they had touched in lifting the child from the font.

² *Paston Letters*, vol. iii, p. 462. The strange word *Aratrub'm* which Mr. Gaird-

ner queries ought certainly to be *Aratrorum*.

³ In the Ripon Treasurer's Roll for 1401-2 is found, "*It. in xij lib. de Rosyne empt. (tam) pro expensis infra ehorum quam pro distribucione carucarum in die Epiphanie Domini xijd.*" What does this mean? I owe the passage to a transcript of the roll made by the Rev. J. T. Fowler, F.S.A., who I hope will some day edit the Ripon Rolls, as a companion volume to the Chapter Acts, already edited by him for the Surtees Society.

These are probably music galleries, and the chief use of the larger gallery inside the tower was probably the same.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century all but very poor parish churches seem to have been furnished with pews,¹ but the whole area was not filled with them, as at a later date. Old pews west of the doors are very rare, but they are found sometimes, as at Brington, Northants. Generally all this space was left clear, and there was a clear area of at least one bay, and often much more at the west end. A church with aisles had nearly always four blocks of pews, and the passages were broad alleys, that in the middle being often more than a third of the width of the nave, and the side passages were not much less. The appropriation of special places to individuals seems to have been usual,² and even that bugbear of modern ecclesiastical reformers, the lock-up pew or closet, was not unknown. These in parish churches were generally chantry chapels, arranged for private services at their own altars and for use as pews during the public services. There is a curious and interesting example at Burford Church, Oxfordshire, in the north-east arch of the nave. It has a little stone reredos over its altar,³ and cut through the reredos is a squint towards the high altar. There is another at Shelsley Walsh, Worcestershire, fitted to the rood screen in an aisleless church. The little parish church of Holne

¹ The earliest pews I have seen are at Dunsfold, Surrey, where they appear to be contemporary with the nave, which is of the end of the thirteenth century. But in 1287 we find pews mentioned as things usual in the acts of a Synod of Exeter, which decreed that to prevent disputes about places they should for the future not be appropriated, but free to the first comers.—WILKINS' *Concilia*, ii. p. 129, &c.

² The ends of pews have sometimes inscriptions, or coats of arms, or personal badges, which tell of their original occupiers. Examples remain at Sandal Magna, Yorkshire, and Brington, Northamptonshire. Langland, at the end of the fourteenth century, describes Envy as "yparked in pwees among wyves and wodewes" (*Text C*, pass. vii. l. 144). And from other passages it appears that the appropriation was at first chiefly to women.

³ This altar has been restored, and is

now in regular use, but, unfortunately the sides of the "closet" have been lowered, so as to make them into a sort of altar rail, which has quite destroyed the character of the chapel. An interesting series of closets remains between the choir and the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick. There is a passage which shews us the closet in use in a letter from Agnes Paston, wherein she describes a scene in Paston church in 1451. Mr. Gairdner in his excellent edition of the *Paston Letters* (vol. i, p. 219) has quite misunderstood it, being led astray by the word *parklos*, which he has strangely taken to mean a park paling. The use of screened off chapels as pews continued after their altars had been destroyed, and new ones of the same type were set up, so that we sometimes find enclosures resembling the chantry chapels, but with the screens of Elizabeth's time, or later.

near Newark has a chapel south of the chancel, and nearly as large as it. This retains its fittings of the sixteenth century, arranged so as to suit worshippers at either altar. I believe that the greater number of the squints to be found in old churches have been for the gratification of private pewholders.¹

The ordinary pews were sometimes benches without backs, as at Reepham, Norfolk, and many churches in that neighbourhood. But oftener they had backs. They were widely spaced and had large bookboards.

The Injunctions of 1547 ordered a pulpit to be provided where there was not one before. I have not met with one which might be thought to have been provided in consequence of that order; unless, perhaps, it be the very pretty Renaissance example which used to be at Rotherham before the church was restored, and perhaps is there yet. Somewhat earlier ones are occasionally found. There seems to have been no fixed position for them, and perhaps they were often made moveable, like one of the beginning of the sixteenth century which remains at Westminster Abbey. One at Sall Church, Norfolk, stands against the middle pillar of the nave on the south side, and it appears to occupy its original site. It is a small hexagonal tub standing on a stem, which is a very usual form. There is another at Cawston, the next parish; it is on the north side, at the second pillar from the east, but this is not certainly its old site.

At Walpole St. Peter, Norfolk, the pulpit has stood on a large stone bracket on the north side of the chancel arch, and was reached from the rood stair; and at Walpole St. Andrew was a similar arrangement on the south side. At Sleaford, Lincolnshire, was a large projection in the middle of the rood loft, which may have been intended for the pulpit. The canopy or sounding board was used, and probably common.

Whether the litany desk was in use so early as 1548 is, I think, very doubtful. It was ordered in 1547 that immediately before High Mass the priests and others of the quire should kneel in the midst of the church and

¹ Most of the rest were for the convenience of those engaged in the service. For instance, there is often a squint from the sacristy towards the high altar, so

that clerks who had to go into the sacristy during the service might follow it there, and know when to return to the church.

sing or say plainly and distinctly the Litany. It was in fact in a new form the station before the rood of the old procession. And we sometimes find contemporary writers speak of the new litany as the *English procession*.

Another possible object in this part of the church might be the confessional. Under the name of the *Shriving pew* we find it mentioned at the beginning of the sixteenth century in the accounts of the parish of St. Margaret Pattens,¹ and as *Shriving house* at St. Christopher at Stock 1523.² The thing then did exist in some places. But both these examples are late and from London, where a new fashion was likely to appear first, and I think that this was a new fashion then lately introduced, and that it was not allowed time to spread very far. The old custom was for the penitent simply to kneel or stand by the side of the priest, who sat in an ordinary chair. We are indeed shewn in many churches things which are called confessionals, for in the archæology of a vergers or a sexton anything with a hole in it is a confessional, but I never saw anything which really looked at all like one, not even that strange closet at Tanfield, which, whatever it may be, is certainly not a confessional.

Somewhere in the nave, or at least in some part of the church to which the parishioners had free access, must have been the desk on which were laid the great Bible and the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus on the Gospels, which were ordered by the injunctions to be provided, and which it appears generally were provided. These were not for public use, but for the private reading of the people; although the English lessons would be not unlikely to be read from the great Bible, as most churches would possess only one copy. The custom of setting books in churches for common use was not a new one. They were sometimes left by will for that purpose, and were chained to desks in any convenient place in the church. The usage was general in the seventeenth century, and chained books of that date are not uncom-

¹ Printed in the *Sacristy*, i. 258.

² See a paper by Mr. Edmund Freshfield, F.S.A., in the forty-fifth volume of the *Archæologia*. The inventory for 1488.

which Mr. Freshfield prints at length, is remarkably full, and gives a most perfect picture of the church and its furniture. I shall quote it freely further on.

mon in old churches. Even so late as the second decade of the present century Prebendary Roberson set up the Book of Homilies for public use in the remarkable church¹ which he built at Liversedge near Leeds, and I am told that there is one later still in a church at Ripon.

Between the nave and the chancel stood the rood screen, which, in the sixteenth century, even in small churches, generally carried a loft. This loft was really a music gallery, and its general introduction seems to have been due to the increase of the use of choral services in parish churches. To a certain extent it took the place of the *pulpitum* of a choir, but it was not exactly the same thing; and I think it was never used for the singing of the Gospel and Epistles, which was the original purpose of the other.² The organ, if there was one—and at the time we are speaking of it seems to have been common—generally stood in the rood loft. It was but a small affair. The loft would contain a few desks for singers; and along the handrail were basons and pricks for tapers. These were so much a recognised part of its furniture, that in Norfolk and Suffolk the popular name for the whole loft was the *Candlebeam*. St. Christopher at Stock had “longyng to the rode loft xxx Bolles of Laton.”

Either from the loft itself, or from a beam above it, rose the great cross or rood, with or without attendant images, and it had been usual to keep at least one lamp constantly burning before it. The injunctions of 1536, which took away many lights, specially retained “the light that commonly goeth a crosse the church by the rode loft.” But as this exception is not repeated in 1547 we must suppose it to have then been taken away.

The screen generally, and the loft sometimes, extended across the aisles, as well as the nave. This was the case at St. Mary's Church, Bury St. Edmunds,

¹ This is a large and lofty building in very fair Gothic for the time. It has aisles and clerestory. There are no galleries, and all the seats face east. There is a real *bonâ fide* chancel with a high screen, not a mere recess for the altar, and at the south side of it was a curious wooden credence, which has lately been removed to the vestry. The church was consecrated, I think, in 1817, and it is difficult to say whether it repre-

sents the last of the mediæval tradition or the beginning of the revival. It has been considerably altered since it was built, but retains its chief peculiarities.

² Contrast the straight stairs, or wide vice (as at St. David's) of the *pulpitum* with the very narrow and steep vice, which often has to serve the rood loft. In some places, as at Campsall Church, Yorkshire, the only way into the loft seems to have been by a ladder.

where, in the gallery at the south side, there was a chime of bells, which played at certain times, and also served the purpose of the saking bell. It was the duty of the "berere of the paxbrede" to keep them in order, "to wynde up the plomme of led as ofte as nedith, and to do the chymes goo at ye sacry of the Messe."¹

The most important object in the chancel was, of course, the high altar. That, like all the other altars, was a simple, plain stone table,² standing on pillars, or on a mass of masonry. The number of altars in one church varied much, but there were generally at least three. If a church had no aisles or transepts, the two minor altars stood one on each side of the chancel arch. If there were aisles to the chancel the principal secondary altars would be in them, and if there were not, then at the east end of the aisles of the nave, or in the transepts, if there were any. Besides these, we find chapels for altars in all sorts of positions. In the nave itself, as in examples already cited; at the west end of nave aisles, as at Boston and Holbeach, and some neighbouring churches; in the chamber over a porch, as at Sall. In the little church of St. Runwald, at Colchester, which was pulled down last year, there had even been altars in the rood loft, an arrangement which is also found at Ross, in Herefordshire,³ but is rare in a parish church, though it sometimes existed in other churches. At Colchester it seems to have been caused by the very small size of the building, which, owing to its position in the middle of the street, could not be enlarged, and in which no more floor space could be spared when it was required to erect new altars.

The altars were vested so as to have much the same appearance as those of the present day. On the top were four linen cloths called *towels*, and the front was

¹ Will of John Baret, 1463.—*Bury Wills*, p. 29.

² The destruction of stone altars seems to have been begun in 1550 by Ridley, then acting as Bishop of London. The act was entirely illegal, and the substitutes provided were not wood altars, or even tables, as we understand the word, but mere boards standing on trestles—oyster boards, as they were called at the time. It was clearly to

prevent this irreverent arrangement that, in Elizabeth's time, when wood tables again came in, they were ordered to be *decent* and to *stand on frames*, thereby excluding trestles. So late as 1567 one John Hardyman, D.D., Prebendary of Westminster, was deprived for destroying altars and other ornaments in that church, without authority.

³ See *Archeological Journal*, vol. xxxiv, p. 500.

covered with a frontal, generally of silk or some rich stuff, but sometimes taking the form of a tablet of wood, painted, and even covered with precious metal. Such, however, was more likely to be found in the oldest of the abbeys than in parish churches. Often, but not always, along the top of the frontal was a narrow fringed strip called a *frontlet*, and sometimes spoken of as the *apparel*¹ of a towel, which, indeed, it really was, for it did not extend over the top of the altar, which was covered with nothing but linen. These ornaments, and other such in the church, would be changed from time to time, according to the ecclesiastical seasons, but there was no such cut and dried rule as to colours, as is now often insisted upon. A sort of rule is given in the Salisbury missal, but it was not very closely obeyed, even in cathedrals, which, like parish churches, had traditions of their own, and seem to have been regulated chiefly by the ornaments which each church or altar happened to possess.²

Above the altar was sometimes a *table* or *veredlos* of painter's or carver's work, but more often a hanging of the same suit as the frontal, and called the super frontal or upper frontal. At the ends were *riddels* or curtains hanging from iron rods, and sometimes a canopy or ceiling hung above the altar. The canopy standing on pillars—the *baldacchino* as it is now called—seems to have been scarcely known in England in the sixteenth century, but there was one standing in 1548 in the Lady Chapel at Westminster.³ Miniatures often shew a sort of ledge or shelf along the back of the altar. The inventory of St. Christopher at Stock mentions it as the *forme uppon the high alter undre the juellis*, and about the same time at St. Mary at Hill we find a *schelfe standyng on the*

¹ I do not attempt to give all the names of these or any other things. Our ancestors were very careless about names, and not only gave many to one thing, but often used the same word with several meanings.

² The Rev. J. T. Fowler has sent me a curious extract from the Church books of Thame, Oxon, where the *use* of the parish seems to have been settled at a vestry meeting:—"A sute of blew embroideryed with gold, with aunteloppes

and byrdes of gold, the orfraies with crockyns and sterres of gold, the which, by the consent of the parish, serveth for Whitsunday." They had another suit of blue, which was used for Trinity Sunday. The selection of blue for either of these days can only have been to fit the contents of the Thame sacristy.

³ It stood with the altar under it till 1543, when the church was wrecked by the Puritans.

altar.¹ Holinshed,² in describing the chapel prepared for Henry VIII at Guisnes at the time of the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520, calls it *an halpas*, and again a *deske*. The former word means a step. It was what is now called the *superaltar*. The old *superaltare* was a portable consecrated altar slab, and was, I think, not generally to be found in a parish church, although it certainly was sometimes; St. Christopher at Stock had three. The high altar seems to have always had an altar cross, which was often the same as the processional cross, it being made to fit a standing foot and a shaft, and so serve both purposes. But it does not appear that the cross was considered at all a necessary ornament for a minor altar, though no doubt it was a common one; sometimes its place was certainly taken by an image. The distinction between a cross and a crucifix is modern. The old altar cross would generally have a figure of our Lord, and those of the sixteenth century also figures of Saints Mary and John on brackets at either side.

Until the removal of relics and reliquaries, the latter had been the chief *juellis* used in decking altars, and it seems that any pieces of plate were considered legitimate ornaments, as indeed they have continued to be in the traditions of our collegiate churches even to the present day. Images also, especially those of precious metal, were sometimes used. Another important ornament on the high altar was the *Tectus* or book of the gospels, the cover of which was often of gold or silver, or rich embroidery. And yet another was the *pacibrede* or tablet for the kiss of peace. The missal for the celebrant was supported sometimes on a cushion, and sometimes on a small desk. I have not found evidence of the use of flowers for decking altars, but the clergy sometimes wore garlands of them.

It has generally been assumed that the injunctions of 1547 limit the lights on the altar to two. But I think this is not the case. The injunctions retain *two lights upon the high altar before the Sacrament*. Now this passage is very ambiguous, and may possibly have been

¹ Quoted by Dr. Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, i, 238. There is a stone shelf

remaining behind an old altar in Grant-ham Church.

² Vol. iii, p. 857, edit. 1587.

deliberately intended to be so ; but I very much suspect that if the original document be in existence, and were examined, it would be found that it has been wrongly printed.¹ As the passage stands, it is nonsense whether we suppose it to refer to the time of celebration, or to the reserved Sacrament. For by no possible contortion of language could two lights placed *upon* the altar be said to be *before* the Sacrament, either lying in the midst of the altar or reserved by suspension above it, as was then the custom. The corresponding passage in the injunctions of 1536, which, as I have said, served throughout as the model for those of 1547, when forbidding the lights before images and pictures, retains “the light that commonly goeth across the church by the rood loft, the light before the Sacrament of the altar, and the light about the sepulchre.” All this is perfectly clear, and it does not refer to lights, which were used from time to time in the services, but to lamps kept constantly burning in the church, the first two throughout the year, and the last during the latter part of Holy Week. The later injunctions can, I think, only be understood in the same way, and as doing away with the light before the rood loft, but retaining that before the reserved Sacrament. Perhaps the mention of *two* lights shews an intention to move the former rood light up to the high altar as a second light there.² If the passage was intended to apply to celebrations, how came it that the *high* altar was specially named ? for we know that minor altars continued in regular use for some time after the issue of this order.

If my supposition is correct the ancient usages as to altar lights remained unaltered in 1548 ; but these usages were by no means so uniform as seems to be generally believed. An ordination for the church of Snaith in 1285 quoted³ by Burton sums them up conveniently so far as

¹ In all the printed copies which I have seen, and those which friends have been kind enough to examine for me, the passage stands as generally quoted. So the mistake, if there is one, has an early origin. Perhaps it comes from the first printed edition. The injunction certainly was very soon after quoted as referring to the altar lights. But considering the confusion of the times, that is far from conclusive as to the meaning it was intended and understood to bear when first put forth.

² Two lights before the high altar would be no novelty, for until they were taken away most churches which could afford them had more than one.

³ *Monasticon Eboracense*, page 402. Burton unfortunately gives only a translation of the passage, and makes several obvious mistakes, but the meaning is clear as far as the lights are concerned. In the last edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon* the passage is copied without any hint at the mistakes. I have failed to trace the MS. chartulary which Burton used.

that church is concerned, and it probably ordains what was then usual in such a church. Belonging to the high altar were four candles, being almost certainly two standing on the altar and two in large standing candlesticks at the sides of it, as we know was the common custom at a later date. On double feasts two lights were carried by clerks at high Mass. To every minor altar one candle only was allowed. The use of only one light seems to have escaped the notice of most antiquaries, and yet it must have been very common. Myrc, in his *Instructions for Parish Priests*,¹ written about 1450, assumes that the country parsons for whom he wrote would generally have but one light, and he tells them that it should be placed on the north side of the altar.

“Loke Pat Py candel of wax hyt be
And set hyre so Pat Pow hyre see
On Pe lyfte half of Pyn autere
And loke algate ho brenne clere.”—LL. 1875-8

Lyndwode (*Provinciale*, f. cxxix, Ed. 1505) quotes a constitution of Archbishop Walter Raynold—*tempore quo missarum solenniae peraguntur accendantur duae candelae vel ad minus una*—and makes no comment as to the number. According to Wilkins these constitutions belong to the year 1322. The rules of guilds which kept chaplains, and the endowments of chantries often mention only one light.

The lights were sometimes more than two. King Henry's Chapel on the Field of the Cloth of Gold had ten candlesticks of gold on the altar, being not improbably six large candlesticks of a suit and four lower ones, possibly holding more than one taper each. This is the largest number I have found named for one altar. At Chichester Cathedral we learn from the statutes² that at least as early as the thirteenth century the custom was to have on great festivals seven tapers of two pounds each on the altar, eight on the beam above it,³ and two in standing candlesticks on the altar step, besides the processional lights. On minor festivals there were five lights on the altar and two on the step, and on ordinary days three on the altar and two on the step. This usage of

¹ Edited for the Early English Text Society by Mr. Edward Peacock, F.S.A.

² *Archæologia*, xlv, 165-6.

³ This position would correspond with the top of the reredos in later times.

odd numbers extended to other churches in the diocese of Chichester, as appears by the three smoke stains which were found in 1862 over the site of each of the altars by the chancel-arch at Westmesten church, Sussex.¹

The custom now general on the continent, and not uncommon amongst ourselves, of setting smaller tapers upon altars in addition to the principal ones, appears in our parish churches in the fifteenth century. In the inventory of St. Christopher at Stock we find "candelstyckks" of a sewt to sett on smaller tapers uppon the alters," and again "iij laton candelstikks with two noses to set inne talowe candell for the alters."³

The ordinary altar lights were used at Matins, Mass and Evensong, and must have continued in use, according to the custom of each church, throughout the year 1548. At a somewhat earlier period the richer churches had their altars surrounded by a varying and often considerable number of lights, chiefly suspended, some of which burned continually and others were lighted at particular times. Most of these were votive or endowed lights, and as such were taken away by acts 37th Henry VIII, c. 4, and 1st Edward VI, c. 14, and of the rest the injunctions, if I am right in my interpretation of them, allowed two only to burn continually before the Sacrament reserved at the high altar. But there seems to be nothing which would have prevented the use of any such lights during particular services in places where it had been the custom of the parish to provide them. The more important altars had large standing candlesticks on the floor at each side of them, as they still have at Winchester Cathedral, Westminster Abbey and other places, and the candles in these burned at all the principal services.

It is convenient to mention here the other lights, which were kept in 1548, by the retention of the ceremonies with which they were connected. These were the two tapers carried by boys in processions at High

¹ *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, xvi.

² Unfortunately the number is uncertain.

³ Candlesticks were made of all kinds of material, gold, silver, brass, copper, pewter, iron, and very often wood. The reason that in inventories often no men-

tion is made of the altar candlesticks is probably that they were in these cases of no intrinsic value. As a rule, I think the more expensive candlesticks were not those which stood on the altar, but those carried by the *ceroforarii*.

Mass, and at other services when solemnly performed; the herse light¹ used at Matins or *Tenebres* on the last three days of Holy Week; the paschal candle,¹ which stood in a tall candlestick, or hung in a bason on the north side of the high altar, and was lighted with much ceremony on Easter Eve, and burned at all the principal services throughout Paschal tide; the torches¹ carried in the procession on Corpus Christi day; the lantern carried before the Sacrament when it was taken to the sick; the large standing tapers which were placed round a corpse during the funeral services; and the candle used at baptism. Most of the lights which a little earlier had been common round tombs were endowed, and as such had been taken away, but the custom of survivors placing lights round the graves of their departed friends would probably be continued still for a few years.

Somewhat earlier every church had had one or more images, before which lights burned, but now these had been taken away. The lights about the church were of many kinds. Hanging lights before altars and elsewhere were oil lamps or single candles in basons, or they were *branches*, i.e., chandeliers, holding each several candles. Lights also stood on brackets of stone, wood, or metal; one form of *branch*, which had been common before images, was an ornamental arm of metal, carrying one or more basons for tapers. Metal basons also stood on the tops of screens and in many other places. Sometimes an oil lamp was placed in a small niche in the wall, with a flue to take away the smoke, and a transparent door in front of it. A niche of this sort remains in the chapel of the Red Mount, at Lynn. The lights round tombs were often tapers fixed on pricks, forming part of the iron fences which surrounded them.

The reserved Sacrament hung above the high altar in a pyx, over which was a small tent-shaped canopy. The pyx itself was covered with a pyx cloth or sudary, which was a square napkin of fine linen or silk, with a hole in

¹ All these would probably be used in 1548 in many churches, but not where court influence was strong. See note 1 at page 375. The other lights enumerated above would still be used generally, except in the few churches which had

got into the hands of fanatics, who introduced "Geneva fashions," and were already openly connived at by the government, proclamations notwithstanding.

the middle, and at each corner a knop of silver or other fit material. When in use the cord supporting the pyx passed through the hole, and the four knops weighed down the cloth, so as entirely to veil it.

The ornaments used on or about the altar were the chalice¹ and paten; the burse, with two corporas cloths, one serving folded for what is now called the pall; the monstrance, used in processions of the B. Sacrament; the crewetts, for wine and water; the spoon, used to remove any accidental impurities from the wine in the chalice, when preparing it for the offertory; the two basons and napkins, used for washing the fingers of the celebrant; and other basons for collecting alms. With these may be named the censer and ship for incense; the processional cross and candlesticks; the saking bell; the holy water bucket and sprinkle; and the tray or basket for holy bread. The saking bell was certainly used in 1548, although the injunctions of 1547 forbade the ringing or knelling of bells during service, except before the sermon. Of the retention of holy water, holy bread, and the pax, in 1548 we have direct confirmation, in the articles of an eccentric visitation of the Deanery of Doncaster, which are printed by Wilkins.²

To the south side of the altar was the niche containing the water drain³ and also serving for what is now called

¹ At a general communion, when more breads were wanted than the paten would conveniently hold, a chalice seems generally to have been used for them. And so long as communion was given only in one kind, the priest, when houseling the people, was followed by a clerk, with another chalice or cup, from which he gave drink—not necessarily wine—to each of the communicants. The large stone chalice, formerly amongst the English *regalia*, and called the chalice of St. Edward, was used for this purpose, and not for the celebration. It was probably like the so-called cup of Ptolemy, amongst the French crown jewels, an antique cup, with the mediæval mounting. From the cup of Ptolemy wine was given to the French queens at their coronation. The French kings communicated in both kinds.

² *Concilia*, vol. iv, p. 29. There is an obvious error in the passage directing the clerk to bring the pax to the church door. It should be *choir door* or *chancel door*.

The order does not alter the ritual as it then existed, but added some explanatory addresses.

³ At the time we are considering there seems to have been only one drain, but in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, we often find two and sometimes three to one altar. The bowls of some of the earlier ones were deep and some appear to have been fitted with lids. At Lincoln cathedral there remain several fitted with hemispherical stones completely filling them up flush with the slabs. Now and then we find evidence that the niche containing the drain, &c., has been shut up with a door. Besides the drain or drains in the wall we sometimes find one in the floor near the south side of the sanctuary. This has been a puzzle to antiquaries, and several unsatisfactory explanations have been given of it. There is however a passage in the thirtieth chapter of the fourth book of the *Rationale* of Durandus, which seems to make its use clear: *sacerdos minister missurus cinum et*

the credence ;¹ and near it by the more important altars were the seats for the clergy, being in parish churches generally three in number. Before the altars were laid carpets in the better furnished churches, and often there was a brass eagle desk on the north side to sing the gospel from. Sometimes, as at Mickleover, Derbyshire, and Chipping Warden, Northants, a stone desk in the north wall of the chancel served this purpose. At the time of communion the houseling cloth was used. This was a long cloth generally of linen but sometimes of richer stuff, which was held up by two clerks before the communicants when being houseled. Its use continued at coronations till lately, and has always been kept up at Wimborn, in Dorsetshire, where it takes the form of linen clothes laid over the low tables or benches which there take the place of altar rails.

The foregoing description applies chiefly to high altars, but in most large churches there were secondary altars furnished for sung services, and which differed little in their belongings from the high altars. The others which were intended only for low masses were furnished only for them.

The Injunctions of 1547 ordered a chest with three keys to be set near the high altar. And we sometimes find chests of that or rather a later date at the south end of the lowest step of the sanctuary.

At Easter, 1548, the old ceremonies of holy week would be observed in many places and for them the Easter sepulchre would be required.² In most churches it was a temporary erection set up when wanted ; but in some, especially in Lincolnshire and the neighbouring counties,

aquam in calicem prius effundit modicum, in terram. This was done to clear the spouts of the crewets of any dust which might be in them. The drain in the floor was, there can be little doubt, intended to receive what was so poured out. It is always found on the south side near the credence where the chalice used to be prepared before being offered at the altar, and never at the *base* of the altar as it should be to fit the most generally received explanation of it.

¹ Sometimes the credence and drain were not in the same niche, one or other of them being provided for elsewhere.

The credence was in some cases a moveable table. There was one of brass at the altar of St. Edward at Westminster, which is named in an inventory printed by Mr. Mackenzie Walcott in the fourth volume of the transactions of the *London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*. In this case and that of many other minor altars there was possibly no drain, but a bason served. Sometimes a towel was hung over or conveniently near to the lavatory.

² Cranmer in some Articles of Inquiry put forth in August 1548, asks whether it had been used at the Easter last past.

it was a locker on the north side of the sanctuary, and sometimes a work of great magnificence.

Both chancel and chapels were screened off from the body of the church, and the chancels were generally furnished with a single row of stalls for the clergy. These were returned at the west end, and had high elbows and turn-up seats or *misericords*.¹ The poorer churches had plain benches, instead of the expensive stalls. In front of the stalls were desks, and sometimes in front of them were benches for the singing boys. I know of no example of desks being provided for singing boys. In the middle of the chancel stood a lectern, generally with a double desk made to turn, on which lay the Antiphoner and Grayle. The eagle desk was, I think, rarely used in this position, but belonged properly to the altar. Besides the great lectern in the middle, some churches had two or more smaller lecterns, to hold music books in front of the stalls.

Some large chapels were fitted up with stalls like chancels, but this was not common in parish churches. More usually the chapels either were without furniture, except such as belonged to the altars, or, in the case of chapels forming aisles to chancels, they were fitted up with pews, facing east, like those in the nave, either on both sides of the chapels, or only on the sides next to the chancel. These pews were looked upon as the best in the church, being those nearest to the chancel.

Chapels were the most usual places for tombs, but they are found also in every part of the church. The various forms of them are too familiar to require description, but the use of colour gave them much more decorative importance in an interior than they have now. Many were painted, and others were covered with rich cloths. Flat gravestones had often carpets laid over them, and raised tombs had palls of cloth of gold or other costly stuff. The church of Dunstable still possesses such a pall; it is of crimson velvet, richly embroidered. Tapestries and cloths of various kinds were very much used, especially in chancels, as curtains and carpets, and as coverings for

¹ The choir stalls at Walpole St. Peter, Norfolk, are stone niches, with wood misericordes.

seats and desks and the like. Every church had also special hangings for Lent, when images and pictures were covered up generally with white¹ or blue cloths, marked with crosses and the emblems of the Passion. The Lenten veil between the choir and the high altar seems also to have been retained in 1547, but in 1548 Cranmer and his party had partly succeeded in doing away with it.

All parts of the church were more or less adorned with imagery and pictures on walls, in windows, or on furniture. None had been ordered² to be taken away except such as had been superstitiously abused, or which were representations of "feigned miracles." From glass even these had been very imperfectly removed, for if taken away their places had to be filled with new glass, which cost money; and *Reformation*, though it found willing agents where plunder was to be got, moved slowly when it had to be paid for. Thus it happens that of the painted glass which has come down to our times, not a little takes the form of "monuments of feigned miracles." At York they remain by scores, and perhaps more remarkably the miracles of "Thomas Becket ye Trayter" still shine in the windows of Canterbury Cathedral.

Besides pictures, inscriptions of various sorts were painted on the walls or hung up on *tables*, or introduced in various ways into the decoration of the church and its furniture. The following may serve as an example of an edifying inscription of the early part of the sixteenth century. It is cut along the rail of the rood screen at Campsal Church, near Doncaster:—

"Let fal downe thyn ne & lift up thy hart
Behald thy maker on yond cros al to tor
Remembir his wondris that for the did smart
Gotyn without syn and on a virgin bor
Al his hed percid with a crown of thorne
Alas man thy hart oght to brast in too
Bewar of the dwyl whan he blawis his hor
And prai thy gode aungel conveye the "

there the carver got to the end of his space, and so he

¹ White was much used as a Lenten colour. Inventories often mention white vestments for Lent.

² There is indeed a letter from Cranmer to Bonner dated February 8th, 1548, in which he and the Privy Council order

all images to be taken away; but the fact that many remain to this day in spite of the large numbers which were destroyed in the seventeenth century shews that the order can not have been generally obeyed.

omitted the last word whatever it may have been. Inscriptions became more common a few years later, when they were a good deal used for controversial purposes, but as early as 1488 we find the ten commandments set up with "dyvers good prayers" at St. Christopher at Stock.

A short enumeration will suffice for the rest of the church goods. In the steeple were one or more bells, rarely, I think, fewer than two, and the richer churches had what we should now call peals, but though *tuneable* they appear not to have been rung in peals till about the end of the sixteenth century. One bell often hung apart from the rest was the *Sauce* or *Sanctus* bell, which still continued in use, but by the injunctions of 1547 was diverted from its original purpose of marking the beginning of the canon of the parish Mass, and made to give notice of the sermon when there was one. Clocks were in some steeples, and in some musical chimes. It is curious that many ancient ringing customs have continued to our time in spite of the efforts which were made to put them down. In a very large number of old parish churches the *Angelus* bell still sounds morning and evening,¹ and in many cases a bell is rung at the end of morning service on Sundays, which is, I believe, the *Knowling of Aves*, specially forbidden in Cromwell's injunctions of 1536.

Each church had banners for Rogation and other processions. These banners bore sometimes figures of saints or other ecclesiastical devices, and sometimes were banners of arms.² The great procession of the year was that on *Corpus Christi* day, when the Blessed Sacrament enclosed in a monstrance or pyx with a transparent front was carried about, as on the continent at the present day, with such state as the parish or town could afford. In towns where there were several parishes it seems to have

¹ The evening *Angelus* bell is the same as the curfew, it being customary to recite the angelic salutation at the sounding of the curfew. The morning bell was introduced later. There appears not to have been a regular custom of ringing at midday in England, but the *Knowling of Aves* mentioned above was something very like it. There are a few churches in which a bell is rung daily at midday. It is at Royston, and, I think, at Arksey, both in Yorkshire.

² The custom which now exists in many places, especially in the south of England, of displaying a flag on the top of the steeple on feasts, appears at Sandwich in the fifteenth century. In the accounts of St. Mary's Church, printed in *Boys's History of Sandwich* (p. 364), we find "for a baner for ye stepell ayenst our dedycacion day xiiij^d ob.," and there are other charges for the hoisting gear.

been usual for them all to join for this procession, and sometimes the pyx, instead of being carried in the hands of a priest, was mounted on a large shrine carried by several men. Above it was borne a canopy on four staves,¹ and round it many torches, some supplied by the churches and gilds and others by the private devotion of the people. The popularity of the pageants which in some places accompanied the procession caused it to be kept up till long into the reign of Elizabeth. But it is probable that its connection with the B. Sacrament ceased generally in 1547 and 1548.

When the priest took the Sacrament to the sick he was accompanied by clerks, who carried a cross, bell, and light. The Sacrament itself was enclosed in a pyx, and with it was taken a cup in which the priest dipped his fingers after giving the communion.² The chrismatory was generally a little box of metal containing three little bottles for the three oils, which seem generally to have been kept together.

For use at funerals, every church had a cross, a bier, and a handbell, the last being a good sized bell, which was rung before the corpse as it was being carried to the church.³ It was also used for "crying" *obits* about the parish, and asking for prayers for the deceased. Some churches had what was called the common coffin, which was used to carry bodies to the church, the most general custom being to bury without coffin. And they had palls and torches for funerals, for the use of which a charge was made according to the quality of the pall and the "waste" of the torches.

At weddings it was the custom to hold a large square cloth of silk or other material, called the *cure cloth*, over the heads of the bride and bridegroom whilst they received the benediction, and it was kept for that use amongst the

¹ These staves had sometimes little bells like sackering bells hung to them. The canopy carried over the head of the sovereign in the coronation procession still has bells which probably are a tradition from a time when the canopy used at coronations belonged to the church, and was also used in ecclesiastical processions.

² It appears from an inventory of the

same St. Mary's, Sandwich (Boys, p. 371) that this cup was made some way to fit on to the pyx for convenience of carrying — "a cowpe of sylver and gylt for the Sacrament with a lytill cuppe there yn gy't to give the sike body drynke there of."

³ Its use is still kept up in the University of Oxford.

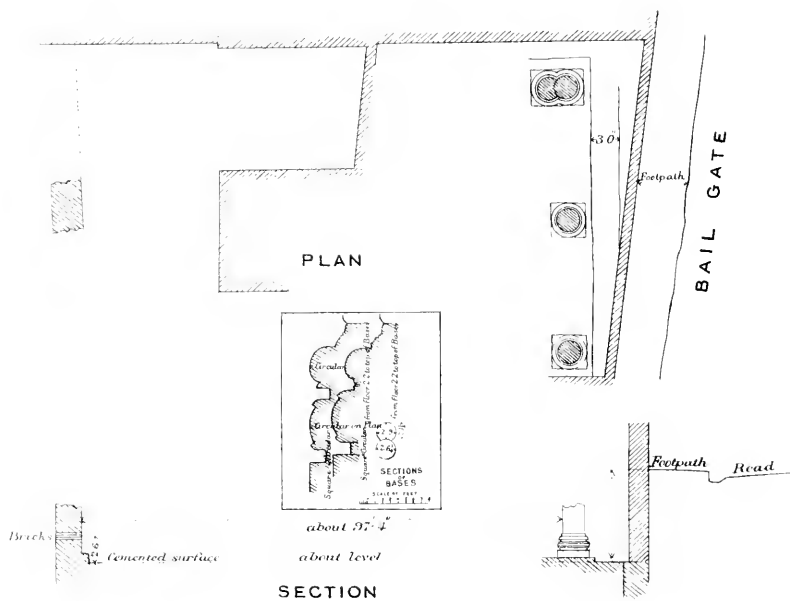
church goods. At St. Margaret's, Westminster, we find also a crown or circlet for brides, which was called a *past*, and appears to have been a thing of some value.

I need not describe the vestments of the clergy, they were the same as had been in use for centuries before, and as are now in many of our churches. What was said just now about the colours of the altar vestments applies also to those of the clergy.

The actual fabrics of many old churches remain to us, some of them in a state of completeness which is wonderful, after all they have gone through, but to understand them properly we must know not only what remains, but what is gone from them. I have endeavoured to give a sketch of their old state, which, though not complete in all details, may help to give some idea of it, and I have only to add, in conclusion, that the year 1548 coincides, in its last eleven months, with the second year of King Edward VI, and that the first month of 1549 brought no changes either to the churches or the services.

ROMAN REMAINS BAIL GATE, LINCOLN.

SCALE $\frac{1}{20}$ " TO ONE FOOT.



NOTES ON THE DISCOVERY OF A ROMAN PORTICUS AT LINCOLN.

By J. H. PARKER, C.B.

When I first saw the two photographs of the bases of columns found at Lincoln in the Bailey they rather puzzled me, and interested me very much. They looked like Roman, but the mouldings, and more especially the deep hollow moulding that would hold water, I had never seen in Roman work to the best of my knowledge, and they appeared to be *Transitional Norman* of the time of Richard I. I found that Mr. Pearson and Mr. Irvine and other good English architectural antiquaries were of the same opinion. As the outer bailey of Lincoln Castle probably included this site, it might have been a grand Late Norman hall like that at Oakham. The photographs had been sent to me both by my friend Canon Venables, and indirectly by the Dean through Lady Frederick Cavendish, a mutual friend, and, as they all desired my opinion, I went to Lincoln to study the subject. I hesitated at first even on the spot, though the evidence came out more strongly in favour of Roman every day. The level is the same as that of the Roman gate very near to it, about ten feet below the present level of the ground. On the other hand the Roman gate itself has only one wall that is really Roman, that is the inner wall with two arches in it, one large for horsemen, the other smaller for foot passengers. This Roman wall bears evident marks of fire, and the other walls are built of old materials after the fire, and abut against the original wall. Considerable remains of burnt materials were found in the cellar also with these bases, as if they had been built after the great fire by which the Roman city was destroyed. But the outer wall of the house to which these bases belonged is not in the same line as the present line of the street, shewing that the plan of this part of the city had been altered since that house was built, and in this outer wall are layers of Roman bricks; these I did not see, but Mr. Codd, the excellent clerk of the works to Mr. Pearson, found them afterwards, and sent me tracings of his drawings. This puts the matter beyond doubt; it is Late Roman work, probably of the fifth century, and the bases belong to the *porticus* of the house, the inner arcade round the court. The two bases put together at an angle are evidently one corner of this *porticus*, which was an arcade with columns built up against the square piers. It must have been a large house or villa, and no doubt the Roman wall called the Mint wall belonged to the same house, as was shewn to me on the spot. Mr. Pearson also assured me that the moulding that holds water is common in Asia Minor in Ionic bases, and he referred me to Mr. Pullan's work for examples. I have never been in Asia Minor, and therefore

this was new to me, but I could not doubt the fact on such evidence. The discovery at Lincoln therefore gives us a fresh piece of architectural history. These base mouldings at Lincoln are Late Roman, but they are *the same* as we commonly find in Transitional Norman work of the time of Richard I. Therefore some of the English soldiers of Richard I. in his Crusade were architects or builders, and brought back with them in their sketch books these mouldings, just as Wilars de Honcourt might have done. It had been before observed that Byzantine-Greek foliage and ornaments were introduced in the Transitional Norman style, but no one had thought that this plain hollow moulding came from the same source. It shews how much at all periods the architects copied each other. Wilars de Honcourt had evidently made careful sketches of all the newest cathedrals to help him in his own which he was building, and no doubt in the same manner any architects or builders going with the army, and forming part of it, would also bring back sketches of any thing that was new to them. It was in this manner that the pointed arch came into use. They had seen it in the east, and also saw how useful it was; when they had an oblong bay to vault over they could not do so without giving round arches to the two wide sides, and pointed ones to the ends, as we see under the central tower of Oxford Cathedral, and at Clee at the mouth of the Humber, both of this period. Clee was the stepping stone to St. Hugh's choir at Lincoln, the earliest pure Gothic building in the world. This period of transition is always the most interesting, and these Lincoln bases throw a new light upon it.

Mr. Codd agrees that this Roman porticus must have been an arcade, with the columns of which we have the bases attached to the square piers; this was a usual Roman construction, and the two bases at an angle (one of them partly inserted in the other) would belong to this plan, the wide distance apart of the bases also confirms the idea that they stood against arches.

NOTES ON A PIECE OF PAINTED GLASS WITHIN A GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE FAMILY OF STEWART.

By J. BAIN, F.S.A. Scot.

At the Monthly Meeting of 5th May, 1878, Mr. Hartshorne exhibited a piece of painted glass, which had been in his family for some years, and is of no small interest both historically and genealogically. Its size is not great, consisting of a central compartment, 9in. by 6½in., surrounded by a border, originally (as will be seen) 3in. wide, the base whereof has however been damaged, thus reducing the width in that part by exactly 1 inch. The design in the central compartment is singular.¹ A lion rampant contends with a warrior on foot, in chain mail and square-topped helmet of the thirteenth century. The warrior stands over a broken sword, and brandishes a ragged club. His shield, bearing the fesse chequy of the Stewarts, hangs from his neck. An arm reaching from the clouds holds a shield above the man and beast, shewing the Stewart coat, the fesse surmounted with an escutcheon, bearing a lion rampant, debriused with a ragged staff. The double tressure of Scotland surrounds the compartment. On the border is represented at the foot a warrior reclining, from whose chest a tree grows, running along the other three sides of the border, bearing small figures of warriors issuing from flowers, with their escutcheons and names. In a corner at the top is the date 1574. I felt much interested in this glass, as the subject is a remarkable one, and the singular design of the knight and the lion had come under my notice some years ago. In M. Michel's *Les Ecosais en France* (vol. i, p. 92 note) published in 1862, he gives a drawing of this very design, and the text of the asserted grant by Charles VI of France in the fifth year of his reign, conferring the strange coat of arms on Sir Alexander Stewart, on account of the merits of his father Andrew. The grant bears that Andrew Stuart had "by force of baton and sword driven out of the double tressure of Scotland the false and filthy usurper and coward lion of Balliol, and restored the Scottish crown to the true owner," the late King David. M. Michel says "it is enough to cast the eye on these pretended letters of concession, to recognise the patois of an Englishman little familiar with the language spoken at Paris at the end of the fourteenth century, and to doubt the fact asserted by the writer"—an opinion which will be shared by anyone moderately versed in old French. For the facts on which he grounds his opinion, M. Michel refers to a MS. vol. (*Addit. MSS.*, British Museum, No. 15644), which is a very singular production. It is a collection of transcripts by an Augustin Steward of Lakynheath in Suffolk from "Sondry ould Charters remayninge in my possession, Decimo An^o Regine Elizabeth 1567," so stated by him on fol. 1.

Some of them are very curious, and how he managed to collect the originals, it is difficult to imagine. A large part of the volume is occupied with a genealogy of the Stewarts, commencing with Banquho, and ending

¹ See the illustration p. 302 *ante*.

with Robert Steward of Ely, the maternal great-grandfather of Oliver Cromwell. I see that Mr. Tucker (*Rouge Croix*) says that the story is incidentally referred to in MSS. in the Herald's College. I should like to know if among these is the following, which is given verbatim, without contractions:—

"1520. To all present and to come that theis presents shall here or see Thomas Wriotheslye otherwise called Gartier King of Armes sendeth greting wheras Robert Steward of Elve Clarke son of Nicholas sonne of Richard sonne of Thomas sonne of Sir John Steward knight et ce. have instantly required me to delyver unto him a true note of the bering and quartering of tharnes of hys Ancestors. Know ye that for the better accomplishinge hereof, I have made serch in my Registers and have found indeede the same, long after the death of Sir John Steward knight surnamed Scotangle to have bene very diverslye by divers of that name borne and used. ffor some time thancestors of the said Robert ffor their first cote did bere in gould a fesse chekey of silver and azure being in truth proper to thir bloud and name quartered with a red lyoun offended of a ragged staff bendwise, laid with some [blank in MS.] namely Boreley Walkfare and Baskerville. Otherwhiles the said red lyon being but a mere reward yet [blank in MS.] honored with the titre of Charles the french kings guifte (?) ys for thir first and most renowned cot advanced having the said fesse chekey therewith and with others quartered. And againe sometime the said red lion is borne in an Ent (?) of silver. And in other places I find borne in an Ent (?) of gould upon the said fesse Chekey the said red lyon in an inschocheon of silver with sondry other differing maners off bering. All which varieties as well for brevities sake as for a playn declaracion therof, in fyne severall eschocheons even in such manner as I fynd them noted in my records I have in the margieall (*sic*) frount of theis presents trulye depainted and set downe. And there I also find the ancient cognizance used with the arnes to be a ragged staffe standing upon a broken sword crossed saltierwise. And in witnes of this I the said Gartier have signed with my hand and sealed with my Seale theis presents Att London the xiiij daye of September in the yere of our Lord Jesus Christ M. D. and XX. And in the yere of the raigne of King Henry the eight our redouted Soueraine Lord the Twelft.

"Th. W. gartier roy darmes danglois."

If this is a genuine grant, the story of the lion fight, though not expressly mentioned there, may be of considerable antiquity. But the Stewart Pedigrees, given in the MS., in Mark Noble's *Memoirs of the House of Cromwell* (Birmingham 1787), vol ii, p. 192, and in the same author's *Genealogy of the Sterarts*, London, 1795, are all erroneous in the steps connecting these Norfolk and Ely Stewarts with those of Scotland. The "Sir Alexander the Fierce," as the MS. and Noble call him, who killed a lion with a stick (*sic*), in the presence of Charles VI, is an entirely fictitious personage, and must (if he had lived) have been contemporary with his son Sir John, who flourished precisely at that era from 1380 to 1422, having accompanied James I, when made a prisoner by Henry IV, and then remained in England. This Sir John, from his English proclivities, seems to have been known by the sobriquet of "Scot-Angle." Both he and his son, another Sir John, appear, from evidence preserved in the MS., to have served in the French wars. The

son was doubtless the Sir John Stewart who acted as "Sower" at the coronation of Queen Catherine; for in his will, dated 20th May, 1447, he leaves to his aunt a gilt cup which the Queen gave him "on her coronation day." From them the descent of the Ely Stewards seems clear enough; and no doubt the first Sir John was a cadet of the Scottish Stewarts. Lord Hailes, in his *Annals* (an. 1333), observes that James Stewart of Rosyth, co. Fife, was the ancestor of Oliver Cromwell. But the steps of the descent are apparently unknown, and are certainly not those given by Noble and the MS.

Returning to the heraldic glass which has originated this note, it is an authentic and highly interesting piece of antiquity, and undoubtedly the same which may have attracted the eyes of the future Protector in the house of his grandfather at Ely. It is thus referred to by Noble:—"William Stewart, also of Ely, was son of Nicolas, and enjoyed leases of church lands there. Had his descent represented in glass. In the middle compartment (9in. by 6½in.) is painted Sir Alexander Stewart in armour, standing with a knotted or ragged staff or club, in the action of striking a rampant lion, his paternal shield appended on his breast. Another coat, with addition of arg a lion rampant gules, over all, a bend regulee or, placed on the fess, is held out to him from the clouds by a dexter arm, clothed with the French arms; in the back ground a town and castle; the whole enclosed in a border about 3in. wide, which gives Banquo, the Patriarch of the family, sitting on the ground. (Here follows the description of the tree, coming out of his body, and names of successive descendants as on the glass) with date 1574 above. This invaluable painting upon glass (says Noble) is now possessed by my most obliging friend, the Revd. Robert Masters, F.A.S." (This gentleman gave the glass to Mr. Hartshorne's grandfather, so its pedigree is fully vouched).

If the French king's grant is genuine, the lion fight was not even intended to be an actual, but symbolical one. The lion borne by Balliol as representing the ancient Lords of Galloway, being the animal put to flight by (the asserted) Sir Alexander Stewart. Whatever its origin, the story is a very curious one. The MS. seems to contain evidence that Augustin Stewart concocted or discovered the French king's grant. In the 6th of Elizabeth he procured from William Harvie (Clarenceux), on the strength of "some old writings," a confirmation of the debriused lion (MS., fol. 70). But in the 15th of Elizabeth he produced an "Auncient Instrument or Charter made by Charles the French King," to the then Clarenceux, "Robert Cooke Esquyer," which officer, dazzled by its magniloquence, conferred the combatant knight and lion on Augustin Stewart as an honourable augmentation that its "worthynes and antiquitie may be preserved in memorie and come to the knowledge of his posterity," the worthy Herald adding, "that the manifestacion of power is a vertuous and laudable thyng, to the settinge forth and avancement whereof all men are of dutie bounde" (MS., fol. 73). The blazon is there neatly executed in colours on the margin. One would almost be inclined to think the device had been borrowed from the remarkable, and hitherto supposed unique seal of Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, Constable of Scotland, who is represented on foot, fighting with a rampant lion. (*Laing's Scottish Seals*).

¹ *Memoirs of the Cromwells*, sup. cit.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

June 7, 1878.

G. T. CLARK, Esq., in the Chair.

The Rev. W. J. LOFTIE read a paper "On the Pyramid of Meydoun, the Haram el Kadab, or 'False Pyramid' of the Arabs, and other tombs and antiquities in its vicinity" (printed at p. 126).

The CHAIRMAN made some observations upon the extreme value and correctness of the early works of the Egyptians. He then called upon Mr. O. Morgan to read his "Observations upon a Silver Model of the First Eddystone Lighthouse," which are printed at p. 120.

The CHAIRMAN spoke of the difficulty of Winstanley's achievement, and the boldness of his undertaking, and, after alluding to the skilful manner in which Smeaton went to work, paid a high tribute to the genius of that great engineer, as shewn in his masterly creation, the existing lighthouse, which had withstood the storms of more than a hundred years.

The Rev. C. W. KING sent a paper upon an "Antique Cameo found at South Shields," which was read by Mr. Hartshorne (printed at p. 103). Mr. Soden Smith mentioned the very great interest and value of this cameo, with respect both to its subject and size, and added that large camei were used on battle standards and horse trappings.

Professor BUNNELL LEWIS said he thought it probable that the Romans were acquainted with the Polar bear, because in the poets and other writers the Arctic Ocean is frequently mentioned, of which Juvenal Sat. II. v, 1 is an example:

"Ultra Sauronatas fugere hinc libet et glaciale
Oceanum."

and because Roman bronzes have been found as far north as the province of Trondhjem. Moreover Tacitus, *German.* chap. xvii, speaks of the Germans as wearing the skins of animals that were imported from the outer ocean and the unknown sea (exterior oceanus atque ignotum mare). See *Journal* vol. xxxiv, "Antiquities of Scandinavia," p. 246, note 2.

Professor Lewis considered that the ugliness of the bear accounted for his infrequent occurrence in works of ancient art, for the Greek artists always sought to represent objects that were pleasing and beautiful, and avoided such as were of the opposite kind. In the collection of Greek and Roman coins at the British Museum he had found only two examples of the bear: 1, Mantinea in Arcadia, of which there are two varieties, the bear walking to the left, and the bear's head; 2, Urso in Bætica,

bear sitting on his hind legs, the device evidently alluding to the name of the place, as is often the case with Greek coins. The bear appears among the beasts subdued by the music of Orpheus, in a mosaic at Withington near Cirencester (see Buckman and Newmarch on Corinium). The bear is also found in the representation of the games of the amphitheatre, on the tomb of Umbricius Scaurus at Pompeii, and in the Lycian frieze in the British Museum. Amongst the gems in the same repository is an example of a seated bear, and two of cupids playing with this animal.

Mr. F. C. PENROSE gave a description of the Roman Portico recently discovered at Lincoln, of which the details savoured of Doric or a rough copy of Ionic. He ventured to think that these were the remains of the Basilica of Lindum. The work was apparently that of Roman engineers and not of architects. (See *Intelligence*, p. 100). The meeting was also indebted to Mr. Penrose for some remarks upon certain remains of old St. Paul's of the time of Edward III. which had lately been uncovered. In conveying the thanks of the members to Mr. Penrose, the Chairman made some observations upon the Roman and British work in Lincoln.

Mr. O. MORGAN gave the following account of the discovery of an ancient Danish vessel in the alluvial deposit near the mouth of the river Usk:—"In April last, in the course of the excavation of the new timber pond of the Newport Alexandra Dock, in the extensive tract of flat alluvial land which there forms the shore of the Bristol Channel between the mouths of the rivers Usk and Ebbw, the workmen came upon the remains of an ancient vessel about twelve feet below the surface of the green sward. The tide rises high here, and would still overflow the land at very high spring tides with a south-west gale, unless it were protected by a low sea bank. The workmen in this excavation discovered a portion of the side of an ancient ship which was retained in an upright position by sharpened rough oak stakes driven into the soil beneath as if to form a dam or embankment. In the excavation of the Alexandra Dock itself, about forty-five feet below the surface, a number of oak trees, with abundance of hazel nuts, were found, apparently portions of an oak forest growing amid a thicket of hazel bushes. At Goldeliff, on the shore of the channel a few miles on the east side of the river Usk, are still to be seen at low water the roots and remains of a similar oak forest with abundance of hazel nuts, which may be gathered up by handfuls in the mud.

"The vessel found was built with oak planks, of no great thickness, fastened together with broad-headed iron nails, which had all perished, the metal having been converted into oxide. There were occasional large holes to receive trenails, a portion of one of which found *in situ* is exhibited with the nails, but it has much shrunk in drying. It was what is termed clinker-built, the planks overlapping each other, and sloped off so as to make a smooth joint. Between the planks some of the caulking was found, which was of dark coloured wool, and it is not improbable that strips of sheep's hides with the wool on were used for this purpose. Nothing like pitch appears to have been found. These remains of the vessel were carefully examined by a ship-builder, and the master of the dock, who made the following report:—"In compliance with your letter I have to-day examined, in company with a ship-builder, the remains of the vessel found in excavating the timber ponds at this

dock, and it is our opinion that the vessel is of foreign build, as she appears to be constructed of Dantzic oak. We found traces of timber or ribs on the inner side of the planking, which were evidently about two and a half inches in width, and it is our opinion that the vessel was constructed more for speed than strength, as she must have been only slightly put together. From the general appearance and position of the different parts, we are led to think that she was placed where she is for the purpose of forming a dam, and the stakes which you have observed outside were merely driven in to secure her in position. The vessel was very likely captured from foreigners, and cut into pieces for the purpose indicated as above, but we found nothing whatever to enable us to fix the date of her being placed there, but she has been there some centuries, as eight feet of mud has been gradually deposited above her, and the metal fastenings are completely rusted through.'

"The dockmaster, from having been in the Baltic and well acquainted with ship-building there, is of opinion that, from its clinker-build, as well as from the quality of the timber, it is most likely from that part of the world, as that mode of construction is still carried on there. He considers it may have been about seventy feet long, and from seventeen to twenty feet broad, and that it most probably had some sort of deck. From the examination of the timber and the piece of plank exhibited, judging from the loose open grain and the broad silver grain or laminae or flowers, as they are sometimes called, there can be no doubt of its being of Dantzic timber, for the grain of English oak is closer, harder and more compact, and silver grain laminae not so apparent. From all these circumstances it appears to me that it was most probably a vessel which formed part of one of the Danish fleets which invaded that part of the country at several early periods. A ship built for speed and not for strength is, I think, just the sort of vessel that these northern adventurers would build and use to ensure a quick transport, and having but few stores and little baggage no great strength would be required, and a fleet of such vessels would convey and land on any coast a large body of adventuring invaders.

"That part of the country along the northern shore of the Bristol Channel was subjected to frequent invasion by the Danes, and they have left their names and marks in various places, and especially in the two islands in the Bristol Channel over against the coast of Glamorgan, viz., the Steep and Flat Holms.

"From the Gwentian Chronicle or 'Brut y Tywysogion' of Caradoc of Llancarvan, who died 1157, we learn that 'A.D. 795 the Black Pagans first came to Britain from Denmark, and made great ravages in England; afterwards they entered Glamorgan, and killed and burnt much, but at last the Cymry conquered them, driving them into the sea and killing many of them, and thence they went to Ireland.'

"A.D. 893 the Black Pagans came to Wales over the Severn sea, burnt Llanelltyd the great, and Cynfig, and Llangarvan and Gwent, and Brecknock, and Buallt, and during their return 'through Gwentllwg (the locality where this vessel was found) whilst ravaging Caerleon upon Usk, Morgan Prince of Glamorgan fought a battle with them, and drove them over the Severn Sea into the Summer country (Somersetshire?), where many of them were killed by the Saxons and Britons of that country.'

"Here we have in the record of an old chronicler of that locality a direct mention of an invasion and warfare with the Danes on that very spot, and as they were driven over the Severn Sea, or Bristol Channel, they must have had ships, and I think it by no means, therefore, improbable that this Danish ship may be of that period. If that be so, we get a date of about 900 when that fragment of a ship was placed where it was found at the mouth of the Usk, or on the shore of the Severn Sea. The spot where it was found is now more than half a mile distant from the river Ebbw, and considerably more than a mile from the Usk, and from the time it was placed there eight feet of solid mud or silt must have been deposited above the top of it, and the beds and channels of the two rivers and the shores of the Severn Sea or Bristol Channel have varied accordingly, and we can now form some idea of what changes have taken place in that alluvial district in 1000 years."

Mr. H. S. MILMAN said that the Severn was a wild and rapid river, and brought down vast quantities of silt, causing great changes of coast in this district, and the history of invasions and battles must be read with reference to such alterations of shore as were thus brought about.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. W. J. LOFTIE.—A set of photographs illustrating the periods of Egyptian sculpture, coloured drawings, and photographs of the statue of Nefert, and the following objects of Egyptian art:

Figure of Horus in painted wood, from a tomb at Thebes, twentieth dynasty;—A horse's head and a head of Athor, in stone;—Bronze figure of Horus, wearing the complete crowns or mitres of Upper and Lower Egypt;—Two earthenware figures of Ptah; Scarab with wings extended; pectoral ornament of a mummy, perhaps of the twentieth dynasty;—Wooden figure of a rower;—Pair of bronze feet of an ibis, beautifully modelled;—Three measures in green earthenware; a vessel of the same material, supposed to be a wine taster; and a model of the mitre crown of Lower Egypt.

By Miss ROUS, through Mr. O. Morgan.—Model in silver of the First Eddystone Lighthouse.

By the Rev. C. W. KING.—Photograph of antique cameo, found at South Shields.

By Mr. F. C. PENROSE.—Plans and details of the Roman portico at Lincoln.

By Mr. O. MORGAN.—Portions of an ancient Danish vessel, found near the mouth of the river Usk, and remains of caulking of dark sheep's wool.

By Mr. E. JAMES.—A Norwich "cup," hall marked 1566-7;—A "cover," London, 1661-2;—Two communion cups, English, sixteenth century;—A stoneware jug, silver mounted and hall marked 1568-9, and a spoon, dug up near Aldersgate Street, hall marked 1572.

By Miss FFARINGTON.—A powder flask of white metal inlaid with mother-of-pearl, probably Portuguese work, and early seventeenth century.

Mr. W. T. WATKIN sent some notes upon an inscription lately found at Bath, and upon a hoard of coins at South Shields (see p. 100).

July 5, 1878.

The Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, President, in the Chair.

Mr. J. H. PARKER made some general remarks upon the progress of the excavations in Rome, and mentioned that a contract had just been taken for three years, to complete the excavations in the Via Sacra, and those on the southern part of the Palatine Hill, on the part called the Stadium. He believed the excavations in the Via Sacra would be among the most interesting ever made in Rome. He had just received a copy of a most interesting inscription in memory of a very successful charioteer; copies of this inscription were handed round (printed at p. 189).

Professor BUNNELL LEWIS read a paper "On the Architectural Antiquities in the South of France," which will appear in a future *Journal*.

The noble PRESIDENT said that the subject was one of great interest. There were two distinct people in the district, the natives of Bearne and the inhabitants of the Basque country, who were a remarkable race. Had they a different or peculiar architecture? Professor Lewis said that the architecture of the whole district was of the same style, viz., Romanesque, with barrel vaulting. The books of the local antiquaries were very inaccurate, and must be read with great caution. They were hasty in jumping at conclusions, and were in their knowledge much behind other parts of France.

Mr. G. T. CLARK said that an accurate and detailed account of the churches in the district was much wanted, so that general conclusions might be arrived at, and it would be interesting to know when the pointed arch was first introduced there with a view to the vaulted roofs.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to Professor Lewis for his paper.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Professor BUNNELL LEWIS.—A collection of engravings and photographs in illustration of his paper.

By the kindness of Miss PETIT, twenty-six beautiful water-colour sketches by the late Mr. Petit, of churches in the district treated of by Professor Lewis, were exhibited, and added much to the gratification of the meeting.

By Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE.—A mail head-piece of oriental work lately obtained in Strasbourg;—A Greek hammer-head of nearly pure copper, the analysis showing ninety-four per cent. of that metal;—Several flakes of obsidian from the island of Naxos;—A small bronze fork of twisted wire, from Athens, and several inscribed sling-stones of lead.

By the Rev. S. S. LEWIS.—Greek and Roman coins and vitreous pastes, copies of gems in the Berlin collection.

By Mr. R. READY.—A collection of rings, including a Roman intaglio of Antinous as Hercules, in a chalcedony-sard, set in a massive gold enamelled thumb-ring;—A rudely engraved dark sard set in close filigree work of gold;—A mediæval gold ring, with a merchant's mark, and initials s r;—And an intricately twisted gold ring forming a knot. Of the latter Mr. Fortnum observed that it was of a very peculiar type, and similar to some that have been found in early Belgian graves. He exhibited a small silver one of the same character.

By Mr. W. T. WATKIN.—Rubblings of Roman inscriptions at Brecon and Gloucester, with notes upon them, which are printed at p. 190.

By Mr. HARTSHORNE.—A diminutive tripod *olla*, “marmite,” or hunting-pot in bell metal, bearing the initials RM in raised Roman letters, and having the unusual addition of a handle for suspension. Mr. Morgan said the handle was of very rare occurrence, and that the vessel was the smallest of the kind he had ever seen. It was lately obtained in Barnstaple from an old man, in whose family it had been preserved for 150 years. The vessel is only one and seven-eighths of an inch high and two inches wide at the mouth, so that the old French saying, “La marmite est renversée dans cette maison,” signifying that hospitality is no longer extended, can hardly apply to such a cooking-pot as this.

ANNUAL MEETING AT NORTHAMPTON.

July 30 to August 6, 1878.

A meeting of the Institute at Northampton had been contemplated almost since the foundation of the Society, and the late valued President, Lord Northampton, looked forward with peculiar pleasure to the opportunity of welcoming so many who had long shared his pursuits and enjoyed his ever cordial encouragement. The project was, however, deferred in favour of other places, especially cathedral cities, that appeared to hold forth greater attractions, many as are the objects of interest contained in this historic town and county. At the meeting of the Institute at Peterborough in 1861, the extreme northern part of the shire only was visited, and on the present occasion, as at that time, the valued cooperation of Lord Alwyne Compton and the members of the Northamptonshire Architectural Society, contributed greatly to the success and interest of the meeting, not to mention the cordial hospitality that was extended to the members by the residents in the town and its vicinity.

Tuesday, July 30.

The Mayor (T. Tebbutt, Esq.) and the Town Council assembled at the Town Hall at 11 a.m., and received on the platform the President of the Institute, Lord Talbot de Malahide, Lord Alwyne Compton, Mr. J. H. Parker, c.b., Mr. M. H. Bloxam, Mr. J. Evans, the Rev. J. Fuller Russell, Mr. Fairless Barber, the Rev. C. R. Manning, the Rev. Canon Venables, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, and many other members of the Institute. In the body of the hall was a large number of the clergy and gentry of the town and neighbourhood. Lord Talbot de Malahide having been placed in the chair by the Mayor, the Town Clerk (W. Shoosmith, Esq.) read the following address:—

“To the President and Members of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

“We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the borough of Northampton, most heartily acknowledge the distinguished honour conferred upon our ancient town by its selection this year for your visit. You

need not our assurance that our town and neighbourhood exhibit many interesting architectural remains—churches, castles, mansions, and memorials of the past which will repay the investigation of the historian and antiquary. We estimate highly the importance of your researches in the elucidation of historical and social questions, the dissipation of fabulous traditions, in illustrating the growth of sciences, laws, and civilization, and enriching the present age with more complete ideas of the treasures and triumphs of ancient art. We beg to conclude with a very cordial welcome, and hope that your visit may be pleasant and satisfactory.

“Given under our common seal the 30th July, 1878.”

The MAYOR, in giving the address to Lord Talbot de Malahide, said he had much pleasure in presenting it from the ancient borough of Northampton, and he trusted that the meeting would be a success, and in every way satisfactory to the officers and members of the Institute.

In reply, the noble PRESIDENT desired to tender, on behalf of the Institute, their very best thanks for the very handsome address and cordial welcome which the town had given them. It would be cheering to them to consider, in the course of their proceedings, that a town with such an influential Corporation as that of Northampton took an interest in their pursuits, which he was satisfied would have a tendency to preserve the ancient monuments of our country. He feared that it was not every Corporation that was equally deserving of praise, but he was sure that the corporate body of Northampton was a model in that respect. To visit that noble building and that fine hall was quite sufficient to convince one that the taste which presided over its erection must act powerfully in stimulating an interest in ancient art. Having thanked them for the address, he might be permitted to say a few words upon the subject of their meetings. He was afraid that he could not do much in the way of dilating upon the antiquities of the county; but he might say that, though they had a meeting at the extreme end of the county in 1861, when they went over a little of the ground which would be traversed again on this occasion, yet they were really in a new district, and the antiquities of Northampton had been barely touched upon by what they had done. There were many historical associations connected with this county, some of great importance in relation to the history of the country at large, and to the constitutional history of the country, and he hoped that some gentleman would give them a paper upon some of those remarkable events which had occurred in this part of the country. He missed, however, the presence of one old friend in particular who was intimately connected with the county, and whose *specialité* it was to describe from time to time the different historical events that had taken place in the localities where the Institute held their meetings, and who would, no doubt, had he been living, have favoured them with an account of Northampton, and of the battles which took place here in the neighbourhood, and had such a powerful influence on the future of this country. He need only mention the name of the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne to awaken the feeling that in his death they sustained a very great loss. While it was a pleasure to attend those meetings, and to meet with those amongst whom friendships had been formed, yet there was also a painful feeling attached to them when one came to think of the deaths that were constantly occurring. Here he

might mention that when he first joined the Institute a great many years ago, and for some time afterwards, it had the advantage of being presided over by a nobleman who was highly accomplished in every branch of science and of art, and who did much to promote the prosperity of that society. Many of those present would remember the old Marquis of Northampton. There was, perhaps, no one in such a high position who took such a lively interest in literature, science and art as that nobleman did; he had been president of the Royal Society, for many years president of the Geographical Society, and of several other learned societies, his scholarship being one of the brightest jewels in his coronet.

The ARCHDEACON of NORTHAMPTON then came forward, and presented the following address:—

“To the Right Hon. the President, and Members of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

“MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“We, the Archdeacon and Clergy of Northampton, desire to bid a very cordial and respectful welcome to your learned and distinguished Society upon the occasion of its visit to our county and county town. We cannot but be conscious that some of the most ancient landmarks and objects of interest, the investigation of which will be at once your pleasure and our advantage, are of ecclesiastical origin and association, and that, while you are the skilled scholars and faithful explorers of the history and antiquities of our parishes, the clergy remain, after your acceptable visits and teachings, to hand down the knowledge and the discoveries they have derived from you—a sacred tradition to succeeding generations. Under the presidency and leadership of a Northamptonshire clergyman, himself an eminent member of your parent Council, we heartily wish you an agreeable and profitable sojourn in a county which (if any) can boast of noble churches and richest heirlooms of ecclesiastical and civil lore.

“Signed on my own behalf, and on behalf of the clergy of Northampton,

“F. H. THICKESSE, Archdeacon.

“July 13, 1878.”

The noble PRESIDENT, in briefly acknowledging this address, remarked that they were deeply indebted, as they always were, to the co-operation of the clergy, from whom he was sure they would receive great help on the present occasion.

The ARCHDEACON said he had yet another address to present, which was as follows:—

“To the Right Hon. the President, and Members of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

“MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“We, the Patrons, Officials, and Members of the Architectural Society of the Archdeaconries of Northampton and Oakham, need hardly employ many words to express a brotherly welcome to the kindred souls of your distinguished Institute upon the occasion of your meeting at Northampton to day. We gladly lay at your feet and disposal any information to which our own researches may have attained in the history of the grand old buildings, civil, ecclesiastical, and domestic, in which Northampton-

shire abounds. We shall hail with the highest satisfaction any new suggestions made, any old truths unravelled, any fresh light brought in to which we had not reached by our less extended observation, and shall esteem it no light privilege to add the speculations and discoveries of a wider experience to the common stock of antiquarian treasure. The restoration of our ancient and beautiful churches has, with the willing consent of the clergy and churchwardens, occupied very much of our attention during the past few years, and whatever criticism in this direction your more practised skill may prompt can be usefully adapted and applied to the churches that are yet unrestored. It is our earnest desire and confident hope that occasions like the present may be the means of cultivating among all educated men a higher appreciation of the noble and captivating art, in the name of which we welcome you to Northampton, and that while you are the trusty and trusted investigators of the illustrious past in the architecture of the nation at large, we may be the pioneers in our own county of good taste, sound judgment, and gracious design in the buildings of the present and of future generations.

“Signed, on behalf of the Society,

“F. H. THICKNESSE, Archdeacon of Northampton.”

The noble PRESIDENT said the address was very flattering, and he regretted extremely that his friend Sir Charles Anderson was not present to reply to it. In the name of the Institute, however, he tendered their best thanks. It was very satisfactory to find that a Society which had done so much for the investigation of architecture, and had thrown so much light upon the science of archaeology, should have invited their co-operation. It was almost like a “self-denying ordinance” to invite the Institute, for when they knew the attachment of some gentlemen to the work of investigating the antiquities of various places, it required no small amount of moral courage to invite a Society which might possibly demolish some of their most cherished theories. In the name of the Institute, he again tendered their thanks for the address; he had a very pleasant duty to perform, which was to vacate the chair, and call upon Lord Alwyne Compton to deliver an address. He was a gentleman who had for many years followed in the footsteps of his noble father, and he was sure no person could have been selected more capable of doing justice to the subject, and promoting the objects they had in view than he, and that under his presidency the meeting would add much to the value and influence of the Society.

The VED. LORD ALWYNE COMPTON then occupied the chair as President of the Meeting, and delivered the following address:—

“MY LORD TALBOT, MR. MAYOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

“I find it is an important part of my duties, as President of the meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute, to deliver what is called a discourse, and I am told that this would be the most convenient occasion for this purpose. It was at first proposed that I should address you after luncheon, but had this been adhered to, you would have expected the usual form of after-dinner speech, which, I suppose, should be a short, pointed, witty discourse about nothing at all. Now you will require something more of me. My subject is long enough to occupy any length of time, only, I fear, on the one hand, I may find it difficult to interest

those amongst you who for the first time have joined the ranks of the Archaeological Institute; and, on the other hand, that whatever I say may be a twice-told tale to my fellow members of longer standing. Do not then suppose, ladies and gentlemen, that because archaeology must be my theme, I intend to begin, as used to be the rule, and, perhaps, still is with our brother antiquaries of Italy, at the creation of the world. The study of primeval antiquities is indeed most fascinating, and it is of no small importance, connecting itself, as it does, with the whole history of man. No doubt some of you have read that remarkable paper by Mr. Wallace, in which he shows how little historical foundation there is for the theory of the gradual development of man's civilization from the ignorance which he is supposed to have shared with his supposed ancestors—the anthropoid apes. On the contrary, the earliest traces of man—whether in his bones or in his works—show a very high order of intelligence, and in a large part of the globe, barbarism has followed, not preceded, civilisation. But of this primeval archaeology we have not, perhaps, the most important monuments in our country, or, at any rate, in Northamptonshire; and while we hope for interesting papers upon all antiquarian subjects from our friends assembled here, we know that of course the local subjects must in a great measure predominate. Nor shall I attempt to describe the rich feast of antiquities that our guests will find in and around Northampton. Briton, Roman, 'Anglo-Saxon,' Dane, Norman: all have been here, and have left the marks of their presence. Our churches, if not of the great size of those in some parts of the kingdom, are numerous, and contain examples of every style, from the earliest Saxon of Brixworth and the Danish, as Mr. Parker has supposed, of Earl's Barton, to the late Perpendicular of Whiston; and our domestic architecture ranges from the Edwardian towers of Rockingham to the Elizabethan towers of Castle Ashby. But of all this you will hear from others; all this you will, I hope, see for yourselves. I think I can more profitably occupy your time now with a few remarks on a question that is of passing interest to the antiquary, and is now pressed upon us from a new and unexpected quarter—the question of the restoration of ancient buildings. I need not tell any one here present, whether he be a dweller in Northamptonshire, or one of our guests from some other county, that the restoration of our ancient buildings has for many years employed our architects, giving a practical interest to one part at least of the studies of our archaeologists. Through the length and breadth of our country, from the grand cathedral to the humblest parish church, this work has been going on at a cost of many thousands of pounds. I believe that in some counties scarcely a church remains unrestored; in others—here for example—the work is in full swing. But nothing passes unquestioned now-a-days; and we have of late been assured that all this work is mischievous—in fact little else than destruction—and a society has been formed, called, I believe, 'The Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments,' but which devotes much of its energies rather to preventing restoration than to meeting decay. I do not think any antiquary will deny that under the name of restoration much destruction has actually in many cases taken place. Workmen in all ages perhaps—certainly workmen in the present day—like a good job, well-finished and complete work. Old untidinesses are a pain to them; they prefer spick-and-span novelty to the crumbling stones

in which lichens and artists delight, and thus, even with the best restoration, rich mouldings are sometimes simplified, by being scraped down, and, even where the old work is most accurately copied, much of its beauty will be gone, much of its spirit be missing. A workman who tries to copy is not likely to produce an effect equal to that of the man who was, to a greater or less degree, original in his work. Thus it comes that to the archaeological student an unrestored church is a special delight; but when the conclusion is drawn that, therefore, no church should be restored—that no improvements must be attempted—that we must neither, like the men of old, boldly put our own work in the place of that of our predecessors, nor yet, as has been our own custom, lovingly try to reinstate what they did—but must retain all as we find it—we feel there surely must be some mistake; that surely this new zeal for the preservation of ancient monuments outruns discretion. And that it does so seems quite certain, when we find it gravely argued that if a church is too small, or in any way inconvenient for its main purpose—the public worship of God—we must carefully preserve it as it is, putting, if need be, iron bands to keep its stones together, for they respect the stones far too much to replace one of them—and build by the side of it a new church for use. This suggestion is so preposterous that it is really difficult to argue against it. Of course it might be possible to adopt it in the case of a very few buildings of very great interest. But the difficulty that has been found in providing, even by legislation, for the preservation of some of the most ancient remains in this country—a preservation involving no expense, but simply the loss, from cultivation, of a few acres of ground, shows how impracticable it would be to raise the necessary funds. We find it hard enough work to get all we need for restoration on the present system, when we are assisted on the one hand by the religious, and on the other by the æsthetic feeling. But to build a new church, in order to keep the old one intact, would appeal to the feelings and to the pockets only of the small band of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments, or as it has sometimes been called ‘Ruinistie Society.’ And what would be the final result? Suppose such a scheme had been adopted two centuries ago, how many of our ancient churches should we now have to study from? Would not the certain result, after a few years, be the neglect of the disused building, and its consequent decay and ruin? I have been tempted to speak on this subject to-day, because we have here for the study of our friends two very remarkable examples of restoration, which go far to vindicate the system, when duly carried out, from the recent attacks upon it. St. Sepulchre’s is one of the few churches built in England in a circular form, after the model of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. It has been restored. What is the result? It is that the antiquary will find it more worthy of his study than it was before. It was restored by Sir Gilbert—then Mr. Scott, working with some of the members of the Architectural Society of this county, as well as with the local authorities of the parish. No attempt was made to carry out the impossible task of replacing the exact circular church of Simon de St. Liz, but many features of the old work, which were before concealed, are now visible, and being still a church, there is every probability that it will remain for the study of future antiquaries for generations to come. The other example I would refer to is, in some respects, more remarkable and more to my purpose. It is the

Queen's Cross. I need not tell you that the march of improvement, or the progress of decay, I know not which, has deprived us of several of those beautiful monuments of the love of Edward I. How is it that our example remains? It is owing to the hand of the restorer. In the year 1713 it was nearly falling into ruin by reason of age. A hundred and seventy years more of neglect would probably have left nothing but a ruin for us to study. But it was restored by the Honourable Assembly of Magistrates of the county of Northampton, as appears by a notice placed upon it at that time. A second restoration took place in 1762; a third, at a comparatively recent period, was carried out by Mr. Blore, the architect; and I can hardly imagine a more crucial example of the good or the evil, whichever it may be, of restoration, than this thrice-restored cross. The dates are enough to frighten the antiquary. Queen Anne's time, whatever it may have been, in respect to household furniture, which we now delight to copy, was certainly not a very Gothic period; 1762 was a period of taste we have not yet reached; and Blore's work does not always commend itself to our judgment. Yet when Mr. Law, an architect, and a member of our local society, stirred up by the bitter words of a paper read at the Archaeological Association, which met here sixteen years ago, examined minutely and carefully this Cross, he found the restorations throughout had been so carefully executed that, but for the use of different stone, he could not have distinguished the new work from the old, and that all the most singular features of the design, which had been attributed to Mr. Blore, existed in the original stone work. Thus we find that, thanks to this work of several generations of restorers, we have Queen's Cross still to admire and to study, such as it was when first erected, nothing being wanting except the termination, which, in a true spirit of conservative restoration, was left imperfect by Mr. Blore, though it is almost certain that a figure originally stood on the summit. I think these two cases of restoration—and there are many others equally carefully carried out in this county—are a fair answer to the attacks made upon restorers generally. Still, as I have already said, there have been many cases; and there might be some more, where persons engaged in this very necessary work, either from ignorance or carelessness, have done as much mischief to an ancient monument as time itself was doing, and the only safeguard against this is to be found, first, in the more correct taste, and the more reverent esteem for old work diffused by this Institute and its many smaller sister societies; and, secondly, by the preservation of records of what existed before such restoration began, and what was done in each case; which records form, or should form part of our stated work. Looking at the great need for such records, and the great mass of them that should be accumulated, I think it is much to be wished that all antiquaries should, if possible, work together. And I hope I shall not be considered by the more energetic workers of the Institute to be stepping beyond my province as President of this meeting, if I express my earnest wish that the two long-divided bodies of the Institute and the Association could once more coalesce into one. I do not for a moment suppose it would be an easy work to carry this out; each has, no doubt, to a great extent, now an established individuality, and though we often see two individuals joined together happily as heads of a new household, marriages of whole societies are not so common. Still, I cannot but think one peripatetic society of antiquaries for

the British Isles would be quite enough, combined with the local societies, which are so general: and, though I have my own opinion on the original split—an opinion sufficiently indicated by my having always been a member of this body, and never of the other—I cannot help feeling that old feuds are best forgotten, and that each society would be strengthened and invigorated by their union. And then the Archaeological Institute and Association—for such, I suppose, would be its style and title—might further connect itself with all the local societies. Many of them have already joined to the extent of publishing their transactions in one common volume; thus, at a very moderate increase of expense, securing a much wider circulation for the papers contributed by their various members. But I think if the Institute and Association would take a central position with respect to them all, and would prepare annually for them all an index or *catalogue raisonné* of their several contributions to antiquarian knowledge, we should be able to do a great deal more, and avert the risk which now exists of the same work being done twice over in different places. This work of union might, perhaps, tend still farther; though it might be too much to look forward to really united action with such important independent bodies as the Society of Antiquaries, the Institute of British Architects, and others. But still, it is well to bear in mind that union is strength, and that, whether for the study or for the preservation of our ancient monuments, we shall be more powerful, in proportion as we can bring to united action the whole of those who take an interest in these subjects.¹

LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE then tendered to the President the sincere thanks of the meeting, for his address, which was so full of information and suggestion. For his own part, although he belonged to the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments, he did not go the same length that some people did in holding that in no case was restoration necessary, but he was not quite sure whether, looking at the extent to which restoration was carried on now, it did not mean the complete destruction of the ancient character of many of our most valued buildings. He would not at that time enter upon the question upon which there had been quite a civil war, namely, in regard to the restoration of St. Alban's, but would conclude by moving a vote of thanks to the President of the meeting, for his valuable address.

In acknowledging the vote, LORD ALWYNE COMPTON said he was not aware that Lord Talbot belonged to the society to which he had referred; but at the same time he had not the slightest doubt that if he were living in the same parish as Lord Talbot, and the church had to be restored, they would agree upon every detail, for although not a member of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments, he would himself stand up for conservative restoration, and he would not destroy any-

¹ Since the delivery of the above address, I have learned that, only four years ago the question of the amalgamation of the Royal Archaeological Institute with the British Archaeological Association, was carefully considered by the Council of the former; and a resolution came to that it was not desirable to entertain the idea. Had I been present

at the discussion, it is quite possible that my views might have been modified, and that I might have cordially assented to the decision arrived at. As it is, I can only express my regret that there seems no present prospect of such a union as, in ignorance of the circumstances, I referred to in my address.—ALWYNE COMPTON.

thing ancient if it could possibly be preserved. As an illustration of the manner in which the work of restoration should be carried out, he again alluded to the Queen's Cross, bits of stone of the smallest size having been put in so as to retain the old mouldings. He hoped the society to which the noble President of the Institute belonged would do some good; he only feared that it might do some harm in preventing desirable restoration, and being an excuse for people keeping their money in their pockets when it would be much better taken out.

Mr. J. H. PARKER expressed his surprise at a letter from the secretary of the society just alluded to, calling upon him to attack Mr. Jones for the restoration he had effected at Bradford-on-Avon. The truth was that, having acquired bit by bit the property which originally belonged to the Church, he formed a committee, and had carried out a most desirable work.

The Mayor, in the name of the Corporation, then invited the members of the Institute and visitors to luncheon in the great hall of the Religious and Useful Knowledge Society, and a procession was formed, numbering more than two hundred. At the luncheon the Mayor presided, and the usual loyal toasts having been given and honoured, Mr. G. L. Watson proposed the health of "the Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese, and the Ministers of all denominations," which was responded to by the Archdeacon of Northampton and the Rev. E. T. Prust. Mr. C. G. Mersweather, M.P., proposed the toast of "the Army, Navy, Militia, and Volunteers," which was responded to by Captain Gunning and Captain Turner. Lord Henley proposed the health of Lord Talbot de Malahide and "the Royal Archaeological Institute," and spoke of the satisfaction that it gave the county and town that the Institute should have paid them a visit. He referred generally to the objects of interest in the town and district, and heartily wished success to the meeting. The President of the Institute responded, and called upon the company to drink the health of the Mayor and Corporation, whose cordial hospitality had formed so agreeable a part of the opening proceedings. His Worship the Mayor and Mr. Councillor Peirce acknowledged the toast, and the health of the ladies having been proposed in felicitous terms by Mr. John Evans, and happily responded to by Mr. S. Sharp, the proceedings broke up.

Complete programmes of the proceedings of the meeting during the week were distributed during the lunch, and a manual, or "General Notes upon the Places visited during the Meeting," was compiled by Mr. Hartshorne and given to each ticket-holder.

A large party then proceeded to St. Peter's Church, which was described by Mr. J. H. Parker, who said it was one of the best examples in England of the late Norman style. It appeared at first sight to be a church of which the description could easily be given, but on closer examination Mr. Parker came to the conclusion that the tower arch and tower are built of old materials from the original east end, and that, in fact, the tower, instead of being Norman, is of the time of Henry VIII. or Edward VI. Mr. Parker called attention to the clerestorey windows being cut through by the tower wall. He paid a tribute to the memory of the late Miss Baker, the sister of the unrivalled and ill-requited historian of the county, who with her own hands relieved the elaborate capitals of the nave piers from the numerous coats of whitewash with

which they had been encrusted, using a bone knife for the purpose, and thereby doing no damage to the ancient surface of the stone. Mr. Fairless Barber and Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite made some remarks upon the church differing in some respects from those of Mr. Parker.

The following notes, which have been communicated by Mr. Parker, will be read with interest :—

“This church is well known and celebrated as one of the finest and richest Norman churches in all England. This rich character indicates a comparatively late period, not earlier than the reign of Henry II, although probably the beginning of that reign, and not later than 1150. It is remarkable that we have no history of this church extant, it is only conjectured that it was connected with the castle from its vicinity to it, although it is separated from it by a road, and this, it is believed, has been always the case. The probability is that we are indebted to one of the Counts of *Scutis* (this is usually printed *St. Liz*), but it really is the name of a town in Normandy from which one of the barons of William the Conqueror came, who had a grant of land in Northampton. The plan of the church is remarkably long and narrow, with a fine large clere-story on the exterior, with the small windows at intervals. In the interior this wall is quite plain, and the windows are widely splayed. There is no division between the nave and chancel. There probably was originally a wooden screen only. The narrow aisles of the nave have remains of Norman arches across the top, as if to carry a vault, and it was common in the early part of the twelfth century to have the aisles vaulted with stone, while the central space had a wooden roof and flat ceiling only. It was not until after the year 1150 that the architects ventured to throw a stone vault over a space of twenty feet wide; it was after the return of the Crusades that a vault over the wide space began to be used, and this soon led to the use of the pointed arch, almost of necessity, for when the space to be vaulted was not square, but oblong, the vault could only be made level by the use of the pointed arch over the narrow space. We have, however, no proof that the aisles were vaulted, the stone arches may have been only what are called principals for the wooden roof, as was the case in the old church of *Mont Maitre* in Paris, and in many other instances; we have here the distinct remains of arches, but not of vaults. These remains of arches do not extend to the chancel, to which the three eastern arches belong. There are remains of lean-to roofs over these narrow aisles, at the east end of each, which have been very properly preserved by the architect who restored the church. Eastward of these three arches all the work is modern restoration, there are no remains of the old apse, or Lady chapel, or chantry chapel. Whatever there was at this eastern end of the church (which is almost sure to have been the richest part) has been entirely destroyed. It appears evident that this was done in the time of Edward VI, or the end of Henry VIII, when some family obtained a grant of this eastern part of the church, which would be a separate property, distinct from the nave, which had become or had been made parochial. The probability is that there was an apse with a very rich Norman arch opening into it from the east end of the chancel, and that by the side of this there was also a very rich family chantry chapel. All this eastern part of the church was destroyed by the persons to whom it had been granted, and with the materials of this very rich Norman work the present western tower has been built,

what is now the tower arch at the west end of the nave was probably the arch of the apse, and the other rich Norman arch on the exterior of the tower was that of the chantry chapel.

"The eastern wall of the tower cuts through two of the old clerestorey windows, which are perfect on the exterior, but in the interior, on account of the wide splay, they would have interfered with the wall, and, therefore, the eastern jamb of each window remains perfect, but the western jamb is entirely destroyed by the eastern wall of the tower. An enormous buttress is made on each side to support this eastern wall, which extends even beyond the width of the aisle. On three sides of the tower old Norman arcades are built in, but they are not all of the same period, nor all alike, and are evidently old materials used again. At the two western angles are very curious triple round buttresses, which were probably made from the old Norman columns. The upper or belfry storey is not built of the old material, but is a continuation of this same work, and is of the time of Henry VIII, as are most of the side windows and aisles which are inserted in the old Norman walls. There is a sepulchral arch of the fourteenth century in the south wall of the aisle at the junction between the nave and chancel, as if a chantry chapel had been made at that period, but we have no remains of it."

The tomb of Dr. William Smith, "Strata Smith," the father of English geology, was an object of interest in the churchyard.

The antiquaries then proceeded to the castle, of which the remains now visible consist only of the lower part of a mural tower, a postern gate, fragments of walls and portions of piers, &c., the latter forming part of the buildings mentioned in the Survey of 1323 as having been destroyed by fire. The earthworks are not very considerable, but they received special attention since it was stated that the demon of improvement was about to lay hands upon them and level them for railway purposes. It is pretty evident, from these features, that there was an outer and an inner ward, with a keep at the north-east end of the latter, as recorded by Leland.

Carriages conveyed the party to Danes Camp, Huntsbury Hill, a large oval entrenchment with a single ditch and double vallum. Although generally known as "Danes Camp," Mr. M. H. Bloxam pointed out that it was more probably British. It was arranged according to the natural configuration of the ground, and was certainly not Danish, for the Danes were destroyers rather than constructors.

The next object visited was Queen's Cross. Perhaps no memorial in England is more thoroughly chaste in design, or more appropriate to its purpose than this celebrated cross. Apart from other and higher considerations, its value as a work of art is very great, even at the present day, from the fine and genuine condition in which the greater part of it has come down to us after much peril of restoration in the time of Queen Anne, and in spite of its exposed position. This is equally a matter for surprise and congratulation.

Mr. E. F. Law gave a detailed description of this elegant cross, pointing out its various architectural peculiarities, and showing that there was strong evidence existing to prove that the building had practically suffered but little from the various restoring processes which it had undergone.

It is well known that Queen Eleanor died at Hardby, in Lincolnshire,

November 28th, 1290, and that a cross was set up at each place where her body rested in its progress to Westminster. The expense rolls of her executors give an account of the cost of many of these crosses, among them, that at Northampton, which was erected by John de Battle, between 1291 and 1294. The exquisite figures of the Queen were the work of William de Ireland, "imaginator."

These bear only a general resemblance to the gilt bronze effigy in Westminster Abbey, the work of William Torel, an English goldsmith. We have there a purely conventional figure, and certainly one of great beauty. On the other hand, the singularly graceful statues of Eleanor at Northampton are freely and naturally sculptured. These figures are no doubt as faithful representations of *la chère reine* as the art of the time could produce, and are consequently of the utmost interest and value, as examples of portrait sculpture.

The raised causeway or footpath, which was subsequently traversed by the party on the way back to Northampton, was laid down by Robert, son of Henry of Northampton, "pro animâ reginæ."

St. John's Hospital was visited in passing up Bridge street. This quaint building, with its one gable and rose window facing the street, was founded in 1137; but the present building belongs to the Decorated period. The stained glass on the staircase, the arrangements of the dormitories, and the semi-detached chapel, were duly inspected. In the small yard at the back of the hospital many of those who fell at the battle of Northampton in 1460 were interred. The hospital was situated close to the south gate of the town.

The Antiquarian Section met at 8 p.m. in the Town Hall, when the President (Mr. John Evans) delivered his address. He passed rapidly in review the leading points so admirably summarised by the late Rev. Thomas James, of Sibbertoft, and then proceeded to trace the paleolithic and neolithic remains found in the county, as well as the relics of the pre-Norman period. The most interesting portion of the discourse related to the coins found and minted at Stamford and Northampton respectively, a subject which has been the subject of much research by Mr. Samuel Sharp, the Vice-president of the Section, who has catalogued no less than 686 varieties of coins minted in Saxon times, whilst only 58 varieties were known to have been coined since the Conquest at the former place. The address is printed at page 263.

The Historical Section then opened, under the presidency of Lord Talbot de Malahide (in the unavoidable absence of Mr. E. A. Freeman.)

The Secretary of the Section, Mr. Fairless Barber, read the following letter from Mr. Freeman:—

"Somerleaze, Wells, Somerset,
"July 28th, 1878.

"My dear Hartshorne,—I must ask you to express to the Northampton meeting my regret that I cannot come, as I had hoped to do, and take the place of President of the Historical Section, to which the Institute had been good enough to elect me a third time. If I had much pleasure in holding that post at Cardiff and Colchester, I should have had yet more in holding it at Northampton. Both the town and the county of Northampton were very familiar to me in my youth; and it was among the churches of borough and shire, beginning with St. Giles', that I began my study of mediæval architecture. Had I been

less used to the arcades of St. Peter's, I might have found myself less at home among the arcades of Spalato and Palermo ; had I been less used to the round of St. Sepulchre's, I might have been less at home in the rounds of Aachen and Nocera. From various causes, I have seen but little of both town and county for the last thirty years, and I should have been well pleased to see many things again under such favourable circumstances as a meeting of the Archaeological Institute. I had also specially hoped to have pointed out, as I did at Cardiff and Colchester, the special character of the history of the town and county. I should have liked to contrast the history of Somerset, a primitive *græ*, with that of Northamptonshire, one of the shires mapped out by Edward the Unconquered. In such a case, local history, strictly so called, can hardly exist in the case of the shire itself ; it must be looked for rather in the borough of Northampton and in the abbey of Peterborough. On the other hand there is no part of England within whose bounds a larger number of the great events of English history have taken place. The central position of Northampton made it one of the great meeting-places of Councils and Parliaments, from that in which Harold met the Northumbrian insurgents to that which acknowledged the independence of Scotland : while the central place among them all is held by the great assembly which plays such a part in the history of Archbishop Thomas. Then there is the Rockingham Assembly—the meeting of Rufus and Anselm—the Pipewell Council, the fight of Northampton, all that gathers round Grafton and Fotheringhay, and a crowd of places down to the great day of Naseby. Northamptonshire, again, is, one might almost say, the shire—certainly one of the shires—whose local speech has become the standard of the English tongue, and has supplanted alike the Northumbrian of Cædmon and the West-Saxon of Ælfred. I had fully hoped to work out these points, or some of them, in an inaugural address. But it must not be. My doctors all warn me that, though I am mending and getting strength, I must for some time to come avoid all public speaking and excitement of every kind. So all I can do is to ask you to make my best excuses to the meeting. I greatly regret not being there : but you will bear me witness that I have not broken any engagement, as I told you from the beginning that it was most doubtful whether I should be able to come.

“ Believe me very truly yours,

“ EDWARD A. FREEMAN.”

A general and hearty feeling of regret at Mr. Freeman's absence, and the cause of it, was expressed, and the noble President called upon the Rev. R. S. Baker to read a paper on “The Nene Valley as a Roman Frontier, and the origin of the name Northampton.” This was followed by a lively discussion, in which Lord Talbot de Malahide, Mr. Evans, Mr. Fairless Barber, Mr. Bloxam, and others took part. The general opinion being that Mr. Baker's theory was a reasonable one ; although Mr. Bloxam and Mr. J. T. Burgess were rather disposed to think that the Nene Valley camps formed part of a much larger scheme of defence. The meeting then separated.

In a letter from Mr. Beresford Hope he expressed his great regret that, owing to pressure of parliamentary and other engagements, he was prevented from attending the Northampton Meeting as President of the Architectural Section.

Wednesday, July 31.

A large party started at 10 a.m. from the Market Square for Harlestone Church. A great part of the history of this interesting building is recorded in a contemporary MS. (Lansdown MSS. No. 761), written by Henry de Bray, a resident landowner in the parish at the time. The tower is Early English; the chancel, next in date, was rebuilt, according to Bray's MS., by Richard de Hette, in 1320, and the body of the church completed five years after the erection of the chancel. These statements are confirmed by the inscription on Richard de Hette's monumental slab: *Orate pro anima Ricardi de Hette qui fecit cancellum, ejus auxilio fuit ecclesia facta anno domini 1325.* Of special donation to the work, the MS. tells us that Roger de Lomelay found the ironwork and the glazing; Henry de Bray, the stone and wood; and John Dyve, the carpentry. There is no direct evidence of the manner or extent of the assistance given by Richard de Hette; he probably superintended the whole work, and besides the chancel, the north aisle may be attributed to his munificence. The porch is later than the body of the church, and the clerestories late Perpendicular; the excellent character of the architectural details of the whole church attracted much attention.

The Rev. D. MORTON, the rector, said that the existing tower was certainly there in 1294 because the parson at that time had a small grant of land in order that he might purchase bell ropes. Canon VENABLES called attention to the curious vaulted crypt beneath the chancel, and entered a protest against the removal to such a place of a Caroline bust and slab of a former vicar.

The party then proceeded to Althorpe, where, although the house was closed for repairs, the Earl Spencer was kind enough to throw open the noble gallery, embellished by the pencil of Vandyke, and made classical by the muse of Waller, and where, in 1695, all Northamptonshire crowded to kiss the royal hand of William III. The house was eased by the "shifty Sunderland," but the great staircase and probably the picture gallery remain as they were planned by "Sacharissa" during her long widowhood. The house contains portions of the building of the first Sir John Spencer, who obtained license to crenellate it in 1512. The celebrated library—unique copies, tall copies, uncut copies—described by the ingenious Dr. Dibdin as "casting a heart warming glow," was not seen, but some of the choice bibliographical treasures of Caxton, Pynson, and Wynkyn de Worde, block books, the Mazarine Bible, the famous Valdarfar Boccacio, and many other rare books were exhibited and described by the Rev. F. J. Ponsonby to the great gratification of the visitors. Time did not allow of examining the vast collection of pictures with which the gallery and house is filled, or of inspecting the Hunting Lodge on the north side of the park, built in 1603 by Robert, first Lord Spencer, but some of the curious ornamental stones recording the planting of clumps of trees, from 1567 to 1800, were seen in passing. A cordial expression of thanks was voted to the noble Earl for his kindness, and the party went on to Brington Church. Of this building, the nave and aisles are perhaps of the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The fluted piers of the south arcade are unusual; the same features occur at Harlestone. The chapel, chancel, and clerestories are interesting, as we know not only the date of their erection, but most likely the name of their designer. In the will of the first Sir John Spencer, dated 1522,

two days before his death, it is stated that he had almost rebuilt the church; this can only refer to the Perpendicular portions. The rector at that time was Thomas Heritage, presented by Sir John Spencer, in 1513; he was also chaplain to Henry VIII. and surveyor of that king's works at Westminster; he, in all probability, gave the designs for the works at Brington. The windows contain much glass of this period. The original open seats are dated by the arms upon them—Grey of Ruthyn, and Ferrars of Groby, 1445-1457.

The tombs and effigies of the Spencers, from 1522 to 1636, are exceedingly striking, their fine and genuine condition, the display of heraldry, and the interesting costume exhibited, give them a high value as memorials of an ancient and illustrious family. Brington is a special pilgrimage for Americans. The last English ancestors of George Washington lived many years in the parish, and are buried in the chancel, under slabs bearing the arms: two bars, in chief three mullets, which, if not the origin of the "stars and stripes," is at least a most remarkable coincidence. It was, however, stated by Mr. J. T. Burgess that "the Liberator of America and the Pride of Northampton," in signing documents, used a seal with these very arms, which seems to set the question sufficiently at rest. The Rev. F. J. Ponsonby pointed out some of the features of the church, and among them the altar rails at which Charles I is said to have knelt when a prisoner at Holdenby.

The party arrived at this historic spot at 1.30, and after luncheon, which was provided in a tent pitched in the green court, between the two lateral arches, the Rev. F. C. Alderson called attention to the general features of the place.

Holdenby House was built, about 1570, by Sir Christopher Hatton, as "the last and greatest monument of his youth;" Camden calls it "a fair pattern of stately and magnificent building, maketh a faire glorious show." Lord Burghley visited it in 1579, and found "a great magnificence." Sir Thomas Heneage, five years later, considered it "the best house that hath been built in this age."

The architect of Holdenby was John Thorpe, commonly called John of Padua, the architect of most of the great English houses of this period—such as Kirby, Burghley, Longford, Audley End, Wollaton, and Longleat, where he died, in 1607. Holdenby was conveyed to the crown in 1608.

Anne of Denmark and Prince Henry were here in 1603; and James I came to Holdenby in 1608, when Bishop Andrews preached before him on the anniversary of the Gowry Conspiracy. He was here again, two years later, with his queen, and in 1614, and again in 1618. Charles I and Henrietta Maria were constantly at Holdenby: the queen was here alone for some time in 1636.

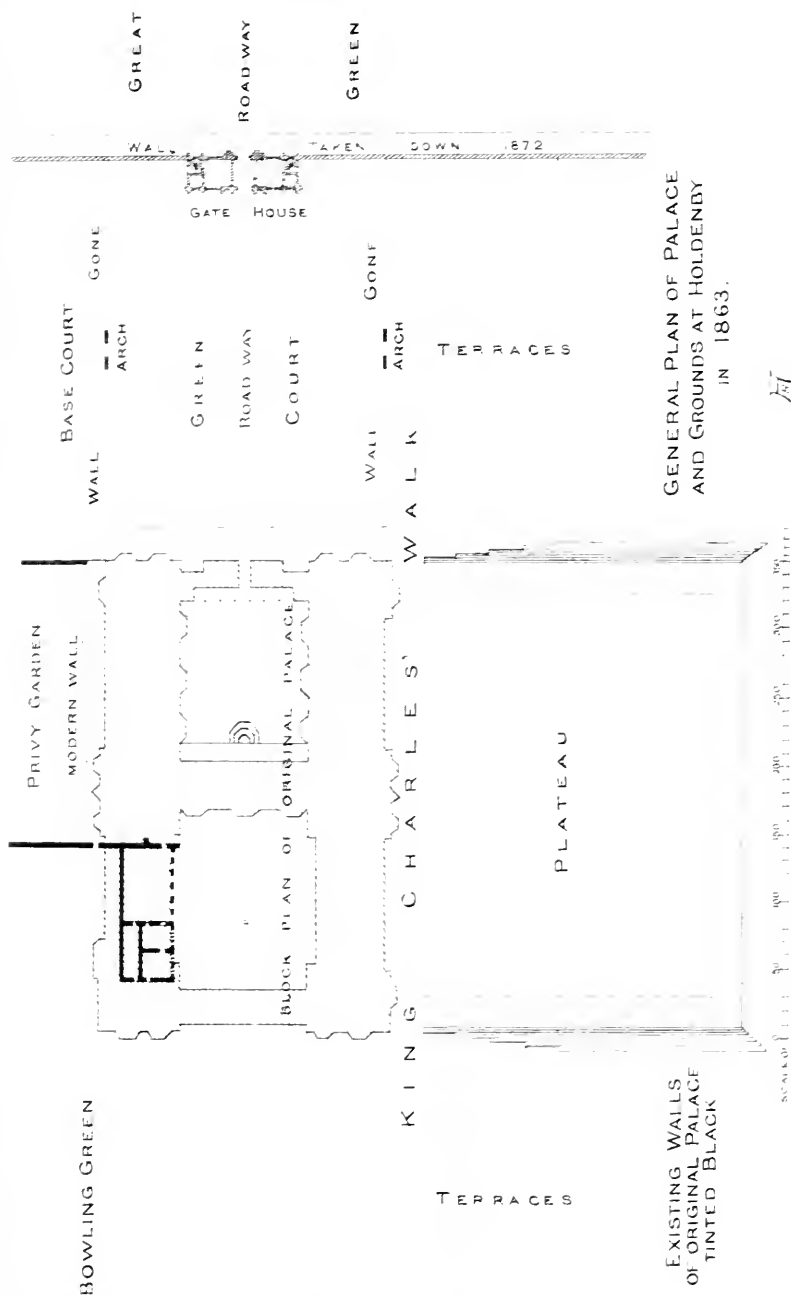
After the Scots had disposed of the king's person, in December, 1646, it was resolved by the Lords and Commons that the king should be removed to Holdenby House, as being capacious and in the heart of the kingdom, and this resolution of "We, your Majesty's loyal subjects," was conveyed to the king at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Charles was accordingly escorted to Holdenby, February 15th, 1647. He was received with all the state of royalty, and at once applied to both Houses for the attendance of two or more of his chaplains, for the assistance of his judgment and for the exercise of his conscience. This request was refused,

but the king declined the services of the two Presbyterian chaplains sent with the commissioners to attend upon him, and said grace himself at dinner and supper "standing under the state."

Of the manner of his life at Holdenby we are told that he devoted two or three hours each day to reading and religious exercises, and recreated himself in the bowling green. This ground not being in good order, he frequently rode to Lord Sunderland's, at Althorpe, where, finding the "bias" not quite true, he went further, to Lord Vaux's, at Boughton. It was on one of these occasions that Bosville attempted, at Brampton Bridge, to convey letters to him from the queen. A similar endeavour, by Mrs. Mary Cave, to furnish him with secret information, failed later on. When the weather did not permit of longer excursions, the king paced up and down the long walk in the garden, accompanied by one or other of the commissioners—usually the Earl of Pembroke or General Browne. He was treated with the greatest respect by his unwilling attendants, who were kept strictly to their posts and duties by the Parliament.

On the 2nd of June (the king being on the bowling-green at Althorpe) word was brought that a party of 700 horse were at Kingsthorpe, obscurely headed. Charles at once returned to Holdenby, the gates were closed, and preparations made for a defence. The approaching party rendezvoused that night on Harlestone Heath, and, advancing into the park, appeared at daybreak in front of the great gates. Colonel Graves, the governor, fled, and the soldiers within having fraternised with those without, matters remained quiet until the evening. At ten o'clock, Cornet Joyce, who commanded the horse, forced his way to the king's bedroom door, and, with a cocked pistol in his hand, demanded an audience. The noise of the parley which ensued with the gentlemen of the bedchamber awoke his Majesty, who, being told the cornet's business, said he would speak with him in the morning. The following day, Joyce had an interview with the king, and announced his intention of removing him from Holdenby. The soldiers being drawn up in the first court before the house, the king standing on the steps, said he was willing to go if satisfactory reasons could be given, and asked for Joyce's commission. "It is behind me," said he, pointing to the soldiers. The king answered that his "instructions were in fair characters, legible without spelling." Resistance being in vain, the unfortunate monarch entered his coach with the Earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, the commissioners and the retinue followed, and Hinchbrook was reached in the evening. Thus ended King Charles's sojourn at Holdenby and the last remains of his personal liberty. This mysterious and audacious proceeding is entirely disclaimed by Fairfax, and is supposed to have originated with Cromwell.

The extent and magnificence of this mansion is sufficiently shown by the capabilities it afforded for the reception of the royal suite. Sir Thomas Herbert tells us that all were accommodated without "straitening," and all the tables as well furnished as when his Majesty was in a peaceful state. The accompanying plan, made in 1863, gives a general idea of the house and grounds. The original ground plans of the house and gate-house have fortunately been preserved in the collection of John Thorpe's drawings in the Soane Museum. Holdenby House was sold in 1650, by the Trustees for the Sale of the Crown Lands, to a Yorkshire speculator, who pulled it down, with the exception of part of the north



GENERAL PLAN OF PALACE
 AND GROUNDS AT HOLDENBY
 IN 1863.

side of the second quadrangle. Some of the materials were taken to Northampton, where three houses were built, one called "Little Holdenby." The remainder suffered the usual fate in such cases, and formed a stone quarry for the neighbourhood. Evelyn describes the house in 1675 as "like a Roman ruine, a stately, solemn and pleasing view." Buck's engraving, taken in 1729, shows one of the two pyramids which stood in the Great Hall, covered with the arms of the nobility of the country. Sir Justinian Isham mentions these in his *Journal*, in 1716, as being "near a hog sty." The screen from the chapel, also shown in Thorpe's plan, is now in the church.

The remains of Holdenby House have been restored and added to by the trustees of the present Viscount Clifden. The interior of the house and its art treasures were inspected, and the church was then visited. This was restored in 1866 by the late Sir G. G. Scott, and contains some good stalls (in the chancel rebuilt from the designs of Sir Henry Dryden, Bart.) belonging to a chantry founded in 1391; some cinque-cento wall decorations, supposed to be from the designs of John of Padua, consisting of borders, contain texts from "the Bishops' Bible," and the chancel screen brought from the chapel in Holdenby House.

The antiquaries continued their journey to Spratton Church. This building with a Transitional tower and north arcade, and the remainder of the church of later periods, was described by Mr. Parker.

The fine alabaster effigy of Sir John Swinford, who died on the feast of St. Stephen in 1371 (Escheat, 46th Edward III, No. 57), attracted much attention. Mr. Hartshorne said that there could be no doubt as to the identity of the knight here represented. The arms of Swinford—Arg. on a fess Gu. a boar passant Sa.—were painted three times upon the tomb; the crest on the tilting helme was a boar's head, and the baudric bore the initials I. S. thrice repeated. He pointed out that the collar of S.S. exhibited by the knight is the earliest sculptured example in the kingdom, and that this at once disposed of the favourite fancy that the collar of S.S. was devised by Henry IV when he was Earl of Derby, in allusion to his motto "*Souverayne*," since he was not born until 1366, and the example at Spratton showed the S.S. collar to have been an established decoration when the king was quite a child. He thought it probable that the collar had its origin in the initial letter of the word "*Sanctus*" so often seen as a "powder" on church vestments or in orfrays. Mr. Hartshorne added that it was a remarkable fact that of the three great European orders: the Garter, the Golden Fleece, and the S.S. collar, nothing of certainty was known of their origin.

The construction of the S.S. collar at Spratton is peculiar. It consists of a band, apparently of leather, with raised edges, between which the S's are strung upon two narrow flat laces, the collar being without a pendant, and fastened in front by a plain cord with the long end expended in a knot similar to the slip in what is called a "hangman's knot."

The next place visited was Brixworth Church. The conflicting opinions that have been expressed as to the age of the various parts of this celebrated church have invested it with such an air of doubt, and almost mystery, that the members of the Institute eagerly seized the opportunity of visiting it. The remote antiquity that has been so confidently assigned to Brixworth Church by the Brixworthian theory, and the, in many respects, unhappy restoration of 1866, have certainly

tended, not only to prejudice the question of its age, but to make the real solution of the story more difficult than ever, the *bête noire* of the whole question being "Roman Basilica." It was, therefore, a matter for congratulation that so large a number of comparative archaeologists were present on this occasion, to consider the building, and to endeavour to strip it of some of the guise of romance and fancy, with which it has been more or less shrouded.¹

MR. PARKER took his stand on the south side of the church, and spoke at some length, and he has since been kind enough to contribute the following notes :—

"This church was thoroughly restored in 1866, and considerable excavations were made at the east end, bringing to light the lower part of an old apse, with an aisle round it. The level of the ground in the aisle is ten feet below that of the present church; this aisle has remains of a barrel vault, built of very rough rubble stone, and there is a square portion between the arch and the beginning of the curve. These are Norman, and not Roman features. In Rome itself the only basilica of which the foundations are perfect, and which has not been made into a church, is the Basilica Jovis, on the Palatine, recently excavated, and in this the curve begins, immediately from the site of the arch. The Basilica of Constantine was made out of the Temple of Peace, as rebuilt by Maxentius, by *adding an apse to it*; this apse remains perfect, and also consists of the curve only, with no intervening space; the straight vertical joint between the work of Constantine and that of Maxentius is distinctly visible. The most perfect church of the Basilica type in Rome is that of St. Agnes, and here again the curve of the apse begins from the arch, without any intervening space. At Brixworth, on the other hand, the arches of the nave and of the clerestorey windows are irregularly built, but in the Roman fashion, with a thin layer of mortar between the Roman flat bricks or tiles. That the bricks are really Roman work of the third century there can be no doubt, but most of them, if not all, are broken, which looks more like rebuilding of old materials, and a fair imitation of what was there before. A Roman brick is usually two feet square, and from one inch to three inches thick, according to the period, the thinnest being the earliest. In the first century, in the time of Nero, ten bricks to the foot, mortar included, can be counted in the arches, but in the time of Constantine the bricks are three inches thick. When the Royal Archaeological Institute met at Colechester, in 1876, they had the opportunity of seeing bricks of both periods, used as old materials. At Brixworth the tower at the west end is quite distinct from the rest of the building. It is built upon a porch, with four doorways, of which the north one is closed, the others are open. The east wall of the tower is the west wall of the church, and in this wall is a window, with ballusters for shafts, resembling those of Benedict Biscop at Jarrow, but not quite so early. The probability is, that this west wall with the window in it is part of the church, built or rebuilt with old materials, in the eighth century, and that the tower is of the early part of the eleventh. A staircase turret has been built against the west wall of this tower. This is round on the

¹ A careful paper upon Brixworth Church, by the late Mr. Roberts, is

printed in the Journal of the Association, vol. xx, p. 285.

exterior: but flat where it abuts against the wall. It is an addition to the tower, but probably not long afterwards."

An examination having been made of the exterior, under the guidance of Mr. Parker, the party entered the church, when the vicar, the Rev. H. E. Gedge, propounded the theory of the Brixworthians, which he said was that the church had been a Roman basilica of the fourth century, and he challenged contradiction, so as to put himself in the position of having to defend the remotest antiquity that could be claimed. He said that the proportions of the building being two perfect squares, he thought there were good grounds for believing that it was a Roman basilica, which never having been polluted by idolatrous rites was subsequently converted into a Christian church. He called attention to a carved stone eagle which had been found inserted, face inward, into the wall, and which, by the Brixworthians, was considered Roman. This object was at once pronounced to be Saxon or Norman work, and a supposed Roman bronze sword was pronounced to be British. Mr. J. EVANS asked what proof there was of the existence of a Roman town in the neighbourhood to favour the supposition of a basilica? Mr. GEDGE replied that they were certainly beaten back in that regard, but on the other hand it might be taken as a point in their favour, for if the building had been in a large town, it might not have been considered good enough, and consequently its most valued features would have been destroyed. Mr. BLOXAM was not disposed to place the building earlier than the eighth century, and said that the church formerly belonged to the Benedictine abbey of Peterborough. Mr. MICKLETHWAITE added that the size of the church, as a part of a monastic establishment, was therefore easily accounted for.

Mr. CLARK said that the question was not one to be determined merely by the consideration of population. Here there were unquestionably a quantity of Roman materials, and the quantity of them forbade the supposition that they had been brought from any great distance. Still, having seen something of Roman basilicae himself, he thought the proportions were not as stated; and further, that the apse was altogether deeper than that of a Roman basilica, which was intended to hold the judge, and scarcely anyone else. In that building, if he sat in the apse, he would not possess that command of the people which he would have in a basilica. Then again he said he had never seen a basilica with an ambulatory around it like that described, and it was quite clear that that church was intended to have aisles around it, which should be an integral part of the building, and not leave it a mere parallelogram. It appeared to him that though the materials were Roman, the work was not that of Roman builders, the tiles used in the arches did not properly radiate, and were evidently set by people who were not accustomed to use them in such positions.

In the heat of the argument, the fine effigy in ring mail of Sir John Verdon was almost overlooked, and the members subsequently made their way back to Northampton, carrying with them reminiscences of examples of every style of English architecture which had been seen during the day.

A *conversazione* was held at 9 p.m. in the Town Hall, when Mr. LAW read a paper on "Queen's Cross," illustrated by full size detail drawings. Mr. LAW at the outset made a well-timed allusion to the loving feeling

exercised in the erection of the cross, which he held to be one of the most graceful and appropriate memorials to be found in the United Kingdom, or in any other part of the world. The speaker then went on to state, as the result of most careful examination, that the several restorations of the cross had interfered but little with the general character of the structure. Indeed, so carefully, and upon the whole, so faithfully had the restorations been executed, that had it not been for the varieties of the stone used in the several restorations, it would have been difficult to ascertain where some of them had been effected. He was proud of many ancient works in every department of art, and was prepared to venerate them, but he freely confessed that he was not so antiquated in his pride and veneration, as to allow them to become defunct, rather than lend a helping hand towards their proper and legitimate preservation. Mr. Law then dealt with the restorations of 1713, 1762, and 1836, giving from personal knowledge a very comprehensive account of the latter, which, he said, was carried out with the most judicious and sacred care. He mentioned in conclusion that a desire had often been expressed to see the summit completed, but until something more definite could be discovered as to its original termination, he quite agreed with the late Mr. Hartshorne, and many others, that it would be best to leave it alone.

A selection of music was given during the evening, and the meeting separated at a late hour.

Thursday, August 1.

At 8.45 a.m. the general meeting of the members of the Institute was held in the Mayor's parlour, in the Town Hall, the Venerable LORD ALWYNE COMPTON in the chair.

MR. HARTSHORNE read the balance sheet for the past year (printed at p. 305). He then read the following

“REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1877-8

“The year has not been, archaeologically, a very eventful one. The return of the Castellani collections of antique and renaissance objects to Europe, from America, where it had formed so important a feature of the exhibition at Philadelphia, cannot be other than a subject of congratulation to antiquaries and lovers of ancient art. It is remarkable that, notwithstanding the desire of many travelled and learned Americans, by whom the opportunity of receiving so valuable an acquisition to the museums of their country was fully appreciated, their government should have allowed it to escape, and European museums will again have the advantage that America has let slip.

“The collection of majolica, among which were some examples of rare beauty and interest, was recently sold by public auction in Paris, in some instances realizing prices hitherto unknown. It is to be hoped that the more important section, consisting of antique gems, jewelry, bronzes, sculpture, etc., may not be lost to our own public institutions.

“At the last Annual Meeting the Council reported that, the engagement with Mr. Ranking as Secretary and Librarian having terminated, the Council had appointed Mr. Albert Hartshorne and Mr. William Brailsford Joint Secretaries, the former to be responsible for editing the Journal, and the latter to act as Curator and Librarian. The Council

has now to express its regret that this arrangement was not found to work satisfactorily. Mr. Brailsford's health became broken down, and his attendance irregular, and it became desirable that he should be relieved from his duties, and the Council has appointed Mr. Hartshorne sole Secretary and Librarian and Editor of the *Journal*. When Mr. Hartshorne was appointed, the issue of the *Journal*, in consequence of the illness and death of the late Mr. Burt, was in arrear, and the Council is now gratified in being able to state that six numbers have been issued during the past year, and that the arrears of the *Journal* are now reduced to one number. The Council is glad to be able to add that the *Journal* continues to maintain that high character which drew forth special encomiums at the meeting held at Canterbury, in 1875, and, further, that the arrangement with Mr. Pollard, of Exeter, for printing the *Journal*, continues to work satisfactorily.

"In the Report presented to the General Meeting of Members, in 1876, the Council drew attention to the absolute necessity of strengthening the executive of the Institute, remarking that for many years, in the earlier days of the Society, the general conduct of the business had been the work of *three* Honorary Secretaries, and that for some years, then lately passed, the whole had devolved upon one such officer, a state of things which would not continue without disadvantage to the best interests of the Institute. Since that date the active Honorary Secretary then adverted to has been lost by the lamented death of Mr. Burt, so that now, practically, the Institute is destitute of any such officer; and if, at the time mentioned, the Council was anxious lest the interests of the Institute should suffer, it is so now in a far greater degree. Steps have been taken to fill these positions, but hitherto, unfortunately, without success, and the Council desires the assistance of the members at large, as they value the prosperity of the Institute to assist it by endeavouring to induce two thoroughly well-qualified members to undertake the positions referred to.

"At the last Annual Meeting the Council was able to state that the General Index to the first twenty-five volumes of the *Journal*, to the publication of which the members had so long looked forward, had been, with the obliging assistance of several members, compiled by the late Mr. Burt, that some portion had been sent to the press, but that the work had been interrupted by Mr. Burt's illness and death; moreover that Sir John Maclean had kindly consented to complete the work, and a hope was expressed that it would soon be ready for issue. This has now been accomplished, and the Council has much gratification in being able to state that Sir John Maclean has verified every entry, and to congratulate the subscribing members upon the issue of the long desired volume.

"That the financial condition of the Institute is not unsatisfactory will appear from the Balance Sheet. A large amount remained outstanding from over-due subscriptions, arising, probably, from the weakness of the executive staff; but the Council has recently taken measures for their collection, which have been cheerfully and promptly responded to by the members.

"The losses of the Institute by death during the last few years have been very severe. Last year the Institute had to mourn the decease of Mr. Burt, which is too fresh in the memory of all to need further remark, and of Mr. Talbot Bury, for many years an active member of

the Council; and now Sir G. Gilbert Scott has been removed. Those of the members who had the privilege of hearing Sir Gilbert's description of the cathedral at Hereford last year will not soon forget the remarkable skill with which he illustrated the architectural features of that interesting structure, drawing out its history, in the absence of all written records, from the very stones. His mastery of details was very remarkable. It will be unnecessary now to say more about Sir Gilbert Scott, since a notice of him will appear in the pages of the *Journal*.

“Since the last Annual Meeting Mr. John Hewitt has passed away. The pages of the *Journal*, from the year 1851 to the present time, have been greatly enriched by many valuable contributions from Mr. Hewitt's pen, well illustrated by his careful pencil; and perhaps few members possessed such a thorough and critical knowledge of ancient armour and weapons, acquired during his long and useful service in the Ordnance Department. His chart of Ancient Armour brought him much credit many years ago. The examples which it illustrated being chosen with much judgment, and his important work, “Ancient Armour and Weapons in Europe,” gave him a deservedly high position as a critic and exponent of a subject which he had made peculiarly his own. Whilst Mr. Hewitt studied carefully actual armour and weapons, he did not neglect the monumental effigy, and by applying the one to the other he was enabled to give much interest and value to his writings. He departed at his native place, Lichfield, January 10th, aged 71.

“The members of the Council to retire by rotation this year, under the rules of the Institute, are: the Hon. W. O. Stanley, Vice-President, and the following ordinary members, Mr. W. D. Jeremy, the Rev. W. J. Loftie, Mr. F. C. J. Spurrell, Mr. G. T. Clark, Major Luard Selby, and Mr. H. Vaughan.

“The Council has provisionally appointed Sir W. V. Guise, Bart., to a vacant seat on the Council, caused by the death of Sir G. G. Scott, and submits that appointment for the confirmation of the members. It would recommend the appointment of Mr. G. T. Clark as Vice-President in the room of the Hon. W. O. Stanley, and the re-election of the latter, the Rev. W. J. Loftie, and Mr. H. Vaughan as members of the Council.

“It is usual to elect the senior Auditor after two years' service to a place on the Council, and the appointment of Mr. J. Hilton is accordingly recommended, and the following gentlemen are proposed by the Council to succeed to the remaining vacancies; Lord Henry Scott, M.P., and Lieut.-General Sir Henry Lefroy; it is further suggested that Mr. J. N. Foster be appointed Auditor for the next year, in the room of Mr. Hilton.”

The adoption of the Report having been moved and seconded, the place of meeting next year was taken into consideration. Norwich, Durham, Taunton, and other places being severally discussed, it was ultimately proposed by Mr. Bloxam and seconded by Mr. Micklethwaite, and carried, that the matter be referred to the Council in London.

Mr. EVANS brought forward the question of the proposed new high pitched roof at St. Alban's, and read Mr. J. O. Scott's report upon it. In answer to the noble Chairman, Mr. Evans explained the reasons for his strong disapproval of the proposed course of the St. Alban's

Restoration Committee. He was followed by Mr. Barber, Mr. Somers Clarke, the Rev. J. Fuller Russell and Mr. Bloxam, who spoke to the same effect.

Mr. EVANS then moved the following resolution :—

“That the Institute learns with regret and surprise that it is proposed to place a high pitched roof over the nave of St. Alban's Abbey, thus entirely altering the external character which that ancient building has presented during upwards of four hundred years, and it desires to enter an earnest protest against such a proposal, and requests the President and officers to forward to the St. Alban's Restoration Committee a statement of the views of the Institute.”

This was put from the chair and carried, and a vote of thanks to the noble Chairman brought the meeting to a close.

At 9.45 a.m. a very numerous party started from the Bridge street railway station for Wellingborough. The carriages that were here waiting conveyed the antiquaries to Irchester camp.

The Rev. R. S. BAKER, who had been conducting an extensive exploration of this Roman station in anticipation of the visit of the Institute, said that there is every reason to believe it was formed about 48 A.D. by Ostorius, for the defence of the southern part of the kingdom against the savage and unsubdued northern peoples. The earliest mention of the encampment is, however, that by Dr. Morton, the county historian of Queen Anne's time, who gives the measurements of the walls, none of which are now above the ground level. The site had then, and has ever since, served as a quarry for building stones. The present excavations have been carried on at the boundaries of the site, and have exposed a circular bastion at the south angle, and at the north-west end the foundations of parts of the guard-houses on either side of the gate, and at intervals all round the area walling of about 9ft. in thickness. The masonry is chiefly of thin laminae of local stone, disposed herring-bone or flat, and here and there a tile of about 3in. in thickness; at the angles and gates large stones pierced with “lewis holes” for lifting them are used. In the course of the excavations a few coins of the later emperors, and bushels of broken pottery have been found, and are preserved at Irchester vicarage: the cleaning out of two wells and some cisterns having yielded many Roman relics. In the Roman cemetery, 500 yards away, were found some stone coffins. The visitors made the circuit of the walls, entering some of the excavations, and a few went to the vicarage to examine the antiquities collected there. A vote of thanks was passed by acclamation to the owner of the camp, Mr. G. Ferris Whidborne, who had so greatly furthered the work of exploration. Mr. Fairless Barber suggested that the Roman works were covered by mounds for defence at a subsequent period, as at Templeborough, and described the recent discoveries at that station.

Irchester church, one of the few unrestored churches in the district, was then visited. Mr. PARKER gave a general description of its features, condemning the deal “donkey boxes,” and calling attention to the fine tower, and spire with not altogether satisfactory broaches. The desire of the vicar for suggestions as to the way in which the restoration of the church should be carried out was amply responded to.

Rushden church was next reached. This is a highly beautiful building with a magnificent Late Decorated steeple, finer even than

that at Higham Ferrers. The western door of the tower has a remarkable shallow porch. There is architectural evidence that the whole circuit of the walls is of the very end of the thirteenth century. The nave arcades are Early Perpendicular, those of the chancel are later, the church having undergone many alterations, all of which plainly tell their own story. Within, the lofty transepts, the rich Strainer arch, the fine roofs, the parcloes and the Early English sedilia and piscina, help to make up an interior which is not only exceedingly interesting but very striking indeed. Mr. PARKER gave a general description of the building. The Perpendicular "Bochar arch" which opens from the south transept to the chancel aisle has the following inscription on the soffit:—

gis arche made huc bochar and Julian hife wyf of whose
sowlus God haue merci upon Amen.

The monument of Sir Edward Pemberton, who died 1616, has the following inscription, now nearly illegible, which may be read with profit by present restorers:—

When all is done it only is the pen
Can tell the world the good or ill of men.
Stone, wood, or brasse whereon ther navght is writ,
Is soone as silent as those vnder it,
And for tradition lett the dead not trust
Her to the living that we see uniuste.
Then for thy Reverence to his generovs race
The knight which here lyes buried in this place
Hurt not this toombe, raze not what thou hast (read),
Oh, in thy mercye doe not wronge the dead.

Over the north porch is a chamber approached by a ladder, which, before the passing of the Poor Law Act, was allotted by the parish authorities as the residence of an old woman.

The party then proceeded to Higham Ferrers. This formerly collegiate church is without doubt the finest in a district remarkable for the splendour of its ecclesiastical buildings, and its historical associations, and the numerous monuments of mediæval piety with which it is surrounded, invest it with peculiar interest. Speaking generally, the Early English and the Decorated styles prevail in the church. To the former belong the tower with its sumptuous double entrance, and the south arcade; to the latter, the lady chapel, the double north arcade, and the roofs of the nave and north aisle. Further and minor alterations were carried out later on, leaving the church much as it now appears. The spire was rebuilt in 1631. The interior is rich in brasses, heraldry, stalls, parcloes, and tile pavements. The stalls and parcloes are most likely the work of Archbishop Chichele, a native of the place, and a *protégé* of William of Wykeham, and it is to Chichele's munificence that we owe the beautiful School House, and the Bede House (founded in 1423) in the churchyard, and the College in the town, founded in 1415. Between the lady chapel and chancel is an altar tomb, on which are carved the three lions of England and other arms. The upper part consists of a marble slab, on which is a large brass of a priest in eucharistic vestments, with emblems, figures of apostles, and other devices. The arch above the tomb has been painted with butterflies and lions rampant.

An animated and well sustained discussion arose concerning this tomb, the tradition being that it was built for John of Gaunt, who, according to Norden, had a house at Rushden. Lord Alwyne Compton gave his reasons for believing that the monument was to Robert de St. Maur, rector from 1289 to 1337. Mr. Bloxam was disposed to think the brass was later.

The Bede House, School House, Manor House, and College were then visited, and after luncheon had been partaken of at the "Green Dragon," the party divided equally, No. 1 going in carriages at 2.15 to Raunds Church, one of the most striking and important in this part of the county, with a fine and massive Early English tower, with a singular pedimental set-off. The chancel and its aisle are of the same period; the north and south aisles are Decorated, with certain later features introduced. The east window is fine Early English; indeed, all the work here of this period is good. The arrangement of the chancel arch is very singular. The extraordinary series of wall paintings are fully described by Mr. Waller in the *Journal*, v. xxxiv, p. 219. The spire was rebuilt in 1826.

Stanwick Church, which was next visited, has a unique Early English octagonal lantern of great beauty, crowned by a fourteenth century spire. The body of the church, with *four-centred* arcades, is said to be of the same date as the tower, but like the south aisle has probably been much altered in Perpendicular times.

The next stopping place was Irthlingborough. This is a most curious and interesting church, its peculiarities arising mainly from the use made of the Norman foundations for the thirteenth century church, from the enlarged building that was required when the College was founded in the time of Edward III (1376), by John Pyel, and from the domestic buildings then added, which do not exactly now tell their story. The most remarkable feature is the ponderous tower, a partly domestic structure, with its lofty lantern. This is attached to the main body of the church by the western porch, and has vaulted chambers and other domestic features connected with it. Their purpose has exercised the ingenuity of antiquaries. They were probably offices of the college. The interior of the church is less impressive than the outside, but its furniture is remarkably complete. It is evident that an Early English church was erected on Norman foundations; and that Pyel's alterations and additions include the tower and the domestic buildings, is proved by his arms on the western doorway. The chancel contains the return stalls of Pyel's foundation; they have no particular merit.

There are alabaster effigies of Pyel and his wife, and Elizabeth (or Ann) Cheyne, all shockingly mutilated, and a good canopied tomb in Purbeck marble, now despoiled of its brasses, to an unknown worthy, and apparently by the same artist as Chaucer's monument in Westminster Abbey, which was erected in 1551. The closing words of the "good counsel," attributed to the father of English poetry on his death bed:

"Here is no home, here is but a wilderness"—

may perhaps be applied, in a different sense, to the present state of Irthlingborough Church, though its unrestored condition will, no doubt, commend itself to "searchers after truth."

Finedon Church, of great size and beauty, with transepts, was the

last place visited. The whole building, with the exception of the tower and spire, which are rich Perpendicular, is early Decorated work. The details throughout are of the best kind, the interior of the church being as imposing as the exterior. The church was perhaps the finest, architecturally, that was seen during the meeting. The chancel screen is of stone, an unusual feature in this country. A fine Strainer arch takes the thrust of the western walls of the transept. The ancient practice of separating the men from the women prevails here, and in the room over the porch is a library with a curious collection of divinity and valuable editions of the Fathers. The situation of the church is all that can be desired, surrounded, as it is, with venerable yews and hollies. The Rev. G. W. Paul entertained the visitors, with much hospitality, in the vicarage gardens.

In the meantime the party No. 2 went by rail from Higham Ferrers station, where the members inspected the fourteenth century bridge over the Nene, with its ribbed arches and projecting cut-waters. Proceeding by rail to Thrapstone station, Islip Church was visited, and described by Mr. Parker and the rector, the Rev. N. F. Lightfoot. This well-proportioned late Decorated church has a Perpendicular tower, with "clasping" buttresses, which are local, and satisfactory features. The characteristic Northamptonshire fashion of chimneys, split, or with a wind-break between them, was seen in the village to perfection, as the party journeyed in carriages to Lowick Church.

This is an early Perpendicular building, with a beautiful tower, and octagonal lantern, a sort of miniature Boston, with flying buttresses. Painted glass of Decorated character fills the window of the north aisle. The tombs, effigies, and brasses of the Greenes and Staffords, and the general rich and genuine character of the interior give a high value to this church. Halstead's *Genealogies*, one of the rarest of books, gives an account of the monuments. The tomb and effigies of Ralph Greene and his wife (1419) are the work of Thomas Prentys and Robert Sutton "Kervers," of Chellaston, in Derbyshire, and were erected, according to an indenture still existing, in 1420, at the cost of £40. Upon a low Purbeck marble tomb are the brasses of Sir Henry Greene, died 1467, and his wife Margaret. The tomb and effigy of Edward Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire, are among the very best works of this period; the heraldic and other details are delicately and faithfully executed, and the sculpture of the whole is as fine as it can be. The dignity and solemnity of this rich church leave an impression upon the mind not easily effaced, and the antiquaries were slow to leave it, even for Drayton House, which stands in the midst of a park full of avenues of wych-elm and limes, and is a remarkable and interesting example of a house of many periods still inhabited. Sir Simon de Drayton had licence in the 5th of Edward III. to crenellate his mansion-house here, and to impark thirty acres. Sir Henry Greene, of Boughton, was subsequently invested in the manor by his cousin, Sir John Drayton. He held Bristol Castle against the Lancastrians, but was overpowered and executed in 1399. His son, Ralph Greene, was restored to Drayton by Act of Parliament; he deceased without issue in 1419, and was succeeded by his brother John, who, dying in 1433, was succeeded by his second son Henry, whose only child and heiress, Constance, married John Stafford, second son of Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham, created Earl of

Wiltshire in 1470, and who died four years later. To him succeeded Edward Stafford, who departed, without issue, in 1499. His large estates passed to his second cousin, Elizabeth Vere, who married John Mordaunt, created Lord Mordaunt, of Turvey, in 1533, and took with her the blood and arms of those ancient and noble families, the Veres, the Greenes, and the Mauduits of Werminster, and from her were directly descended the Earls of Peterborough. Sixth in direct descent from John Lord Mordaunt was Lady Mary Mordaunt, married in 1677 to Henry, seventh Duke of Norfolk. This union was dissolved by Act of Parliament in 1700, and in 1701 she married the notorious Sir John Germaine. She died in 1705, leaving him in possession of Drayton. He subsequently married Lady Elizabeth, second daughter of Charles, second Earl of Berkeley, and died in 1718, leaving her the whole of his property. Lady Elizabeth, better known as Lady Betty Germaine, survived her husband fifty years, and died in 1769, bequeathing the greater part of her large fortune to Lord George Sackville, second son of Lionel Cranfield, first Duke of Dorset. He assumed the name of Germaine in 1770, and was created Viscount Sackville in 1782. His eldest son Charles succeeded his cousin in 1815, as fifth Duke of Dorset, and by his death in 1843, the title became extinct.

Henry Greene rebuilt part of Drayton: it was much altered by the Mordaunts in the time of Elizabeth, and the fact of the chimneys on the north front being identical in character and details with those which John Thorpe set up over Humfrey Stafford's hall and buildings at Kirby, is interesting as giving another example in Northamptonshire, of the work of this famous architect.¹ The house was considerably remodelled in the time of William III, who once paid a visit here, which is evidenced by the decorations of the great dining room. All these changes give great character to the house, and the vast vaulted Edwardian cellars, the Venetian bronze knockers, and the ornamental ironwork about the place, are not its least remarkable features. Tudor towers are crowned by William III cupolas, and a vast hall has been interpolated within the old quadrangle, the approach to which is through a screen of the time of Simon de Drayton.

The following is the description of the place left by Horace Walpole, written to Montague, in 1763:—

"Well! we hurried away, and got to Drayton an hour before dinner. Oh! the dear old place, you would be transported with it! The front is a brave, strong castle wall, embattled and loop-holed for defence. Passing through the great gate, you come to a sumptuous, but narrow modern court, behind which rises the old mansion, all towers and turrets. The house is excellent: has a vast hall, ditto dining-room, king's chamber, trunk gallery at the top of the house, handsome chapel, and seven or eight distinct apartments.

¹ As the founder of a school of regular architecture, most completely suited to the requirements of the country, John Thorpe is entitled to the greatest respect. He lived at a time, pre-eminently a house building period, when defence was no longer thought of. Money for building purposes was plentiful enough, and Thorpe showed himself capable of taking good advantage of his opportunity; but at

his death his influence almost entirely vanished, and a fine type of domestic architecture quickly degenerated into a picturesque, but bizarre style, from which it was only partially rescued by Inigo Jones. Thus passed away the first opportunity for establishing a national style of architecture that had occurred since the thirteenth century.

besides closets and conveniences without end. Then it is covered with portraits, crammed with old china, furnished richly, and not a rag in it under forty, fifty, or a thousand years old, and not a bed or a chair that has lost a tooth, or got a grey hair, so well are they preserved. I rummaged it from head to foot, examined every spangled bed and enamelled pair of bellows, for such there are; in short, I do not believe the old mansion was ever better pleased with an inhabitant since the days of Walter de Drayton, except when it has received its divine old mistress. . . . The garden is just as Sir John Germaine brought it from Holland; pyramidal yews, treillages, and square cradle walks, with windows clipped in them."

The house retains its spangled beds, a quantity of old china, and a large number of portraits. The gardens were restored to their ancient formality by the late Mr. Stopford Sackville. There are large pieces of still water, in which the house is reflected, with lime trees of great size sweeping the banks and walks of turf between them. The old hedges of hornbeam and beech might be the very same, introduced by Sir John Germaine from Holland, who, according to Walpole, was so ignorant, that he turned the pillars of his new colonnade with the capitals downwards, supposing them to be pedestals.

The visitors walked through the formal gardens, and then saw the many treasures and objects of interest in the house, including a fine copy of "Halstead's Genealogies," and were subsequently most hospitably entertained, by Mrs. Stopford Sackville, with tea and other refreshments. Returning to Thrapston station, and again taking the train, they were joined, at Wellingborough, by the antiquaries from Finedon, and the whole party reached Northampton at 7 p.m.

Friday, August 2.

The section of Antiquities met, for the second time, in the Town Hall, Mr. J. EVANS in the chair. Mr. M. H. BLOXAM read a paper "On the Mediæval Sepulchral Antiquities in Northamptonshire" (printed at p. 242). A discussion followed, in which LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, the Rev. C. R. MAXNING, Mr. J. EVANS, Mr. F. BARBER, and Mr. S. TUCKER (*Rouge Croix*), took part. LORD ALWYNE COMPTON read a paper, on the tomb, with the brass of Lawrence de St. Maur, at Higham Ferrers, which will be printed in a future Journal.

Mr. S. SHARP read a careful paper on "The Rothwell Crypt and Bones," which elicited some remarks from LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, the Very Rev. Dr. SCOTT, Mr. PARKER, and Mr. BLOXAM. Mr. Sharp's paper will appear in a future Journal.

The Historical section then opened for the second time, when LORD HENLEY read an article on "The States General of France," which is printed at p. 195. Visits were subsequently paid by different parties to St. Sepulchre's, All Saints, and St. Giles' churches. St. Sepulchre's is, perhaps, as well known as any of the six round churches in England; the other five are: the Temple Church, those at Cambridge, Maplestead, and Ludlow, and the foundations of one at Dover. It is possible that this church was originally founded by the first Simon de St. Liz. in the early part of the twelfth century. The first plan was similar to that of other churches of this type, viz., a circular nave, a

choir, and a presbytery. The original choir, now the nave, has on the north side Transitional piers; those on the south are Decorated. The whole building has been greatly added to in modern times—too much so to please antiquaries—but the interior is still impressive. The tower is late Decorated, of clumsy design. With the exception of the tower, the church of All Saints was destroyed by the fire of 1675. Of the existing building the late Mr. Petit remarked, in 1854:

“I say nothing of the western colonnade, which whatever may be its intrinsic merits, evidently does not harmonize with the tower and Gothic parts of the building; and I will give up the windows of the church, as being extremely ugly—an unsuccessful attempt to put the Gothic tracery window into an Italian form. With these exceptions, I do not dislike the exterior; viewed from some points the outline is very striking. But it is with the interior of the church, taken between the western transept and the chancel, that I would deal at present. Its plan consists of what may be called two concentric squares; that is, squares both of whose diagonals respectively coincide with each other, having a common central point of intersection. The outer square consists of the wall of the church, the inner one is marked out by four large columns on pedestals. Now if we take the square, of which these columns are the angles, and produce the sides to the outer walls, we shall obtain, within the large square, areas of three different descriptions. One square in the centre, one smaller square at each angle, four in all; and one rectangular oblong, corresponding to each side of the central square, four in all. The four squares at the angles have flat ceilings, supported by entablatures extending from each column to the outer walls. These ceilings form abutments to arched roofs, which cover the oblong compartments. The arches are segmental, a form less pleasing to the eye, but in this case, perhaps, more correct constructively than the semi-circle. And over the central square is a dome, lighted by an opening in the top, and resting on pendentives of a curved surface, similar to those used in Byzantine buildings. Now it will be seen at once that the whole of this construction is quite satisfactory, the general effect is fine, and the arrangement good, as regards convenience; I say nothing of the present fitting up, but it is clear that the plan admits of the most perfect arrangements for the use of a large congregation. It is true all the construction above the capitals of the pillars is of wood, and I do not suppose that stone architraves of the requisite length could have been procured, but, even though it be in wood, we have a beautiful and varied roof instead of an ordinary ceiling of timber beams, and rafters. On a similar principle, though upon a less simple plan, is constructed the deservedly admired Church of St. Stephen's, Walbrook. In these examples the constructive design comprehends at once the system of the beam or lintel, and of the arch; and the substitution of either for the other would be no improvement in beauty or convenience; nor am I aware of any sound argument that can be advanced in condemnation of this union of two different systems.”—*Architectural Principles and Prejudices*, p. 31.

It has been said, but apparently upon no special evidence, that this church is the work of Sir Christopher Wren.

St. Giles' Church is a large cross church, Late Norman in origin. There is a western doorway of this period, and the tower stands upon crippled Norman piers; the chancel is Early English, and the rest of

the church generally Perpendicular. Cross churches are very unusual in this county—that of Duston, two miles from Northampton, is a fine example.

In the course of their perambulation the antiquaries saw a house in the Market Square, probably one of those built from the ruins of Holdenby, dated 1595, and bearing the inscription—*HEB DWR, HEB DYM, DYWA DYGOX* (“Without God, without everything, God and enough”)—and the arms of Wake, Danvers, and Parker. This was the only house in this district spared by the great fire. In Mare Fair an Elizabethan house, built by the Hasleriggues, and occupied for many years by the laborious, unrivalled, and ill-requited historian of the county, Mr. Baker, was noticed, and houses in the Drapery, Gold street and St. Giles’ street, built out of the ruins of Holdenby. There are several cellars of the time of Edward I in the Drapery, which existed under this name at that period.

The visitors had ample opportunity of seeing evidences of the principal trade of the town, that of shoemaking, which has been carried on from the twelfth century to the present day. Here was also the great mart for the “Leather Bottel.” King John, in 1213, paid nine-pence for a pair of shoes (*pro 1 pari botarum singularum*). It will be remembered that when the coffin was opened in 1797, the remains of boots were found upon the royal feet. Boots, for the leader of Henry III’s greyhounds, cost fourpence: the winter shoes of William de Blatherwick, foxhunter to Edward I, and two of his assistants, cost seven shillings. The craft was well established in the time of Edward VI. In 1648 the citizens furnished Cromwell’s army with fifteen hundred pairs of shoes: it is only fair to add that they had given Charles and Henrietta two costly pieces of plate, in 1634, when they passed through the town. The mayor presented Prince Albert with a pair of boots in 1844, and in more recent times the town provided boots for the Crimea, and for the French army during the Franco-Prussian War. There is an old saying, that “You may know when you are within a mile of Northampton by the smell of the leather and the noise of the lapstones:” and another, that “The mayor of Northampton opens oysters with his dagger,” a proverb that has somewhat lost its force in these days of easy communication.

At 1:30 p.m. a large party started in carriages to Earls Barton Church, passing, *en route*, Weston Favel, where James Hervey—over whom our ancestors were so strangely enthusiastic—lies buried, and Ecton, the home, from time immemorial, of the family of the great Benjamin Franklin.

At Earls Barton Mr. PARKER said: “The remarkable feature of this church is the tower, which is a well-known example of the Anglo-Saxon, and of very early character in that style, certainly earlier than Deerhurst, which is dated by the inscription as of the time of Edward the Confessor. At Earls Barton the construction of the walls is very rude, rubble stone with strips of split stone, that is, split off the beds of stone with wedges only, not cut off with the saw, or with any iron tool, but possibly hammer-dressed. They are very like strips of wood used at short intervals vertically, and with long and short work at the angles also to bind the rubble stone together. All this looks more like the work of carpenters than of masons. On each face of the tower in the lower belfry storey or ringing loft is a triangular-headed window; in some of these are cruciform openings

within, and these are of cut stone. In the upper storey are balluster windows somewhat resembling those of Benedict Biscop at Jarrow and Monks-Wearmouth, perhaps somewhat later than these, but earlier than that of St. Michael's, Oxford, and those of the time of William the Conqueror. These at Earls Barton are probably of the time of Canute, but may possibly be earlier. There is a small doorway on the western side of the tower, which is very peculiar; it goes straight through a very thick wall, and has an impost at the springing of the arch. This impost is ornamented with very shallow round-headed recesses, and these are continued round the corner on both sides of the exterior. In Rome this sort of very shallow sculpture is of the eighth century, and in England it is an early feature, but perhaps not earlier than the time of Canute. There are seven of these shallow recesses on each side, and three on the exterior. Round the corner on each side there are mouldings on the arch of this doorway, one round, others flat, and the principal flat moulding is continued down to the ground. This does not look earlier than the eleventh century. In the interior the tower-arch opening into the nave is pointed and recessed, and appears to be of the fourteenth century, although built of old materials, not of Saxon time, but of the rich Norman period; and in the chancel there is an arcade against the wall of the rich late Norman of the time of Henry II. The south doorway of the church is also of that period. It should be mentioned that of the style of the ballusters in the upper storey there are six in each window, and they are rather like those at Brixworth."

Mr. CLARK called attention to the interesting earthwork on the north-west of the church (see page 119), and the antiquaries went on to Castle Ashby, where they were received by Lord and Lady Alwyne Compton, in the absence of the Marquis of Northampton. That there was a castle here in the time of Edward I, is shown by the licence granted to Bishop Walter de Langton in 1306. *kernellare mansum suum*, at Esseby. The place was in the hands of the De la Poles in the middle of the fourteenth century, and belonged, in the fifteenth century, to the family of Grey de Ruthyn. It was apparently abandoned in the time of Leland, who says: "I passed Assheby, more than a mile of, on the left hand, where hath bene a castle that now is elene downe, and is made but a *septum* for bestes." Sir William Compton purchased the manor in 1512, and after 1583, Henry, first Lord Compton, commenced the present house, or, as Camden says: "Nen maketh haste away by Castle Ashby, where Henry, Lord Compton, began to build a fair sightly house." This was carried on by William, Lord Compton, who married the heiress of "Rich Spencer," and probably completed before James I and his Queen came to Ashby in 1605. In 1624, Inigo Jones built the screen containing the chapel and gallery, thus completing the quadrangle. The lettered balustrading or battlements of the house, formed by the words *Nisi Dominus edificaverit*, &c., are striking features in this princely and beautiful building. Then the gardens have been formed under the most refined taste, the grand avenue stretches away for three miles, from the Italian gates to Yardley Chase, where the Plantagenets hunted and Cowper moralised, and the ground falls gently to the east, with an extensive view over the valley of the Nene, rich with towers and spires, the neurest being Easton Mauduit, where Bishop Percy lived so long and

compiled the "Reliques," and received his friends, Goldsmith, Johnson, Garrick, and Shenstone.

After seeing the interior of the house with its beautiful carved staircase, tapestries, pictures, and other art treasures, the party assembled in King William's dining room, where Mr. R. SCRIVEN read a paper on "Castle Ashby," which is printed at page 360. Some of the visitors then went up on to the roof; others descending into the vaulted cellars, of which the date was approximately fixed by the Tudor rose in the keystones of the ribs.

Through the kindness of Lady Alwyne Compton, opportunities were afforded for seeing the sumptuous volume of the genealogy of the Howard family, the collection of Etruscan vases, the copy of Coverdale's Bible, and the oriental china.

But these were not all the attractions of Castle Ashby; close at hand was the church, entered through an elaborate doorway of the latest Norman; the north aisle is Decorated; the nave, south aisle, and chancel early Perpendicular. The church was restored, and in the highest sense beautified, a few years ago. Among the numerous monuments is the Purbeck marble effigy of David de Esseby (about 1268), the earliest knightly figure in the county; a full-sized brass of William de Eyremyn (1401), wearing a cope; a recumbent effigy of Lady Margaret Leveson Gower, by Marochetti, and a noble colossal seated figure of an Angel of the Resurrection, by Tenerani, in memory of the second Marquis of Northampton, the honoured President of the Institute, in its early days.

Time pressed, and the visitors left this charming place with much regret, and cordial thanks to their kind host and hostess, for Whiston church. This small and highly beautiful example of late Perpendicular was built, according to an inscription formerly in one of the windows, by Anthony Catesby, Isabella, his wife, and John, their son, in 1534. (*Qui quidem Antonius Isabella et Johannes hanc ecclesiam condiderunt... quingentesimo tricesimo quarto...*). It has a very short chancel, no clerestories, and is a very pure example of the style.

The Hon. and Rev. L. C. R. IRBY (the Rector) read a short descriptive paper upon the church, and pointed out some fragments of an earlier building remaining in the churchyard.

Cogenhoe church, the last place visited, stands off the highway, at the extreme end of the village, and is but little known, but it may be doubted whether a more interesting church was seen during the week.

After a few remarks by the Rector (the Rev. C. H. Burnham), Mr. PARKER said that the church was a very remarkable one on many accounts. There were evidences in the north doorway of its late Norman origin, and the chancel, with its very peculiar and deeply-recessed blind arcades, was Transitional. The nave was of the time of Edward I, and no doubt built by Sir Nicholas de Cogenhoe, who died in 1280, and whose effigy was to be seen in the south aisle, bearing a shield charged with the arms, a fess between three mascles. The same arms, sculptured four times, together with many others, upon the capitals of the nave, were very unusual decorations in such positions. The tower was Perpendicular, and, like the whole of the church, very excellent work. The restorations had been carried out with great taste and judgment, and could not be found fault with.

The visitors were subsequently most hospitably entertained with

tea and other refreshments in the picturesque gardens of the rectory by Mr. and Mrs. Burnham, and a very pleasant afternoon was thus agreeably ended. The party reached Northampton at 7 p.m.

A *conversazione* was held in the Town Hall at nine o'clock, in the course of which the Rev. W. Monk, rector of Wymington, read a lengthy paper "On the Town and County of Northampton." A selection of instrumental and vocal music by the Northampton Choral Society brought the proceedings to a close.

Saturday, August 3.

At 9.35 a.m. an excursion was made by rail, from the Midland station, to Kettering. Here carriages were waiting to convey the party to Rothwell. Immediately after passing Kettering church, with its tower and spire—grand examples of the Perpendicular of the Midlands—the rain descended in torrents, accompanied by thunder and lightning, and so continued for upwards of half an hour. Arrived at Rothwell, the members at once proceeded to the fine church, of which Mr. Parker gave a general description. The chancel, with very deeply splayed clerestory windows and arcading beneath, is Norman; the nave, with its grand arcades and central tower, Transitional; and the chancel chapels late thirteenth century in date. The *capella carnaria*, under the south aisle, containing the mouldering remains of humanity about which so many foolish things have been said, was also inspected by candlelight, by the more curious of the party.

A visit was then paid to the singularly beautiful Market House, built in 1577, by Sir Thomas Tresham, the father of the conspirator, but, like the "new build" at Lyveden, never completed. Fuller says that Tresham was "more forward in beginning than fortunate in finishing his fabrics." The architect was probably John Thorpe. This is an oblong building with projections, enriched with pilasters, and raised upon open semicircular arches. The central frieze contains the following inscription:—"Thome Tresham militis fvit hoc opus in gratium dulcis patriæ. Fecit suæ tribusque Northamptoniæ vel maxime hujusque vicini sibi pagi. Nihil præter bonum commune quæsit nihil præter decus perenne amicorum. Male qui interpretatur dignus haud tanto est bono. A. Domini millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo septo."

The cornice and other parts are covered with ninety shields carved with the arms of the principal Northamptonshire families at the time of the erection of the building, the whole forming a unique and refined composition of the highest interest and value, the flower *par excellence* of the county, which Norden thought "worthy to be termed the Herald's Garden."

In 1827 a subscription was set on foot to repair the walls only, which were then in a dilapidated condition, the surplus funds being appropriated to the presentation of engravings of the Market House and the arms upon it to Baker's History of the County.

The present condition of the building is certainly not what it should be and the lapse of a few more years will probably bring about much destruction. It is greatly to be desired that steps should be taken without delay, not only to carry out certain necessary repairs, but to roof and floor it, and glaze the windows, to protect it with iron railings, and apply it to some useful local purpose. It is far too

interesting and valuable a county monument to be allowed to fall to pieces.

Leaving Rothwell, the party proceeded to Rushton Hall, where it was received by Mr. Clarke Thornhill. This is a spacious house, built round a quadrangle, the fourth side being enclosed by a fine stone screen, very characteristic of the period. The house was begun by Sir Thomas Tresham about 1597, probably under the direction of John Thorpe, continued by the Cockaynes, and finished in 1630. Mr. Thornhill conducted the visitors through the gardens to the Triangular Lodge, also erected by Sir Thomas Tresham, one of the four triangular buildings in the kingdom, the others being Gedding-ton Cross, the tower of Maldon Church, and Longford Castle, which was also designed by John Thorpe. It is impossible to say what was the object of this extraordinary lodge. It was perhaps built by the persecuted *recusant*—who describes himself as having “completed his triple apprenticeship in direct adversity”—for purposes of religion, or in illustration of the Holy Trinity, or it may be merely an elaboration of his own name, arms, and fancies, an architectural conceit, in fact, such as is now called “a folly,” and of which the Elizabethan period offers many parallel instances. The persistent arrangement of everything in threes is most ingenious; for instance, three floors, three sides, each measuring thirty-three feet three inches, with three trefoil windows in each, and three gables; on each side Latin inscriptions of thirty-three letters, &c. Many of the inscriptions are quite mysterious.

From here the party went to the church, which contains the cross-legged effigy, in Purbeck marble, of Sir William de Goldingham, died 1296, and the unique effigy, in alabaster, of the last Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, Sir Thomas Tresham, grandfather of the builder of the lodge, died 1559. He is represented wearing the mantle of the Order, with a cross flory on the breast.

The carriages then started for Kirby Hall, making a slight *détour* in order to see Geddington Cross. No accounts of the erection of this cross have been discovered, but there is no doubt that it was built at the same time as Queen’s Cross, Northampton, and apparently by a different set of workmen. Mr. Hunter makes Geddington, where the king had a “villa,” the third resting place of the body of Eleanor, on its way from Lincoln to London. The work is very excellent, particularly the diaper patterns, but the figures are inferior to those at Northampton. The cross has hitherto escaped restoration.

A long drive through the forest and across some of the avenues of “John the Planter,” brought the party to Kirby Hall at 2.45 p.m. Luncheon was provided in the dining room, one of the few chambers that are weather-tight, and the antiquaries made a general inspection of the place. The principal part of this once sumptuous house was built for Humfrey Stafford, by John Thorpe, in 1572, as appears from inscriptions on the great hall. The original plan in the Soane Museum is inscribed “Kirby, whereof I layd ye first stone, 1570. J. Thorpe.” Five years later the property passed to Sir Christopher Hatton, who employed the same architect to form the great quadrangle. In 1638-1640 Inigo Jones altered the screen which encloses the quadrangle, and built the stately entrance front, and the walls and gateways of the outer court. This was done for Lord Hatton, Controller of the Household. The great bay windows were added to the south front

by Thorpe. The window over the hall porch is an unhappy insertion by Inigo Jones, but it is probably to his good taste that we owe the beautiful coved ceiling of the great staircase. The details of the stone work at Kirby are so extremely fine that it is difficult to single out any special features. The porch, the carved pilasters facing it, the friezes, the parapet of the hall, and the elaborate gables flanking it, are alone worth a long journey to see. The chimneys throughout are remarkable; those of Stafford's building being singularly elegant. The chimneys of Thorpe's later work are peculiarly his own, and are the more interesting since it can be shown that they were worked from the same drawings or templates as those at Holdenby. The beauty of the colour of the stone, and the sharpness of the sculpture are not the least striking features of the place, but its melancholy and woful state is beyond description. As late as 1820 the house was inhabited, and its condition was such at the time of Napoleon's threatened invasion, that it was spoken of as a retreat for the Court. At the present day it scarcely shelters a shepherd and his family from the weather.

Leaving Kirby, with regret that time did not permit more examination of its curious heraldic details, the party proceeded to Rockingham Castle, where it had a very hospitable reception from Mr. and Mrs. Watson and their family. Entering by the original gateway, between two very fine drum towers, the antiquaries found themselves in an outer court, three sides of which were formed by domestic buildings, all ancient, but of different dates. To the left was the entrance, also the original door of the castle hall, and above it, on the wall, various old escutcheons of the matches of the Watson family. Here the party was taken in hand by Mr. Clark, who led it along the terrace, the line of the old outer wall, and pointed out the Valley of the Welland, and below the castle the parish church and some earthworks, thought by Mr. Bloxam to be traces of a British camp. Following the line of wall, below was seen the ravine which covers the south-west front of the castle, and divides it from the ancient deer park. Thence the party ascended the semilunar remains of the old moated mound, on which formerly stood the circular or polygonal keep. From thence Mr. Clark pointed out the leading features of the building, dwelling especially upon the evidences still traceable of the original English fortress, how it was composed, and how defended by art and by nature. Mr. Clark then commenced a popular discourse upon Archaeology and Archaeologists, such as suited the business in hand. He contrasted Jonathan Oldbuck and the virtuoso of the last century with the scientific archaeologist of the present day, and pointed out to what an extent topography had been made subservient to history in the writings of such men as Arnold, Macaulay, and Freeman. Thence he touched upon the condition of English fortresses on the arrival of William the Conqueror, and the manner in which that strategist turned them to account, and he shewed what reason there was for the belief that Rockingham was originally a castle of the type of Warwick, Tutbury, Leicester, or Lincoln, and showed its analogy with Brinklow and similar moated mounds in various parts of the country. From the castle he passed to the shire and forest of Rockingham, and indicated the mass of information still preserved in the public records concerning the forest and its laws and customs. Unfortunately the wet weather at the be-

gining of the day had made the party very late at Rockingham, so that Mr. Clark's time was necessarily reduced to about a third of that originally allotted to him. This was the more to be regretted since the subject of a field lecture, though less scientific, is usually more generally interesting than a memoir or history such as is suited to the pages of a journal; but the visitors heard enough from Mr. Clark's lecture to become aware that the ground taken, and the mode of handling the subject, was quite different from that followed in the account of the castle and Forest, which he has contributed to the Journal at page 209.

There was now only a few minutes remaining for the visitors to avail themselves of the kind hospitality of Mr. Watson, and after a hurried leave had been taken, the party started from Rockingham station for Northampton, which was reached at 6.45.

The Historical Section again met in the Town Hall at 8.30, LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE in the chair, when Mr. S. TUCKER (*Rouge Croix*) read a paper on "The Descent and Varying Armorials of the Spencers of Wormleighton and Althorpe." The conclusion of *Rouge Croix* was not that Earl Spencer has not descended from the old line of the Despencers, but that he is not descended in the way that is generally supposed. The paper will appear in a future number of the Journal.

On Sunday, the Mayor and Corporation and the members of the Institute walked in procession from the Town Hall to St. Sepulchre's Church. The Rev. Canon POWNELL, F.S.A., preached a sermon from the text:—Revelations xxi, 22.—"And I saw no temple therein; for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it."

Monday, August 5.

A slightly diminished party went by rail at 9.45 to Oundle. The church of Cotterstock was first visited. The vicar, the Rev. A. J. ABBEY, read a general description of the building. Many of the peculiarities of the church, among them the large chancel, are due to the foundation, by John Giffard in 1337, of a college with which it was connected. The Manor House, celebrated as the residence of Mrs. Steward, cousin of the poet Dryden, and where he constantly visited in the latter part of his life, still remains.

Continuing the journey, the antiquaries next visited the unrestored church of Tansor, with a long nave, and a very small chancel containing the original stalls from Fotheringhay Church, which was next reached. Of this building, the nave, aisles, and tower, only remain. It was begun in 1415 by Edmund of Langley, and completed by Richard of York. The choir was ruined on the suppression of the college, founded by Edmund of Langley. The royal tombs were restored by Elizabeth; they are of no great merit. The original contract for building the nave, aisles, tower, and lantern, to correspond with the chancel erected in 1415, is dated 1435. These are very fine examples of the style. The flying buttresses are spoken of in the contract as "mighty arches butting on either side to the clerestory." The pulpit and font are good original works.

The site of the castle was then examined. Nothing now remains of this historic building but the foundations, for it was dismantled, and "sighted" soon after the accession of Charles I. The great hall, where Mary Queen of Scots was beheaded in 1586, was removed by

Sir Robert Cotton, and worked up at Connington Castle; other portions of the building were taken to Fineshade. The general form of the castle may still be traced, the mound being very conspicuous and overshadowing the banks of the Nene.

The train was again taken at Elton station, and the party proceeded to Sibson junction, where it divided, No. 1 going to Barnack, and arriving at the hospitable rectory to luncheon by the kind invitation of the Rev. Canon and Mrs. Argles. A visit was subsequently paid to the church, when Canon Argles read the following paper:—

“Fair and beautiful as are the spacious nave, aisles and chancel of this fine church, and exhibiting good specimens of several varieties of style, yet the principal archaeological interest is centered in the very ancient and remarkable western tower, the only remnant of a singularly lofty Saxon church, which was replaced by one of Norman character, probably late in the twelfth century, remarkable also for its light and graceful proportions.

“The tower, as far up as the commencement of the Early English belfry and spire, bears traces of having been in remote ages a place of resort in times of danger, having two higher stories, lighted by as many as eight windows, two on each side, of which sufficient remains are visible. The lowest part was a place of assembly and probably of judicature, as your learned society was also of opinion when they did me the honour to print an abstract of a short paper read to them at their last visit in 1861, contending for that theory. They also added some corroborative quotations and opinions establishing the probability of that conjecture. It was not until the removal of more than two feet of *debris* and rubbish, which had been undisturbed at least from before the thirteenth century by proof which is unmistakeable, that the seat in the western niche, the stone risers on three of the sides, and the plaster which was continued to the floor line, revealed the fact which is now so clear, that a president and some twenty or thirty persons had accommodation for sitting in this ancient court. I have ventured, with the sanguine boldness of what is not, I hope, too fertile invention, to represent in the window above a scene which may not impossibly have been historically real, when a king of Mercia found this the first stone building in his dominions, as it is believed and admitted now to be the most ancient in all England, and used it for the administration of justice. The trial of ordeal (called the judgment of God) was always held in churches: and only as late as 1175 and 1222 do we find laws enacted against the tenure of courts of criminal justice, involving the forfeiture of life, within churches.

“Upon the peculiar character of the architecture adopted here, I shall make no further remark in your presence except that the description given of it in two words by one whose loss is ever deplored in this diocese, in a charming article contributed to the *Quarterly Review* on the history of this county, as ‘petrified carpentry,’ is felicitous and graphic. The representation of projecting beam ends, and of construction with tenon and mortice, exhibit at once the fondness of the rude builders for the simpler materials of most primitive times, and their ignorance of any style more appropriate to the noble material they found in such magnificent abundance on the adjoining fields. I may here mention that the quarries of the celebrated Barnack ragstone, not unknown to the Romans or unemployed by them, extended over 130 acres here, and was exhausted in the

course of the fifteenth century, after having afforded material for two cathedrals, for the great Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, and for abbeys and churches and other buildings, of which I cannot estimate the number. The date of its exhaustion is shewn by ample evidence in the chapel here attached to Walcot Hall and in the eastern chapel of the five altars in Peterborough Cathedral.

“In the interesting historical inquiry into the date of this most ancient church, of which we have but the noble tower as a striking remnant, I most earnestly desire to enlist the valuable assistance of the learned Institute represented here at this moment, and most sincerely and respectfully welcomed. There are so many inviting traces of a very extremely remote antiquity, so many which approach to the nature of proof, in reference to a probable founder of highly venerated name; the pursuit is so deeply interesting, and yet at the same time there are so many temptations to a hasty conclusion, that the criticism of learned and impartial antiquaries would be invaluable in sifting the weight of evidence necessarily in great measure conjectural, although founded upon not a few fair and convincing indications. The researches of a well-learned historian¹ of the Anglo-Saxon period, long addicted to architectural study, have brought to light these two facts—first, that large property in this neighbourhood was possessed by Beornic, the father of the family, who gave name to and reigned over the province, or kingdom whose Latin name was Bernicia; and as the original and true name of this place is Bernece, the probability arises that Barnack was the site of that property, and that the name was derived, or rather exactly taken, from its most ancient Saxon owner. The same author, who has diligently traced the names and history of the descendants of Beornce, states that Alhfrith, the eleventh in descent (I have the remainder of the names), gave land of ten tributaries near Stanforda to St. Wilfred, who, although much more connected with and chiefly celebrated in the north of England, was believed to have built a monastery and church here, as well as certainly at Oundle, not many miles off, by the testimony of the historian Addi, who records his progress and visit there. That he went very far afield from Northumbria in these good works is made certain by his having built a church at Warnford in Hampshire, where also he had a grant of land, and where inscriptions testify that he was the founder. The patron saint of King Alhfrith was John Baptist, as is seen on his monument at Bewcastle in Cumberland. The saints to whom St. Wilfred dedicated his churches were St. Peter or St. Andrew. Barnack church is dedicated to St. John Baptist, and it has besides, on the beautiful panels of scroll work which distinguish this as the most ornamented of all anti-Norman churches, three images of birds—one, the cock of St. Peter, another the dove, which may be the emblem of St. John Baptist, and a third a raptor or eagle, that of St. John the Evangelist, who is proved to have been a chosen patron, together with John Baptist, of King Alhfrith. There are also other points of resemblance, as, *e.g.* in the dial, between this tower and some churches in the north of St. Wilfred’s building. I need not say before you what a very remote antiquity is thus claimed for its foundation, as it must lie somewhere between the years A.D. 660 and 740. Another fact in the

¹ Rev. D. H. Haigh.

evidence connecting this tower with Allfrith and St. Wilfred must not be omitted, that in Allfrith's monument at Ruthwell in Annandale is the figure of a man with a raptor or eagle on his arm, accompanied with the inscription, "*In principio erat verbum*," shewing that the patron saints of Allfrith were both St. John the Evangelist and St. John Baptist, whose emblems both appear on different sides of this tower, of which he was the lay founder, by the same supposition as St. Wilfred was associated with it, giving it the emblem of the cock.

"I regret to have to add that no documentary elements of history are known to remain of any later date respecting the architectural changes which took place here after the parish became the property of the Abbey of Peterborough. Whatever precious records existed at any time in the library of the abbey were swept away by the Puritan besom of destruction, which left us no treasure of literature but one single volume, saved under the pseudonym of a bible from the common ruin. The south-eastern chapel here was built by Sir Thomas Brown of Walcot, who probably lies in the founder's tomb, and for which at his death it was difficult to find sufficient of the native stone, as even previously for the completion of the arch which connects it with the chancel."

Mr. PARKER said that the church was thought by many to be the earliest church in England, and not without some apparent reason. It is justly considered one of the most remarkable. The place is deservedly celebrated for its ancient stone quarries, the stone being the best building stone in England, and many of the finest churches in England are built of it. The quarries being on the bank of a navigable river, the stone could be sent by water-carriage for a very long distance before it reached the sea, passing for many miles through the lower part of Lincolnshire, where all the magnificent churches are built of it; indeed, the whole course of the river is marked out by the fine churches along its banks. Unfortunately the quarries were exhausted four centuries ago. Some stone of a very similar quality, and equally good for building purposes, has been recently found at Clipstone, in the same county, and is fast coming into use. It has not the advantage of being near a navigable river, but it is near the railway, which in these days answers nearly the same purpose. The tower of Barnack Church being built of this excellent stone, although so long ago as the Saxon period, is as fresh and as sharp as if only ten years old. It is of the usual type called Anglo-Saxon, an excellent and early example of that type. The tower arch, with its immense massive impost, is quite unique. There is nothing like it in England or anywhere else, though that at Brigstock does bear some resemblance to it. Mr. Argles thinks that the seat in the tower was for the king, and that the nobles assembled there and sat on the bench round it, and that the tower was intended as a keep for defence, there being two storeys in the upper part, as was usual in the towers. It seems more probable that it was the seat of a schoolmaster, and that the boys sat on the bench round him. In the south-west corner of the interior of the tower is an early English staircase, leading to the upper tower of the thirteenth century, which is octagonal, and has a spire, with very curious clumsy pinnacles at the angles. The doorway to this staircase is on the same level as the sill of the recess, which proves, as Mr. Argles has shewn, that the level of the

floor in the thirteenth century was the same as what existed before he began his excavations. There is a tradition that the Danes burnt this church in 1015. The authority for this is Ingulplus, whose chronicle is now an acknowledged forgery, but rather a compilation than a romance; and it evidently contains some facts not preserved elsewhere. This seems likely to be the case in the present instance, and the bed of burnt rubbish found at the bottom of it agrees well with it, while the recess and the bench seem to show that the tower is earlier than that burning, and that as Barnack stone will not burn, all that was destroyed was the woodwork within, probably the roof and floor. In the early English period a stone vault had been inserted, at the same time that the tower and spire were added. The exterior of the tower has the usual pilaster-strips with long and short work at the angles, binding together the massive rubble wall, just as a carpenter would have bound it together with wooden beams. It differs from other towers of this class, in having some very good shallow carving with birds on three sides, supposed with apparent reason to be Danish. In the upper part there are series of small windows in two tiers or storeys; several of them are still blocked up, others have been opened; those that are finished have mouldings on the arch, not Norman, but approaching to Norman; in several instances the stones of the arch and of the corbels are left square, as if intended to be carved, but left unfinished. These have now very much the appearance of wooden beams, but that, perhaps, is accidental; it is merely work left unfinished, probably from the death of the person who was carrying it on; some of the carving that was begun is left unfinished. This kind of shallow carving is considered in Rome to be of the eighth century (as has been shewn by Professor Westwood in several of his excellent works), but it is doubtful whether the fashion reached England until considerably after that period. Even in Ireland the earliest shallow carving on the crosses is an evident imitation of wicker-work, and shews that the carver copied the wooden or wicker crosses, to which a character of sanctity had been attached. The church of Barnack, to which this tower belongs, appears to have been originally small and without aisles, as was very frequently the case in the early period; from the early part of the twelfth century it began to be enlarged by the addition of chantry chapels, first on the north side, where the western arch nearest the tower is of early Norman character; the two other arches are of rather late Norman, half a century after the former. On the south side the arches belong to the Early English period, though still round-headed. The south doorway and porch are fine examples of the Early English style, the porch being vaulted with a lofty stone roof. The chancel is Decorated, with a fine sedilia and piscina, and a very remarkable east window of five lights with a triangular crocketed head to each light under the general arch. This peculiar feature occurs also in the east window of Merton College Chapel, Oxford, and that is believed to be the only other example of it. There are no remains of Saxon work, except the tower perhaps; the rest of the church was originally of wood. The chancel arch is early Decorated. On the south sides of the chancel eastward is a very rich Perpendicular chapel with a panelled parapet of the time of Henry VII. On the northern side is a vestry, which has a room over it, and remains of a staircase to the upper room; the floor has been removed. It was the residence of a

recluse. Westward of this is a Decorated chantry chapel with two effigies under separate sepulchral recesses, one, greatly mutilated, of a knight in armour, the other of a lady. A little to the north of the church are remains of the old Manor House of the Decorated period, the same as this chantry chapel, and that is still kept in repair by the descendants of the family to whom the house and chapel both belonged.

Some discussion then took place, and the party returned shortly after to Barnack station. In the meantime some of the members went on foot to Burghley House, near Stamford town, which, as is well known, was erected by the great Lord Burghley, about 1575, under the superintendence of John Thorpe. This grand pile, one of the finest private houses in England, is remarkable for its choice contents of art treasures, as well as for the quaintness of its architecture. Norden describes it as "a most stately house, with pleasant conceits within and without, very glorious and elegant to be seen." The original plans still exist in the Soane Museum. The house is replete with pictures of great interest, china, carvings by Gibbons, ceilings by Verrio, Laguerre, and Stothard, cabinets, tapestry, &c. William III. said "it was too large for a subject."

The party again formed at Barnack, and arrived at Northampton at 7 p.m. The party No. 2 arrived at Peterborough at 1.43, and were most cordially received and entertained at luncheon by the Rev. Canon Westcott, who afterwards conducted the members over the cathedral and its precincts. They also returned to Northampton at 7 p.m.

The Historical section met at 9 p.m. in the Town Hall, Lord ALWYNE COMPTON in the chair. Mr. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE read a paper on "Parish Churches in the Year 1548," which is printed at p. 372. The Rev. A. J. FOSTER read a paper on "Eastern Maudit," which will shortly appear in the Journal. Mr. J. T. BURGESS made some remarks upon the opening of the Clarence Vault at Tewkesbury Abbey, in the course of which he deprecated the proposed exhibition in a glass case of the remains of George Duke of Clarence and his wife, Isabel Nevill. A general discussion ensued, in which Lord ALWYNE COMPTON, Mr. S. TUCKER (*Rouge Croix*), Mr. E. F. LAW, and others took part. The Rev. J. H. Hill exhibited a copy of a fresco painting of the time of James I, lately discovered in the Manor House of Medbourne. The Rev. C. R. Manning exhibited rubbings of brasses of Robert de Haitfeld and Ada, his wife (1409), and read some remarks upon them, which will be printed in a future number of the Journal. The meeting then separated.

Tuesday, August 6.

The general concluding meeting was held in the Town Hall at 10 a.m., Lord ALWYNE COMPTON in the chair. A cordial vote of thanks to the Mayor and Corporation for their hearty reception of the Institute, and their hospitality, was proposed by Mr. J. H. PARKER, C.B., seconded by Mr. J. N. FOSTER, and carried with acclamation.

Mr. S. TUCKER (*Rouge Croix*) proposed a vote of thanks to Mrs. Stopford Sackville, Mr. Watson, Canon Argles, Canon Westcott, the Rev. C. H. Burnham, the Rev. G. W. Paul, and others who so kindly extended hospitality to the members during the week. This

was seconded by Mr. J. HILTON. A vote of thanks to the local committee, with special reference to the secretaries, was proposed by Sir H. DRYDEN, Bart., and responded to by the Rev. T. C. BEASLEY. Thanks to the contributors of papers were proposed from the chair, seconded by Sir H. DRYDEN, Bart., and responded to by the Rev. A. J. FOSTER. The Rev. T. C. BEASLEY moved a vote of thanks to the President of the meeting in happy terms. Lord ALWYNE COMPTON, in responding, proposed a vote of thanks to the officials of the Institute and to Mr. Hartshorne for his pamphlet. This was warmly seconded by Mr. PARKER, and the Northampton meeting was thus concluded.

On the invitation of Sir Henry and Lady Dryden about twenty members drove in the afternoon to Canons Ashby, where they were heartily welcomed, Sir Henry Dryden proving himself a most efficient and agreeable *cicerone*. The church was founded for black canons of the order of St. Augustine. It consists now of a portion of the nave, a north aisle, and a western tower. The earliest parts are the west doorway and arcades, about 1250. The curious well is of this period. The tower is a hundred years later. The work is exceedingly good. The Priory was suppressed in 1536, and the site granted, 1537, to Sir Francis Bryan, and in the following year alienated to John Cope, who converted the domestic buildings into a dwelling-house. Ashby came into the possession of Sir Robert Dryden in 1665. The family were already settled here in the middle of the sixteenth century, and the first John Dryden married the daughter of Sir John Cope. The present picturesque house is of various periods, the tower being about 1550, and the hall about 1570. Many changes were made in 1708-10, all of which speak for themselves. The drawing-room has a coved roof with elaborate plaster decorations (1632-58), and the dining-room is richly panelled in oak. The gardens retain all their old formal character, with fine cedars, rows of clipped yews, long walls with stone urns on them in regular succession, and flights of steps leading down the terraces to the old gateway into the avenue beyond. In the green court, entered through two picturesque gateways (1710), are some clipped yews of great size leading up to the hall-door, on either side of which are very elaborate leaden water-pipes. There is much tapestry and civil war armour in the house. The poet Spencer was a friend of the family; there is a chamber called "Spencer's Room." "Glorious John" was a grandson of Sir Erasmus Dryden. It is said that a great part of "Sir Charles Grandison" was written here. The whole of this interesting place, which may be well considered the head-quarters of archaeology in Northamptonshire, having been seen, the visitors had tea, and returned to Northampton in the evening.

The Museum.

This was formed in the Museum in the Town Hall under the direction of the Rev. H. J. Bigge, the Rev. F. C. Alderson and Mr. J. B. Hensman, and constituted, together with the Northampton museum, a very valuable and varied collection. Commencing with the collection of that zealous local geologist, Mr. S. Sharp, were flint implements of pre-historic age; bronze celts of the Early British period; a series of the coins minted at Stamford, from Edgar about the year 958 down to Stephen in 1140; and many Roman antiquities both in bronze and

pottery. A small Roman-British vase of Castor ware and several other Roman vases and urns were shown by Mr. R. Ready, and in the same case were a collection of pottery and glass from the island of Cyprus. Mr. Ready also brought mediæval bronzes and pottery, monstrances, pixes, reliquaries, rings, crucifixes, and a very large collection of other objects of all periods, including numerous casts of seals, &c.

Lord Talbot de Malahide sent several antiquities from Greece, including flakes of obsidian and inscribed sling stones. The Marquis of Northampton sent the celebrated Clephane Horn, a carved ivory walrus tusk of the tenth or eleventh century; the iron hand and arm of the Clephane family (engraved in Scott's *Border Antiquities*); a silver matrix of Thomas de Compton; a silver-headed staff of office, used by one of the family as Constable of the Tower in the time of Charles II; a carved Gothic box; the "porter's peephole" in fine ironwork, from Compton Wynyates; a carved boxwood comb, fourteenth century; a crozier head in Limoges enamel, thirteenth century; portraits of John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, and his wife, and a collection of other objects, including a lead bulla of Innocent VIII; Mr. R. Booth sent his fine portrait, by Holbein, of Catherine Parr (engraved by Lodge). This is perhaps the most interesting work of art in the county. Catherine Parr was born, in all probability, at Greene's Norton, near Towcester. Mrs. Stopford Sackville lent a fine piece of tapestry, made at Stamford for Lady Betty Germaine. The Rev. Sir F. L. Robinson exhibited a christening robe, embroidered in gold and silver, and a massive silver cup and cover, the gift of Charles II to Sir John Robinson. The Mayor and Corporation exhibited their regalia, and the Winchester measures given to the town by Queen Elizabeth. The Earl of Enniskillen sent a very rare and curious satirical ecclesiastical medal in silver, dated 1545. Miss Hartshorne exhibited a collection of civil war medals and coins, Roman remains from Holdenby and Cogenhoe; an ivory casket, found in a dealer's shop in London by Mrs. Stackhouse Acton, and given by her to the late Rev. C. H. Hartshorne. The lid displays an exact picture of the ruins of Holdenby House, as shown in Buck's view. It is said to be Indian work of the eighteenth century; and a curious mirror portrait of Charles I. On a board is painted a distorted head, which when reflected in a cylindrical mirror shows the proper features of the unfortunate monarch; and a collection of civil war tracts, including "Gallant News for London from his Majestie's Royall Court at Holdenby, and King Charles, his Royall Welcome to Hohnby," and a safe conduct signed by Fairfax, and sealed with his arms.

Sir H. Dryden lent a collection of letters from and to Sir John Dryden, 1640-58, including one from the poet; a copy of the first folio of Shakespeare—(the fine copy in the Perkins Library was sold in 1873 for £585); and a large collection of Roman and other antiquities, exhibited in the Town Hall Museum, including a quantity of pipes of all periods and countries. Mr. R. H. Wood sent the original grant from Queen Elizabeth, dated 1583, to Sir Christopher Hatton, of lands in Rockingham Forest, including Gretton, Kirby, and Weldon.

Mr. M. H. Bloxam exhibited a beautiful collection of pencil sketches in Northamptonshire, by the late Mr. Pretty, valuable in the present

days of changes and restorations. Miss Petit lent a large number of beautiful water-colour sketches, by the late Mr. J. L. Petit, of churches in the county, which were hung round the room. Mr. E. F. Law exhibited a quantity of sketches of Northamptonshire churches. The Rev. J. Fuller Russell lent a number of early-printed books, including "The Mirrour of the World," by Caxton, 1490; the only perfect copy known of "The boke of good manners," by Wynkyn de Worde, 1507; Hermanus de Saldis; Speculum clarum, &c., unique, probably printed by John de Gutenberg; and many other choice bibliographical treasures.

Mr. J. H. Pidcock exhibited mediæval remains found in Northampton; Mr. H. Mulliner early and mediæval antiquities; and the Rev. R. S. Baker Roman remains from Irchester. Mr. John Taylor exhibited a large collection of local tracts, some of great interest. The Very Rev. Dr. Scott exhibited rubbings of ecclesiastical brasses; and Canon Pownall sent collections of Anglo-Saxon and English coins.

In addition to the general loan collection brought together by the energy of the honorary curators and the local committee, the permanent cases in the room contained the corporation charters, the fine geological collections of Mr. S. Sharp, a collection of English china belonging to the Rev. P. Banton, and a series of portraits of local worthies; the whole forming a varied and most interesting exhibition.

The Council desire to acknowledge the following donations in aid of the expenses of the Northampton Meeting, and of the general purposes of the Institute:—W. M. F. Petrie, 2*l.* 2*s.*; A. W. Franks, 2*l.* 2*s.*; Parker Gray, 1*l.* 1*s.*; G. W. Gunning, 10*s.*; Dr. Faulkner, 1*l.* 1*s.*; A. W. Grant, 1*l.*; E. F. Law, 2*l.* 2*s.*; G. L. Watson, 2*l.*; W. C. Clarke Thornhill, 5*l.* 5*s.*; T. H. Lees, 1*l.* 1*s.*; H. O. Nethercote, 2*l.*; M. A. Boéme, 1*l.* 1*s.*; H. Marshall, 2*l.* 2*s.*; A. Page, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Sir C. E. Isham, Bart., 3*l.*; H. Dunkley, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Rev. W. Yates, 10*s.*; Rev. E. N. Tom, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Dr. Buzzard, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Dr. Faulkner, 1*l.* 1*s.*; W. J. Peirce, 5*l.* 5*s.*; W. F. Higgins, 1*l.*; Mrs. Whitworth, 2*l.* 2*s.*; Rev. W. Thornton, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Rev. C. Smyth, 1*l.*; Sir H. Dryden, Bart., 1*l.*; P. Phipps, M.P., 5*l.* 5*s.*; M. P. Manfield, 2*l.* 2*s.*; E. M. Browne, 1*l.* 1*s.*; W. Shoosmith, 2*l.* 2*s.*; W. Jones, 5*l.*; R. Phipps, 2*l.* 2*s.*; P. Abel, 1*l.* 1*s.*; F. Bostock, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Hon. and Rev. L. C. R. Irby, 1*l.*; Lord A. Compton, 3*l.* 3*s.*; Quintus Vivian, 3*l.* 3*s.*; Rev. W. Prust, 5*l.* 5*s.*; W. Jeffery, 2*l.* 2*s.*; J. H. P. Cecil, 2*l.* 2*s.*; R. Turnør, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Rev. J. T. Brown, 1*l.* 1*s.*; The Mayor, 5*l.* 10*s.*; W. Dennis, 4*l.* 10*s.*; G. Turner, 2*l.*; H. Mobbs, 1*l.*; C. Tebbutt, 1*l.*; J. Wetherell, 1*l.*; C. Knonow, 1*l.*; H. P. Markham, 1*l.*; R. Howes, 1*l.*; J. M. Vernon, 2*l.*; J. Barry, 1*l.*

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

THE CHURCH BELLS OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, their Inscriptions, Traditions, and Peculiar Uses, with Chapters on Bells and the Northants. Bell Founders. By THOMAS NORTH, F.S.A., Honorary Member and Honorary Secretary of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society. With illustrations. Leicester : Samuel Clarke, 1878.

Mr. North has well fulfilled the promise held out in this somewhat lengthy title, which is, *mutatis mutandis*, that of his *Church Bells of Leicestershire*, published in 1876. The present volume is, in fact, uniform with the previous one, both in its outward appearance and in the arrangement of its contents; and the introductory chapter on the general history of bells is reproduced, with additions and improvements. This chapter is full of matter which will be specially useful to those whose attention is being directed to bells as a new subject for research, and its value is much increased by the copious references to authorities which will be found at the foot of every page. Although Mr. North's new book is a further contribution to the history of the bells of the diocese of Peterborough, and is to be supplemented by the Rutland Bells, it is complete in itself, as was its predecessor, which is already out of print. We therefore have the more pleasure in recommending the Northamptonshire volume as containing the first chapter in an improved form, together with an equally good supply of fresh information as announced above. The next chapter is statistical: it seems there are in Northants. 1,317 Church Bells, of which about 137 are earlier than 1600. The earliest dated bell is one named Mary, at Cold Ashby, dated M^cCCC^{xvii}. We next have chapters on Northants. Founders, classified under the places where they had their foundries, viz:—Chacombe, Exton, Kettering, and Peterborough; and on other founders, known and unknown, ancient and modern, who cast Northants. bells. These chapters will be indispensable to all who wish to trace out the bell-history of other counties. The chapter on "Peculiar Uses" will be read with peculiar interest, being very thoroughly done indeed, taking in not only the ordinary uses of bells, but some very curious, and in some cases strictly local uses, such as are constantly dying out. Then come all the Latin inscriptions, arranged alphabetically, with translations. And here we would remark that we think it would have been much better if the inscriptions had been always quoted in the body of the work in the original Latin rather than in English. Half the character of a bell inscription is gone, when we miss the Latin jingle of the leonine verse, and the unlearned could always have turned to the part where the translations are given.

In looking through the inscriptions we find a great many old friends, but not many new ones. The fourth bell at Paulersbury has

Vox dñi ihu xpī vox exultacionis.

Which we quote for the sake of the **vox**, which is found elsewhere from Sussex to Durham, in the well-known inscription

Vox Augustini Sonet En Aure Dei,

but not hitherto so far as we have seen in the same line with **Vox**. Mr. Coote, in his *Romans in Britain*, has called special attention to the presence in our language of the non-Teutonic sound represented by **w**, as one of our proudest distinctions, testifying to a far greater descent than that claimed for us by Mr. Freeman and his school. The inscriptions form the main bulk of the volume, occupying, as they do, nearly 300 pages. Then follow twenty "plates" of woodcut illustrations of founders' marks, for the most part very good, and often presenting to the bell-student's eye the impression of some well-known block. For all writers on the antiquities of bells help one another by loans of blocks and electrotypes, and each adds some new ones to the general stock, so that with regard to each new book we may quote the lines addressed to the veteran rector of Clyst St. George on the appearance of his "Great Tome" on the Devon Bells.

"Marke, how the Cutter's art adorns the page,
"And shows us how they stamp't in every age,
"The foundors' markes and letters strange,
"That on the Brass perennial never change,
"But to the curious eies that seamm them wel.
"Ful manye a tale of olden craft cann tel."

In looking through "Northants. Bells," we have noted a few points for special remark, either as being, in our opinion, open to question, or as shewing how full of interesting detail Mr. North's pages always are. The tin trumpets mentioned in the note to p. 3 were not analagous in function to the silver trumpets of the Levites, but were used to hum or "vamp" the tunes through, by way of enhancing the effect of the village psalmody, some person with a "scare-labe mighty voice" (like old Scarlet's)¹ being no doubt preferably selected as performer. On page 10 we have Sonthey's "Doctor" quoted as the authority for rites prescribed in the Pontificals. Indeed, we note that Mr. North is a little apt to go astray on liturgical matters. At p. 139 the "Order of Communion" of 1547 is spoken of as if it were the same thing as the Reformed Liturgy of 1549, whereas it was simply supplementary to the old Sarum Liturgy, and used with it. At p. 151 the principal portion of our present Liturgy is oddly styled "the post Communion office." It is also curious to see it stated that the office for the consecration of a bell so closely resembled that of Holy Baptism, "as to be frequently considered synonymous with it." At p. 374, as in the Chronicle of St. Martin's, Leicester, p. 219, "Morrow Mass" is explained as apparently meaning "Early Matins," and Dr. Rock is referred to as the authority for this quaint notion. No doubt the First Mass bell, at Ludlow (pp. 22, 125), went for the morrow or morning Mass, not for Matins. Mr. Ellacombe is quoted (p. 19) for founders' stamps being handed on "for a century or more." But one set has been traced from the fifteenth cen-

¹ See below.

tury to 1744 (*Yorks. Archaeological Journal*, ii, 65). At p. 129 there is a quite touching extract from Peterborough C.W. Accounts relating to the old man with the "scare-habe mighty voice," whose "picture standing high" is so well known to all visitors to St. Peter's minster. It is cited with reference to the original use of the passing bell.

"Itm' to Searlet beyng a poore olde man and rysyng off in the nyghte to tolle the bell for sicke persons the wether beyng grevous, and in consideration of his good service towards a gowne to kepe him warme—viij^s."

It seems that the tolls at the end of the passing-bell, which now denote the sex of the departed, are sometimes called "tellers," and that "nine tellers mark a man," which saying is thought to have been corrupted into the better known "nine tailors make a man," p. 133. The corpse-bell (p. 141) was rung during the funeral procession of the late Dr. Routh through the cloisters of Magdalen College, Oxford, according to immemorial custom. Pancakes were made on Shrove Tuesday in order to use up the dripping, etc., which might not be used in Lent, p. 147. "Nipper" for "boy" (enaja), common enough in Sussex, seems to be used in Northants, p. 235, as does the curious term Tantony bell, for a small bell of Tingtang, probably derived from St. Antony, one of whose distinguishing emblems is a handbell. We had marked a few inscriptions for special notice, but it is so difficult to know where to stop in a selection of this kind, that we must refrain ourselves. Of the later sort, this is one of the most common (for a tenor bell)—

THAT ALL MAY CVM AND NON MAY STAY AT HOM
I RING TO SERMON WITH A LVSTI BOM.

But this is surely unique, on the treble at Towcester—

RING BOYES AND KEEP AWAKE
FOR MR WILLIAM HENCHMANS SAKE. R.C. 1725.

The treble at Hannington has—

LOVE HORTETH NOT,

From Romans xiii. 10, in the "Great Bible" and other early translations.

Mr. North is strongest on the subject which he has made so thoroughly his own, and we heartily wish him health and strength, not only to give us a book on the bells of the little county of Rutland, but also one on those of the great county of Lincoln, with which we think Rutland might very well go. But books of this kind, which are "as caviare to the general," and can never have a large circulation, are costly to publish. We therefore hope that should Mr. North appeal for subscriptions for another bell volume, he will meet with a ready and liberal response, at least from archaeological students.

CALENDAR OF THE CHARTERS AND ROLLS, preserved in the Bodleian Library. Edited by WILLIAM H. TURNER, under the direction of the Rev. H. O. COXE, M.A., Bodley's Librarian. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1878.)

That the Bodleian Library is most rich in MSS. is well known to archaeologists, as is also the uniform courtesy of the librarian to all who seek to avail themselves of its treasures; but the public has now reason to be grateful to him and to Mr. W. H. Turner for the publication of a

calendar of the numerous charters and rolls there preserved. These, we are told, formerly constituted the collections of Anthony à Wood ; Roger Dodsworth ; Ralph Thoresby ; Thomas Martin of Pulgrave ; Thomas Tanner, Bishop of St. Asaph ; Dr. Richard Rawlinson ; Richard Furney, Archdeacon of Surrey ; and Richard Gough ; but of these collections, the most important is that of Anthony à Wood, bequeathed by him to the Ashmolean Museum, and now in the Bodleian. This collection contains the greater portion of the archives of twenty-two religious houses, which, under the authority of a Bull of Pope Clement VII, confirmed by Letters Patent, 16th Henry VIII, were suppressed, and the revenues granted to Cardinal Wolsey for the foundation of his proposed college at Oxford, who conveyed thither all the muniments. The Cardinal having, however, fallen into disgrace, the design was never carried out, and by his death the property devolved upon the king, who afterwards granted a portion of the estates to divers persons ; the writings belonging to which lands, being considered of no value, lay at Oxford uncared for for several centuries, and were to a very large extent, destroyed by rats and damp. But the records relating to the lands granted by the king for the foundation of Christ Church were carefully preserved ; to which college was also transferred a large number of charters upon the dissolution of the greater monasteries, and, 150 years afterwards, not being thought of any value, the whole were, it is supposed, given by the authorities to Wood. After his death a similar fate seems to have awaited them, for from that time until lately they appear never to have been opened, for the original wrappers remain undisturbed since he endorsed them with the names of the religious houses to which they respectively belonged. Some of them were printed by Dodsworth and Dugdale in the *Monasticon*, described as being in Wood's possession. The brief history which we have here given of this important collection, we have gathered from the preface of the work before us. It is simply a repetition of the destruction which, in past times, has befallen our ancient records, both public and private.

The monastic charters, many of which are of very early date, are of great interest and value. Of these there are 162, which formerly belonged to the Priory of Holy Trinity at Wallingford, three of which have been printed in the *Monasticon*. There is also an extensive collection of charters and rolls, dating from the twelfth century, which belonged to the Priory of St. Mary Magdalen, at Tunbridge ; some of the documents in which throw considerable light upon our domestic history and the social condition of the people during the period which they cover ; but it is thought that the most important series, whether for local interest, extent, or value, is that which belonged to the Abbey of St. Mary Osney, which was selected by King Henry VIII as the seat of his newly founded bishopric of Oxford. The revenues, site, and muniments, together with the See itself, were afterwards transferred to Christ Church.

Besides these collections there are many other documents which demand our notice. Among these are the hundred rolls for part of the Hundreds of Leightonstone and Norman Cross in Co. Hunts, some portion of which are duplicates of returns, printed in the *Rotuli Hundredorum*, but those for the Hundred of Norman Cross are wholly unlike those printed by the commissioners, and contain much additional matter relating to the value and tenures of manors, &c.

We might add a great deal more of interest of a general nature, but

have said sufficient, we think, to indicate the great value of this calendar. The arrangement is good, the charters are briefly and clearly abstracted, and there is a good index. We cannot, however, but regret the omission in the abstracts of charters, of the testing clauses. The names of the witnesses are often as valuable as those of the parties. To have inserted them would, of course, have largely increased the size of an already bulky volume, but we think it would have added still more largely to its value.

COURT, HOUSEHOLD, AND ITINERARY OF KING HENRY II, instancing also the Chief Agents and Adversaries of the King in his Government, Diplomacy and Strategy. By the Rev. R. W. EYTON, M.A., late Rector of Ryton, and Author of "Antiquities of Shropshire." London: Taylor & Co., Little Queen Street, Holborn. 1878.

Any book from the able pen of Mr. Eyton could not fail to receive a cordial welcome from every archaeologist. That before us treats of an important period of English history. The state of anarchy into which the country was plunged during the internecine strife of Stephen's reign had not subsided on Henry's accession. He was a wise, able and politic prince, anxious to secure order and good government in his country, and his ceaseless activity in this object, and in the wars arising out of the complicated affairs of his continental possessions, are fully illustrated in Mr. Eyton's Itinerary.

Mr. Eyton disclaims his work being regarded, in a strict sense, as history itself, and justly and eloquently states that the most important basis of history is "Facts: simple facts; where they were accomplished; when they were accomplished; who accomplished them; and what was said as to how they were accomplished at the time of their coming to pass; these," he says "are the primary and most essential elements of pure history." "Estimates of causes and consequences," he continues, "physical or moral; of personal intellect, mind or character; of individual feelings, motives or principles; of social sources or influences; of national or party creeds, whether religious or political: these indeed all belong to real history, but they are not its primary elements: they are its superstructures, they are deductions, they are calculations from, or upon, those elements. They subsist on facts, on facts analysed, facts pluralised, facts combined. Rightly conceived they form the philosophy of history, wrongly conceived they exhibit only the bigotry of prejudice or the folly of opinion. Broadly and honestly worked out, such estimates will endure for all time as the credentials of the true historian. Garbled, or narrowly dealt with, they will obtain but an ephemeral currency. Posterity will regard them only as the badges of the essayist, the sophist, or the partisan."

Such is the canon of history he lays down, and all must admit its accuracy. He assumes simply the former and more modest character, and only "affects to supply a broad basis of facts, references, dates, places, names and documents for the use of some genuine and impartial historian who may come hereafter to review the reign and biography of Henry Fitz-Empress; and who may prefer rather to take his stand of observation among the things and doings themselves, than to contemplate the twelfth century through the haze or halo of the nineteenth."

These are the true principles of an honest chronicler, and it is impossible to overrate their value. History, so called, now-a-day, notwith-

standing the facilities available for the acquisition of a knowledge of facts, is, too often, founded upon sentiment, preconceived notions or partiality, than based upon a critical examination of historical documents.

The value of Royal Itineraries for the verification of historical facts must be fully acknowledged by all historical students. That of King John, compiled by the late Sir Thomas Hardy and annexed to his edition of the Patent Rolls of that sovereign; and that of Henry III. when visiting the northern counties, printed in volume xv. of the *Journal*; and also the Outline Itinerary of King Henry II, appended to Professor Stubbs's edition of Benedict of Peterborough, to which our author acknowledges his obligations, all these, and others like them, are well known and valued; but such an Itinerary for a period antecedent to the dates of our Public Records, which, with the exception of the Pipe Rolls, commence only in the reign of John and in some cases still later, is not only of more than ordinary value from the absence of other records, but of infinitely greater difficulty in the compilation—but notwithstanding these difficulties Mr. Eyton has succeeded in presenting to the public almost a diurnal record of the monuments of Henry II. and his court from his accession to his death. In some cases, it is true, the figures are necessarily hypothetical, but they are so fully supported by evidences as to inspire a confidence in their probability if not an assurance of their actuality.

In the preparation of his work Mr. Eyton has had recourse to various sources of information involving much reading and enormous labour in research: Chronicles, Pipe Rolls, Norman Exchequer Rolls, the *Liber Niger Scaccarii*—a Feodary containing most of the names of the tenants in capite and their sub-tenants by knights' service, an undated record, to which we shall again refer—the *Rotuli Dominabus et Pueris et Puellis de donatione Regis in xij Comitatus*; a record of Wardships, Reliefs, &c. in the Eastern Counties: Royal Charters, which for the reign of Henry II. are mostly undated, but when carefully studied are most valuable for the *personel* of their Testing-Clauses; Epistolary Correspondence, a class of documents of great importance as testifying to facts, because they are closely dated; Law reports and English histories have been closely studied.

In the arrangement of his work the author has disposed his matter under the Fiscal as well as under the Dominical years. This he explains was occasioned by the fact that the evidences contained in the Pipe Rolls, which annually end at Michaelmas, do not quite run parallel with those of the Dominical year. On the left hand margin of the text he has shewn the months in which the several events recorded occurred, whilst on the right hand margin is stated the places at which they happened. The arrangement is very clear.

The work will be found most useful to historians of all classes. It will not be without interest to the topographer, though notwithstanding that this is its weakest feature, we have derived from its pages some interesting topographical facts, but its chief value will be to the genealogist and general historian. The copious *personel* of the testing clauses of the numerous charters which are cited, to which we have before alluded, together with the notes appended, will afford a vast amount of information upon genealogical points, establishing the dates of appointments to,

and removals from, high ecclesiastical, and judicial and other state offices. To the general historian it will afford the means of establishing the facts and dates of various important events hitherto uncertain, and of rectifying the dates of others which have been erroneously stated, as well as of correcting many historical misapprehensions.

It will be sufficient to cite one or two examples. And first, the acknowledgement by the author of an error of his own. On a former occasion he had stated "that William Longespee, King Henry's son by "Rosamond Clifford, was born before the king's accession to the throne. "This was " he says "on the very natural presumption that Longespee "was older than Geoffrey Fitz Roy, who was put into the Church, and "became eventually a Bishop: and that again was on the mistaken "assumption that Geoffrey was son of Rosamond Clifford. But Geoffrey, "it transpires, was not Rosamond's son. His mother was a common "harlot. He was older than Longespee—perhaps fifteen years older."

With respect to the second council of Clarendon, Mr. Eyton has made an important discovery. He does not claim for himself the original discovery of the *fact* of this council having been held. This was first stated by Sir Francis Palgrave, in his "British Constitution" (p. cxlviii), who supposed it to have been held between the years 1165 and 1176, and most probably between 1170 and 1176. Professor Stubbs, in the appendix to his Chronicle of Benedict of Peterborough, has, however, shewn that the latter suggestion of Sir Francis Palgrave is clearly wrong, and gives reasons for fixing the date within the two first months of 1166; but Mr. Eyton, before Professor Stubbs' book was written, had come to the conclusion that the council was held in the month of February 1166: and he has now discovered another very important fact connected therewith, viz., that it was at this council that the king issued to all the barons and military tenants in Capite the writs which commanded them to make a Return before the first Monday in Lent (which in this year was on the 13th March) of the constitution of their several fees; that is, how many of the old feoffment, and how many of the new feoffment, and how many there were in each fee or barony; and these returns were to contain the names of the knights or sub-tenants, who were holding such old or new fees in each barony. It may be here noted that the old feoffments related to fees which were constituted before the death of King Henry I, and that the new feoffments consisted of fees created subsequently. Mr. Eyton points out that a misapprehension has arisen with respect to the incidence of these returns. It has been supposed that they were intended as the basis for levying the aid on the marriage of the king's eldest daughter, Matilda, to the Duke of Saxony, but it is now clear that at the time these returns were ordered, the princess' marriage had not been agreed upon, and did not take place until two years afterwards: consequently when the aid was levied it was naturally based upon the returns as being the latest made. Even Madox has fallen into the error here pointed out, which arose from the uncertainty of the date on which the returns were obtained. These are the returns which form the basis of the "Liber Niger."

We might refer to many other important disclosures to be gathered from this Itinerary, but the space at our command will not admit of our proceeding further. We can only commend Mr. Eyton's work to attentive study.

THE DIRECTORIUM ANGLICANUM. 4th Edition. By the REV. FREDERICK GEORGE LEE, D.C.L., F.S.A., Vicar of All Saints, Lambeth. London: John Hogg & Co. 1879.

The exhaustion of three large editions of a work of this character within a period of twenty years, and a demand for a fourth is a very striking circumstance, and testifies to a spirit of enquiry on the part of the clergy of the Church of England as to the origin and rationale of the service book which they are required to use. Our clergymen have not had, or had not until of late years, any special training upon this subject, and we know not to what extent, even now, the recently instituted theological colleges have supplied this want. Heretofore, and, indeed, still, in too many instances, the services of the Church, from ignorance or negligence, have been conducted "any how," according to the taste, or the absence of taste, on the part of the officiating minister; and even in parishes in which a desire has been shewn to attain to a greater degree of decency and reverence in holy things, the effort has too often been marred from want of knowledge by many absurdities which, in some instances, have aroused just displeasure on the part of the parishioners.

The apostle's rule is "let all things be done decently and in order." We are no extreme ritualists, using the vulgar term, but looking at the subject in its lowest aspect, it is clear that in all cases in which a rite has to be performed, there must be some ritual or manner of performing it; and we confess to a preference for the ritual or manner authoritatively prescribed by the ancient unrepealed canons of the Church, or traditionary usage, rather than such fancy ritual as may be adopted by the varying idiosyncracies of individual clergymen, from want of a better acquaintance with the usage of the ancient Church.

It is not our intention to enter upon the vexed question of ritual details, but bearing in mind that the Church of England is not a community of yesterday, but has come down to us from an antiquity of many centuries, it reasonably follows that it possesses some established rules, both authoritative and traditional, for the manner in which the Offices of the Church should be performed, and especially as to the ritual attendant upon the sacraments, the validity of which indeed depends upon their right and due administration, both in *matter* and *form*.

With respect to the continuity of the Church there can be no question. The Church governed by Augustine and Elphege and Lanfranc and Anselme is identical with that presided over by Parker and Laud and Sancroft and Howley and Tait. That certain necessary reforms were introduced, both in doctrine and ritual in the sixteenth century, is generally admitted, but the canon law which obtained before these changes, unless specifically altered like similar cases of common law, remains still in force. "Why some ceremonies were abolished and some retained" is authoritatively set forth in the invaluable preface to the present Book of Common Prayer. The terms of the commission upon which the revision of 1662 was made are very important and instructive. They were to advise upon and renew the said Book of Common Prayer, comparing the same with the most ancient liturgies which have been used in the Church in the primitive and purest times. It is feared that few take the trouble to read this important document. It is upon the principles here stated that Dr. Lee has with great learning and research elaborated the work before us. We

are unable to agree in all the minutiae of ritual set forth. We believe it to be unsuited to the English character, which is not by any means demonstrative, and we think that had such wearisome details of ritual been avoided, and a greater breadth and dignity been sought after, the general advance of ritual order would have been more extensive and successful. Dr. Lee's, however, though not without some defects, is a very able work, and few will read it without gaining valuable information.

Archaeological Intelligence.

NORTHAMPTON CASTLE.—In the progress of the removal of the earthworks of this celebrated fortress at the end of last year, by the London and North Western Railway Company, the fine piece of wall connected with the postern gate was excavated to its proper level, and an effort has been made for the preservation of these valuable remains, by means of a memorial addressed to the railway company, and extensively signed throughout the county. In forming a cutting through the castle area, much curious evidence of the stratification of the earthworks has been revealed, apparently showing that they existed long before any part of the castle was built upon them. Below these again, a deposit of about a foot thick of black earth, mingled with ashes, bones, and fragments of pottery has been found. There is fortunately no lack of energy on the part of the local antiquaries, and it is greatly to be desired that their efforts for the preservation of the interesting remains of Northampton Castle may be seconded by the authorities of the railway company.

EXCAVATIONS IN THE VIA SACRA.—Mr. S. R. Forbes has been kind enough to send the following: In the new excavations upon the line of the Via Sacra, a monumental cippus has been found with the following inscription: *FABIUS, TITANIUS, —V. C. CONSUL.—PRAEF. URBI.—CURAVIT.*

He was consul and prefect of the city A.D. 339 to 341 under the emperor Constans I. This was one of three bases recorded as having stood in front of the Temple of Romulus in the 16th century, one of which is in the Museum of the Villa Borghese; and the other in the Naples Museum.

Another base was found dedicated to the Emperor Constantius II. by Flavius Leontius, prefect of Rome in A.D. 356. This is similar to the one in the Capitoline Museum.

The inscription reads: *TOTO ORBE VICTORI. —DN. CONSTANTIO MAX.—TRIUMFATORI.—SEMPER AUG.—FL. LEONTIUS, V. C.—PRAEF. URBI ITERUM—VICE SACRA INDICANS —D. N. M. Q. EIUS.*

Remains of Roman and Mediaeval buildings have been uncovered in the course of excavating, also some architectural fragments. The whole length of the Via Sacra has been now uncovered as far as the steps leading up to St. Bonaventura.

We are also indebted to Mr. Forbes for the following notes upon memorials of the officers of Caesar's household mentioned by St. Paul.

Upon the Via Appia inside the present walls—those of Aurelian—but outside the line of the Servian walls and the porta Capena, there exists in a vineyard, upon the left hand side in going out of the city, three

columbaria, in an almost perfect state, but discovered some years ago; two of these lie upon the right of the pathway, and possess considerable interest not only as good specimens of the chambers where the ashes of those who were cremated were deposited, but special interest is attached to some of the names found therein. Names that are mentioned in the New Testament. The question arises, are these the remains of those there mentioned: can we still look upon the ashes of those early Christians? Let us see!

In the first Columbaria we find this inscription, D. M. - TRYPHAENAE - VALERIAS. TRYPHAENAE - MATRI. B. M. F. ET - VALERIAS - FÛTIANUS (Tryphænae Valeria and Valerias Futianus to the memory of the mother Tryphæna. Just beyond is DOMITIAE.) . L. FAUSTILLAE-PETRONIO. ARISTONIS. L. - EPAPHRAE.

Upon the outside of the second, built into the wall, is D. M. - VARIA. TRYPHOSA - PATRONA ET. MEIPIUS. CLEMENS - CONIUGI. BENE - MERYTI FEL. VARIAE. PRIMAE F. - VIXIT. ANN. XXX (Varia Tryphosa, patron, and Meppius Clemens erected this to his well-beloved wife who lived thirty years).

Close by is D. M. S. - LIBERTI. LIBER - TAL. C. JULIUS - PHILAETUSC - JULIUS. PRYPHO - C. JULIUS. ONESI. MUS. TULIA. EUTHI - CIA. JULIA - HELPIS - JULIA. CLAPHURA - FECERUNT.

Inside the second *in situ* is the inscription:—ONESIMUS. A. PORTICU.

The first Columbaria was for the servants or officers of the Imperial family, and dates from Augustus to Nero, both inclusive. The second dates from Julius Caesar to Tiberius. The historic notices of some of these names are valuable.

St. Paul, writing to the Romans from Corinth A.D. 60, says, c. xvi, 12—"Salute Tryphæna and Tryphosa, who labour in the Lord."

Writing from Rome to the Colossians A.D. 64, he says, c. iv, 9—"With Onesimus, a faithful and beloved brother," and to Philemon, 10, "I beseech thee for my son Onesimus, whom I have begotten in my bonds." In Colossians, i, 7—"As ye also learned of Epaphras, our dear fellow-servant:" and in iv, 12, we have, "Epaphras, who is one of you, a servant of Christ," who is again mentioned in Philemon, 23, "There salute thee Epaphras, my fellow-prisoner in Christ Jesus."

Now these names are uncommon; and we only have them mentioned by St. Paul and on these marble slabs, which slabs are in the Columbaria of the freedmen of the Caesars, agreeing in date with the time of St. Paul's letters; who himself preached to, and had converts amongst, the household of Caesar in the imperial palace upon the Palatine hill. He says, writing to the Philippians, i, 13, "So that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the Palace, and in all other places:" and iv, 22, "All the saints salute you, chiefly they that are of Caesar's household."

The name Valeria was taken from her mistress, the Empress Messalina (whose name was Valeria) when she obtained her freedom. These names do not cover their own ashes, with the exception of that to Onesimus and Epaphras, but are memorial stones erected to fellow-servants, who, if we may judge from the D. M. over the inscriptions, were not Christians.

They record a work of charity and love to fellow servants, though not co-religionists: and the names mentioned may well be those likewise named by St. Paul.

The names Tryphæna and Tryphosa occur before the coming of Paul to

Rome, and these with some others mentioned by him (Romans xvi), were found on slabs in another columbaria, about a mile further on, on the Via Appia, discovered in 1726, and known as the columbaria of the servants of Livia Augusta. It is now a complete ruin, one wall only remains, and some of the inscriptions are in the Capitol museum.

The following names according to Gruter, p. 1070, No. 1, and p. 656, No. 1 were there, but they are now lost: AMPLIAS - URBANUS - APELLES - TRYPHANE - TRYPHOSA - RUFUS - HERMES - PATROBAS - HERMAS - PHILOLOGUS - JULIA - NEREUS. These are the names probably of some members of the Church founded by Priscilla and Aquila, whom Paul greets in writing to Rome, but who are not mentioned again by him after his arrival in Rome. They possibly were no longer living, and the Church was dispersed under Claudius, Aquila and Priscilla going to Corinth (Acts xviii, 2), whom Paul salutes in his second letter to Timothy (iv, 19).

THE SYRO-BRITISH TOMBSTONE AT SOUTH SHIELDS.—We hope before long to publish in the *Journal* an account of this remarkable monument from the pen of Mr. W. Thompson Watkin.

DISCOVERY OF A ROMAN PAVEMENT AT WINCHESTER.—During the progress of the drainage works now going on in Winchester the workmen have discovered, at twenty feet beneath the surface, a fine Roman tessellated pavement, of a geometrical pattern, with a border. It is composed of tessellae of stone, in colour red, black, white and buff. It is at the junction of Simonds and Little Minster streets. The Corporation have ordered it to be taken up entire, if possible. The pavement is of considerable dimensions.

AT A MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE INSTITUTE, held on 23rd December, 1878, the following humble address of condolence with Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen on the death of the Princess Alice, Grand Duchess of Hesse Darmstadt, was passed and ordered to be sent to the proper quarters:—

*The Humble Address of the Royal Archaeological Institute of
Great Britain and Ireland.*

“WE, the President, Vice Presidents, Council, and Members of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland venture to approach your Majesty with the heartfelt expression of our sympathy in the great sorrow that God in his wisdom has laid upon your Majesty and the Royal Family, in the afflicting death of the Princess Alice of Great Britain and Ireland, Grand Duchess of Hesse Darmstadt.

“We recognize in your Majesty, not only the wise and beneficent ruler of a vast empire, but the tender sympathiser in all our national troubles and calamities, and we are thus further moved to venture to approach your Majesty at such a time by the knowledge of your Majesty’s constant solicitude for the welfare and happiness of your Majesty’s subjects, which has formed so strong a bond of union between an affectionate people and its sovereign.

“That your Majesty may be enabled to bear and surmount this heavy trial, and be long spared to reign over us will be our earnest and continual prayer.

“(Signed) TALBOT DE MALAHIDE.
President.”

“Jan. 1879.

The following gracious answer has been received :—

“Osborne, January 4th, 1879.

“Sir,

“I have not failed to lay before the Queen the address of condolence transmitted by you.

“I am commanded by Her Majesty to request that you will convey to the President, Vice-President, Council, and Members of the Royal Archeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland Her Majesty's sincere and heartfelt thanks for their kind and welcome expression of sympathy with the Queen, on the death of her dear daughter, Princess Alice, Grand Duchess of Hesse.

“I have the honour to be, Sir,

“Your obedient servant,

“HENRY T. PONSONBY.

“A. Hartshorne, Esq.”

THE MARKET HOUSE AT ROTHWELL.—The ruinous condition of this remarkable building (visited by the members of the Institute during the Northampton meeting, see p. 439) having been brought under the notice of the Council on January 13th by Mr. A. Hartshorne, we have the gratification of stating that the Council desire to initiate a movement for its restoration. Circulars respecting the matter will be shortly issued.

HAWTON CHURCH NEAR NEWARK.—We understand that this very interesting church is about to undergo restoration. We are willing to hope that its elaborate Easter sepulchre, and its other rich and valuable details, will be treated with the utmost care.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE INSTITUTE will be held this year at Taunton, under the Presidency of the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells.

* * * Members are requested to observe that the day of the monthly meetings has been changed from Friday to Thursday.

INDEX.

A.

Aldworth Church, drawings of effigies in, exhibited, 87

Andrews, Mr. W., his notes on an ancient well in Beverley Minster, 85; exhibits sketch of ditto, 87

ARCHÆOLOGICAL INTELLIGENCE :—Excavations at Bath, 100; Roman coins, found at South Shields, *ib.*; discovery of Roman buildings at Lincoln, *ib.*; excavations at Templeborough, 101; discoveries of urns of Saxon shields at Ickleham, *ib.*; proposed publication of the late Mr. R. Brash's work on Ogam inscriptions, *ib.*; do. do. of the Domesday Book of Somerset, by Mr. G. Esdaile, *ib.*; discovery of Roman coins at Baconsthorpe, 102; inscription found in the Via della Pace, Rome, by Mr. J. H. Parker, 189; notes on the same, by Mr. J. Wordsworth, 190; Roman inscriptions at Brecon and Gloucester, by Mr. W. T. Watkin, *ib.*; excavations at Irchester, by the Rev. R. S. Baker, 192; the regalia of Cyrus the Great, *ib.*; the written rock of the Gelt, 193; proposed publication of the ruins of Castle Acre priory, by Mr. E. P. Willins, *ib.*; change of the day of the Monthly Meetings, *ib.*, 463; Roman exploration Fund, 309; recent discoveries in Rome, by Mr. S. R. Forbes, 310; the bronze gates of Shalmanezzer III, 311; bronze dodecagons at Leyden, 312; excavations at Northampton Castle, 460; do. in the Via Sacra, *ib.*; notes upon the officers of Caesar's household, *ib.*; the Syro-British Tombstone at South Shields, 462; discovery of a Roman pavement at Winchester, *ib.*; address of condolence with the Queen on the death of the Princess Alice, *ib.*; proposed restoration of the Market House at Rothwell, 463; restoration of Hawton Church, Newark *ib.*; meeting of the Institute at Taunton in 1879, *ib.*

ARCHITECTURE :—Roman at Lincoln, 100;

do. at Templeborough, 101; Jew's House at Lincoln, 298

Auditor's Report and Balance-sheet for 1877, 305

B.

Bain, Mr. J., his memoir on the siege of Antwerp, read, 89; contributes original documents; grant by Ingelram, Lord of Concy, *temp.* Edward III, 166; relating to Northamptonshire, *temp.* Edward I, 295

Baker, Rev. R. S., his excavations at Irchester, 192; his memoir on the Nene Valley as a Roman frontier, and the origin of the name Northampton, 339

Baldwin, Mr. J. Loraine, exhibits clock, 301

Barber, Mr. F., his remarks on Roman stockade at Carlisle, 299

Bath, Roman cloaca at, 100

Bayly, Mr. J. A. Sparvel, his memoir on Roman Billericay, read, 296; exhibits bronze celt and pottery from do., 300

BERKSHIRE :—Drawings of effigies of De la Beche family at Adworth, exhibited, 87

Beverley Minster, notes on well in, 85

Bigge, Mr. M., exhibits Roman potter's wheel, &c., 88

Bloxam, Mr. M. H., his memoir on the mediæval sepulchral antiquities of Northamptonshire, 242; exhibits inscribed *annulus nuptialis* of bronze, and brass hammer from Rugby, 301; exhibited brass thumb ring from Exeter, *ib.*

Brash, the late Mr. R., proposed publication of his work in Ogam inscriptions, 101

Blunt, Rev. J. H., his chapters of Parochial History, noticed, 94

Boase, Mr. G. C., his *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*, noticed, 97

BRONZE ANTIQUITIES OF :—Dodecagon, found near Goodrich castle, 87; do.

from Mr. Frank's collection, *ib.*; do. at Leyden, 312; vessels from Wellingborough, 88; from Saltwood, Kent, 178; female heads and figure of bat from Carlisle, 298; celt from Billericay, 300; inscribed finger ring from Rugby, 301

Brougham and Vaux, the Lord, exhibits ecclesiastical objects from Brougham Castle, 89

C.

Canterbury Cathedral, memoir on the mural and decorative paintings at, Mr. Keyser, 275

Cissbury, exploration at, 88

Clark, Mr. G. T., his memoir on the land of Morgan, the chief lords, 1; on the earthworks of Brincklow, Lilbourne, and Earls Barton, 112; his remarks on ancient roads, 174; his memoir on Rockingham, 209; on the land of Morgan, the Earls of Gloucester, 313; observations of the Eddystone Lighthouse, 402; on architecture in the South of France, 406

Coote, Mr. H. C., his Romans in Britain noticed, 98

Cordeaux, Mr. J., exhibits brass swivel stirrup, 88

COINS:—plumbago mould for counterfeit exhibited, 299

Cotton, Mr. W., his gleanings from municipal and cathedral records relating to Exeter noticed, 98

Courtney, Mr. W. P., see Boase, Mr. G. C.

Coxe, Rev. H. O., *see* Turner, Mr. W. H.

CUMBERLAND:—Roman antiquities from Carlisle, exhibited, 298; plumbago blocks from Netherwasdale do., 299

D.

Deane, Rev. J. B., exhibits impression of silver seal with arms of Chambers, 178.

DOCUMENTS, ORIGINAL:—Grant by Ingelram, lord of Concy, to the king, *temp* Edward III, 166; relating to Northamptonshire, *temp* Edward I, 295

Dryden, Sir H. E. L. Bart, his description of St. Magnus, Kirkwall, noticed, 307

E.

Eddystone Lighthouse, memoir on the first, by Mr. Morgan, 120, 402

Esdaile, Mr. G., his proposed Domesday book of Somerset, 101

Evans, Mr. J., his address to the Antiquarian Section of the meeting at Northampton, 263

Eyton, the Rev. P. W., his Court Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II, noticed, 455

F.

Ferguson, Mr. R. S., exhibits and describes Roman bronze heads and figure of bat, and iron implement, 298; do. blocks of plumbago for the fabrication of base money, 299; do. box of money weights, 300

Ffarington, Miss, exhibits powder flask, 405

Forbes, Mr. S. R., his notes on recent discoveries in Rome, 310

Fortnum, Mr. C. D. E., his remarks on rings, 406; exhibits silver ring, *ib.*

Fox, Major-Gen. A. Lane, his remarks on remains from Cissbury, 89

France, the States General of, memoir on by the Lord Henley, 195

Franks, Mr. A. W., exhibits Roman bronze dodecagon, 87

Friars preachers of England, Mr. Palmer's memoir on them, 134

G.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE:—Rubbing of figure of verderer from Newland, exhibited, 90

Gatty, Mr. A. S., his first book of the parish registers of Ecclesfield, noticed, 308

Goodman, Mr. T., exhibits pedigree and drawings of effigies of the De la Beche family, 87

Greaves, Mr. C. S., exhibits rubbings of monumental slab, and of emblems of the Passion, from St. Clement's Hastings, 90; remarks upon the preserving and destructive powers of clay, sand, &c., 299

H.

Hamilton, Mr. H. C., his calendar of State papers relating to Ireland, noticed, 96

HAMPSHIRE:—Impression of seal from Woodham, exhibited, 178

Harrison, Mr. J. P., his notes on explorations at Cissbury, 88

Hartshorne, Mr. A., exhibits champlévé enamel plate, 88; his remarks on effigies in hunting costume, 90; exhibits and contributes notes on quarrels, 177; exhibits Peruvian

jingled spurs, 183; painted glass roundels, 300; painted glass representing traditional event in the life of Sir Alexander Stewart, 302; hunting pot, 407

Hartshorne, Captain A. G., exhibits inscribed sword, *temp* Charles I, 182

Hayward, Mrs., exhibits terra cotta die, 88

Henley, the Lord, his memoir on the States General of France, 195

Heywood, Mr. S., exhibits trooper's sword, *temp* Charles I, 303

I.

INSCRIPTIONS:—Britanno-Roman, found in 1877, memoir on by Mr. W. T. Watkin, 63; Roman, from the Via della Pace, 189

J.

Jackson, Mr. T., exhibits antiquities from subterranean chamber in Eltham park, 182

James, Mr. E., exhibits Norwich cup and cover, and other objects of silver, 405

K.

KENT:—Bronze implements from Saltwood exhibited, 178; iron key from Ramsgate do., *ib.*; Mr. Keyser's memoir on the mural and decorative paintings in Canterbury Cathedral, 179, 275, 296; exhibits tracings of mural paintings in Idsworth chapel, 182

King, Rev. C. W., his memoir on an antique cameo found at South Shields, 163; read 402; exhibits photograph of cameo, 405

L.

Lee, Rev. F. G., his *Directorium Anglicanum*, noticed, 458

Lefroy, Lieut.-Gen. Sir H., exhibits impression of seal from Woodham, Hants, 178

Lewis, Professor Bunnell, his remarks on Polar bear, 402; memoir on the architectural antiquities in the south of France, read, 406; exhibits engravings and photographs, *ib.*

Lewis, Rev. S. S., exhibits Greek and Roman coins, &c., 406

Lincoln:—Photograph of Jew's House at, exhibited, 298; Roman porticus at, 160; notes on, by Mr. Parker, 397; by Mr. Penrose, 403

LINCOLNSHIRE:—Stirrup found at Great Coates, 88; chronicle of South Park Abbey, exhibited, 296; notes on the same, *ib.*

Loftie, Rev. W. J., his memoir on Meydoun, 126, 402; exhibits Egyptian antiquities, 405

M.

Macleay, Sir J., exhibits Roman bronze dodecagon, 87; his remarks on the death of Sir G. G. Scott, 296

Marsh, Mr. J. F., his memoir on the difficulties connected with the 14th Iter of Antonine, 54, 85; exhibits plans, 87

Meydoun, Mr. Loftie's memoir on, 126

Micklethwaite, Mr. J. T., his remarks on well in Beverley Minster, 86; on chalices, 179; seconds vote of sympathy on death of Sir G. G. Scott, 296; his memoir on parish churches in 1548, 372

Milman, Mr. H. S., his remarks on the 14th Iter of Antonine, 85; on the river Severn, 405

Morant, Mr. A. W., his new edition of the history and antiquities of the Deanery of Craven, noticed, 91

Morgan, Mr. C. O. S., his memoir on a silver model of the first Eddystone Lighthouse, 120, 402; account of an ancient Danish vessel found at Newport, 403; exhibits portions of do., 405

N.

Neale, Mr. J., his Abbey Church of St. Alban, noticed, 184

Nightingale, Mr. J., exhibits personal objects of Stephen Bathon, King of Poland, 90

NORFOLK:—Discovery of Roman coins, at Baconsthorpe, 102

North, Mr. T., his Church Bells of Northamptonshire, noticed, 451

Northampton, Mr. Evans' address to the Antiquarian Section at, 263; report of Annual Meeting at, 407

Northampton Castle, examinations at, 460

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE:—Mr. Clark's memoir on the earthworks at Earl's Barton, 112; Mr. Baker's excavations at Irchester, 192; Mr. Clark's memoir on Rockingham, 209; Mr.

Bloxam's memoir on the mediæval sepulchral antiquities in, 242; on original documents relating to, *temp.* Edward I., 295; Mr. Clark's memoir on the land of Morgan, 313; Mr. Baker's do. on the Nene Valley as a Roman frontier, and the origin of the name Northampton, 339; Mr. Scriven's memoir on the history of Castle Ashby, 360; proposed restoration of the Market House at Rothwell, 463

O.

Oakeley, Rev. W. B., exhibits pyx of champlevé enamel, 88; rubbing of figure of verderer from Newland churchyard, 90

P.

Palmer, Rev. C. J. R., his memoirs on the provincials of the friars preachers, 134, 301

Parker, Mr. J. H., his memoir on Pisa Cathedral, 108; communicates inscriptions from the Via della Pace, Rome, 189; his remarks on excavations in Rome, 300; exhibits photographs of Agger of Servius Tullius, 301; his notes on the Roman exploration fund, 309; memoir on Pisa Cathedral (continued), 353; notes on Roman porticus at Lincoln, 397; observations on excavations in the Via Sacra, 406

Petit, Miss, exhibits water colour sketches, 406

Petrie, Mr. W. M. F., his notes on ancient roads, 169; exhibits maps and plans, 177; his account of chamber in Eltham park, 179; exhibits plans and sections of, 182

Poland, Stephen Bathon, King of, personal objects, 90

PUBLICATIONS ARCHAEOLOGICAL, Notices of:—History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven, by Thomas Dunham Whitaker, edited by A. W. Morant, 91; Chapters of Parochial History, Dursley and its neighbourhood, by the Rev. J. H. Blunt, 94; calendar of State papers relating to Ireland, 1566-88, edited by H. C. Hamilton, 96; Bibliotheca Cornubiensis, by Messrs. G. C. Boase and W. P. Courtney, 97; the Romans of Britain, by H. C. Coote, 98; gleanings from the municipal and cathedral records, relative to the history of Exeter, by W. Cotton and the Ven. H. Woolcombe, *ib.*; the Abbey Church of St. Alban,

Hertfordshire, illustrated by James Neale, 184; Thunor the Thunderer, carved on a Scandinavian font of about the year 1000, by Professor George Stephens, F.S.A., 187; Description of the church dedicated to St. Magnus, and the Bishop's Palace at Kirkwall, by Sir H. E. L. Dryden, Bt., 307; the First book of the parish registers of Ecclesfield, Yorkshire, annotated by Alfred Scott Gatty, 308; the Church bells of Northamptonshire, by Thomas North, 451; Calendar of the charters and rolls preserved in the Bodleian library, edited by W. H. Turner, under the direction of the Rev. H. O. Coxe, 453; Court, household, and itinerary of King Henry II, by the Rev. R. W. Eyton, 455; the Directorium Anglicanum, 4th edition, by the Rev. Frederick George Lee, 458

R.

Raven, Rev. Dr., his memoir on Roman roads in the east of England, 80

Ready, Mr. R., exhibits Roman and other rings, 406

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES:—Mr. W. T. Watkins' memoir on "Burrium," "Gobannium," and "Blestium," 19; Mr. J. F. Marsh's memoir on the 14th Iter of Antonine, 54; Mr. Watkins' memoir on Britanno-Roman Inscriptions discovered in 1877, 63; Dr. Raven's memoir on Roman roads in the east of England, 80; potter's wheel, &c., exhibited by Mr. M. Bigge, 88; Mr. H. S. Milman's remarks on the 14th Iter of Antonine, 85; Sir J. Maclean exhibits bronze dodecagon, 87; Mr. A. W. Franks, do., *ib.*; excavations at Bath, 100; at South Shields, *ib.*; at Lincoln, *ib.*; at Templeborough, 101; at Baconsthorpe, 102; inscription found in the Via della Pace, Rome, 189; do., at Brecon, 190; at Gloucester, *ib.*; excavations at Ichester, 192; the written rock of the Gelt, 193; Mr. Watkin's additions to Professor Hübner's potters' marks discovered in Britain, 289; Mr. R. S. Ferguson exhibited female heads, &c., from Carlisle, 298, 299; Mr. J. H. Parker exhibits photographs of Agger of Servius Tullius, 301; Mr. M. H. Bloxam exhibits inscribed annulus nuptialis, and brass hammer found at Rugby, *ib.*; Roman exploration fund, 309; recent discoveries in Rome, 310; bronze dodecagons at Leyden, 312;

excavations in the Via Sacra, 460 ; notes on the officers of Cæsar's household, 461 ; tessellated pavement at Winchester, 462
 Rockingham, memoir on, by Mr. G. T. Clark, 209
 Rothwell Market House, proposed restoration of, 463
 Rous, Miss, exhibits silver model of first Eddystone Lighthouse, 405
 Russell, Rev. J. F., his memoir on Elizabethan Communion plate, 44, 179 ; remarks at the opening of a new session, 85 ; exhibits champlevé enamelled plate, 58 ; painted glass roundels, 302

S.

Scott, Sir. G. G., vote of sympathy on his death, 296
 Scriven, Mr. R. G., his memoir on Castle Ashby, 360
 Schliemann, arrival of his antiquities from Troy, 88
 Skill, Mr. F. J., exhibits model of font at Rotherham, 183
 Smith, Mr. W. J. Bernhard, his notes on Professor Westwood's casket (v. xxxiii, p. 399), 89 ; exhibits English dagger, *temp.* Elizabeth, and flint celt, 182 ; porte-couteaux from the Deccan, and Maiori title deed, 300 ; Venetian broad sword, 303 ; brass pommel, *ib.*
 Smith, Mr. R. H. Soden, his remarks on Lord Brougham's ecclesiastical objects, 89 ; his notes on gold pectoral cross, 175 ; exhibits do., 177 ; silver cups and covers, 182 ; remarks on Agger of Servius Tullias, 301 ; exhibits sack pots, 303 ; observations on do., *ib.* ; remarks on Camei, 402
 South Shields, Roman coins found at, 100, Syro British tombstone at, 462
 Stewart, Sir Alexander, traditional event in the life of, on painted glass, exhibited by Mr. Hartshorne, 202 ; notes on the same, by Mr. S. Tucker (*Rouge Croix*) ; *ib.* by Mr. J. Bain, 399
 SUFFOLK :—Umbones of Saxon shields discovered at Icklingham, 101
 SUSSEX :—Notes on explorations at Cissbury, by Mr. J. P. Harrison, 88

T.

Talbot de Malahide, the Lord, his observations on architecture in the south of France, 406
 Tucker, Mr. S. (*Rouge Croix*) his remarks on armorial bearings on Mr. J. L. Baldwin's clock, 301 ; on painted glass exhibited by Mr. Hartshorne, 302
 Turner, Mr. W. H., his Calendar of Charters and Rolls in the Bodleian, noticed, 143

V.

Venables, Rev. Canon, proposes a resolution on the death of Sir G. G. Scott, 296 ; exhibits, and contributes notes on Chronicle of Louth Park Abbey, *ib.* ; exhibits photographs of Jew's House at Lincoln, 298

W.

Waller, Mr. J. G., exhibits bronze implements from Saltwood, Kent, 178 ; remarks on wall paintings, 179 ; on destruction of do., and of pictures in glass, 182
 WARWICKSHIRE :—Mr. Clark's memoir on the earthworks at Brinklow and Lilbourne, 112 ; bronze ring and brass hammer from Rugby, exhibited by Mr. Bloxam, 301
 Watkin, Mr. W. T., his memoir on the Roman stations of "Burrium," "Gobannium," and "Elestium," 19, 301 ; on Britanno-Roman inscriptions, found in 1877, 63, 296 ; his additions to Professor Hübner's list of potters' marks discovered in Britain, 289 ; communicates notes on inscriptions and coins, 405 ; exhibits rubbings of inscriptions, 407
 Wilnot, Mr. E. W., exhibits iron key from Rungate, 178
 Woolcombe, Ven. H. See Cotton, Mr. W.
 Wordsworth, Mr. J., his notes on inscription from the Via della Pace, 190

END OF VOL. XXXV.



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